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Walchandnagar

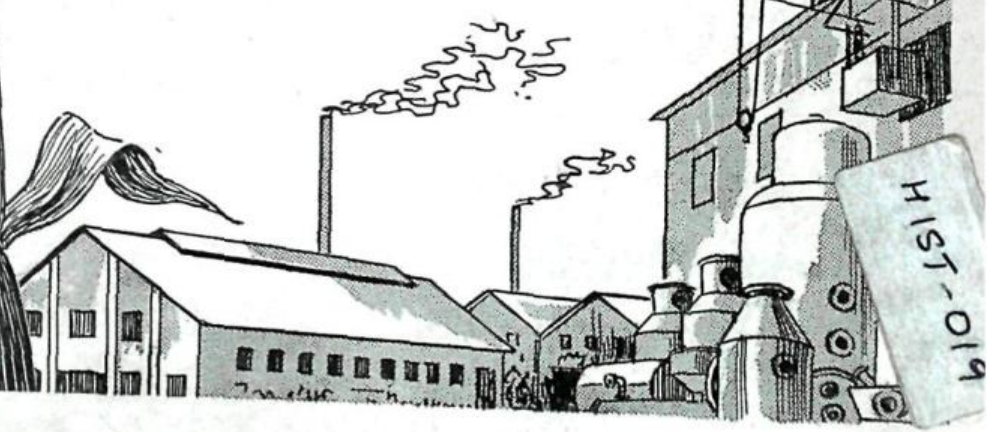
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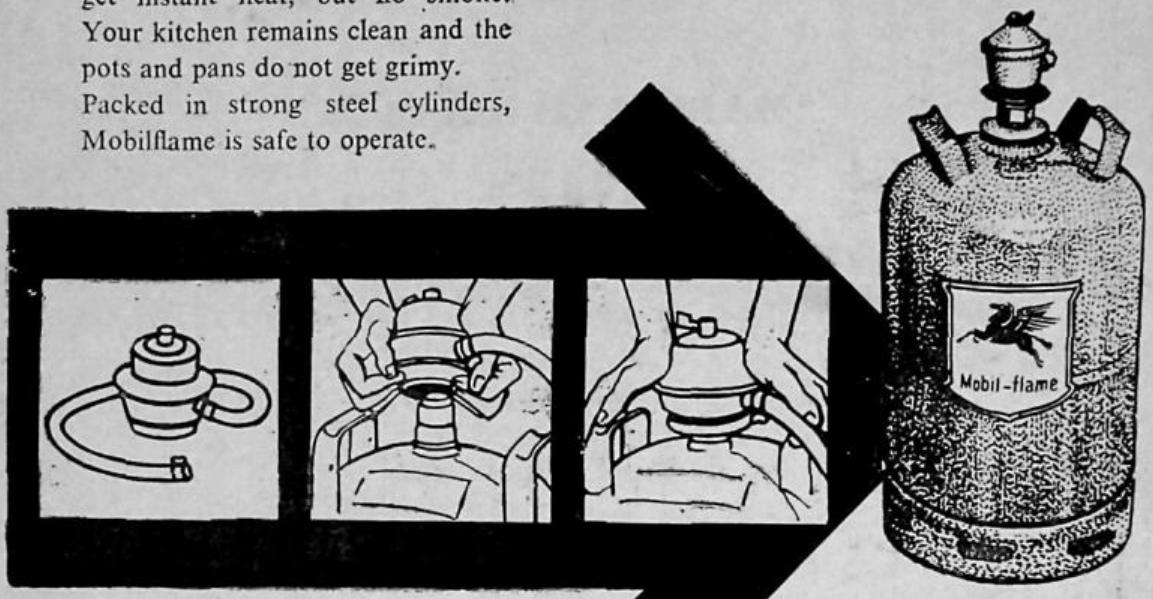
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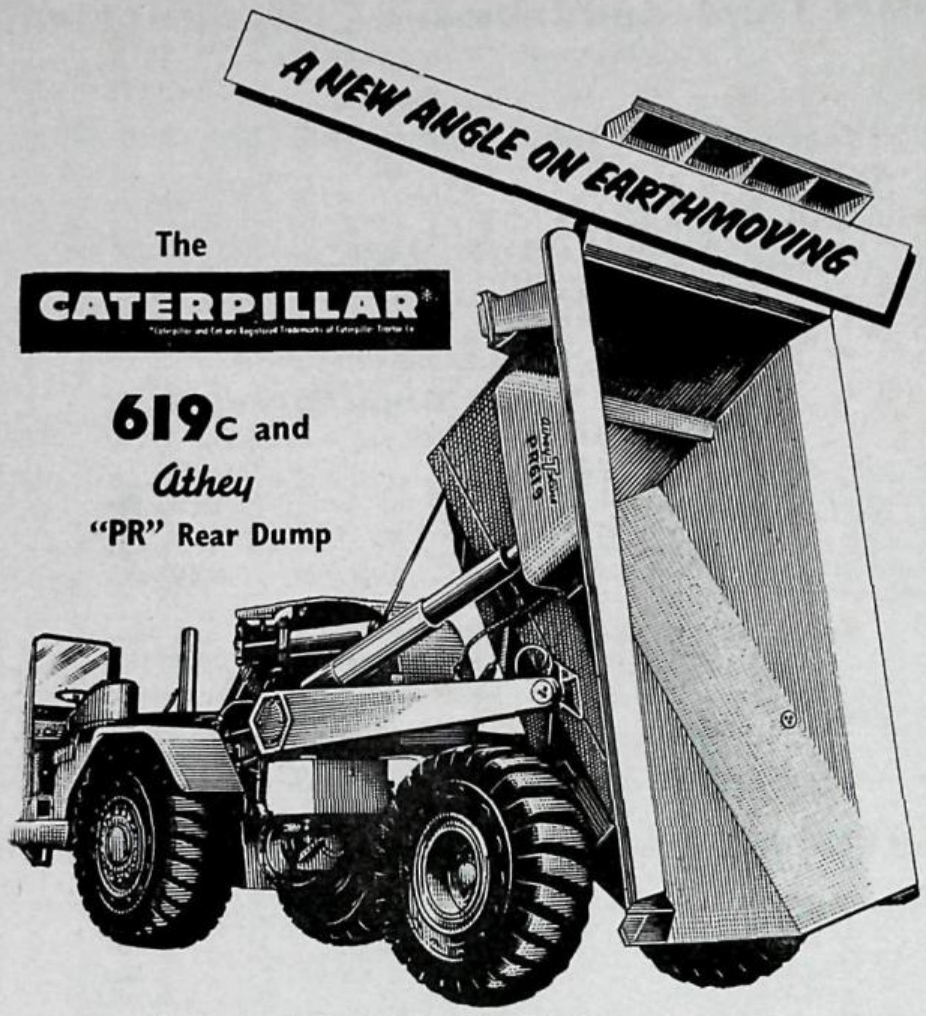
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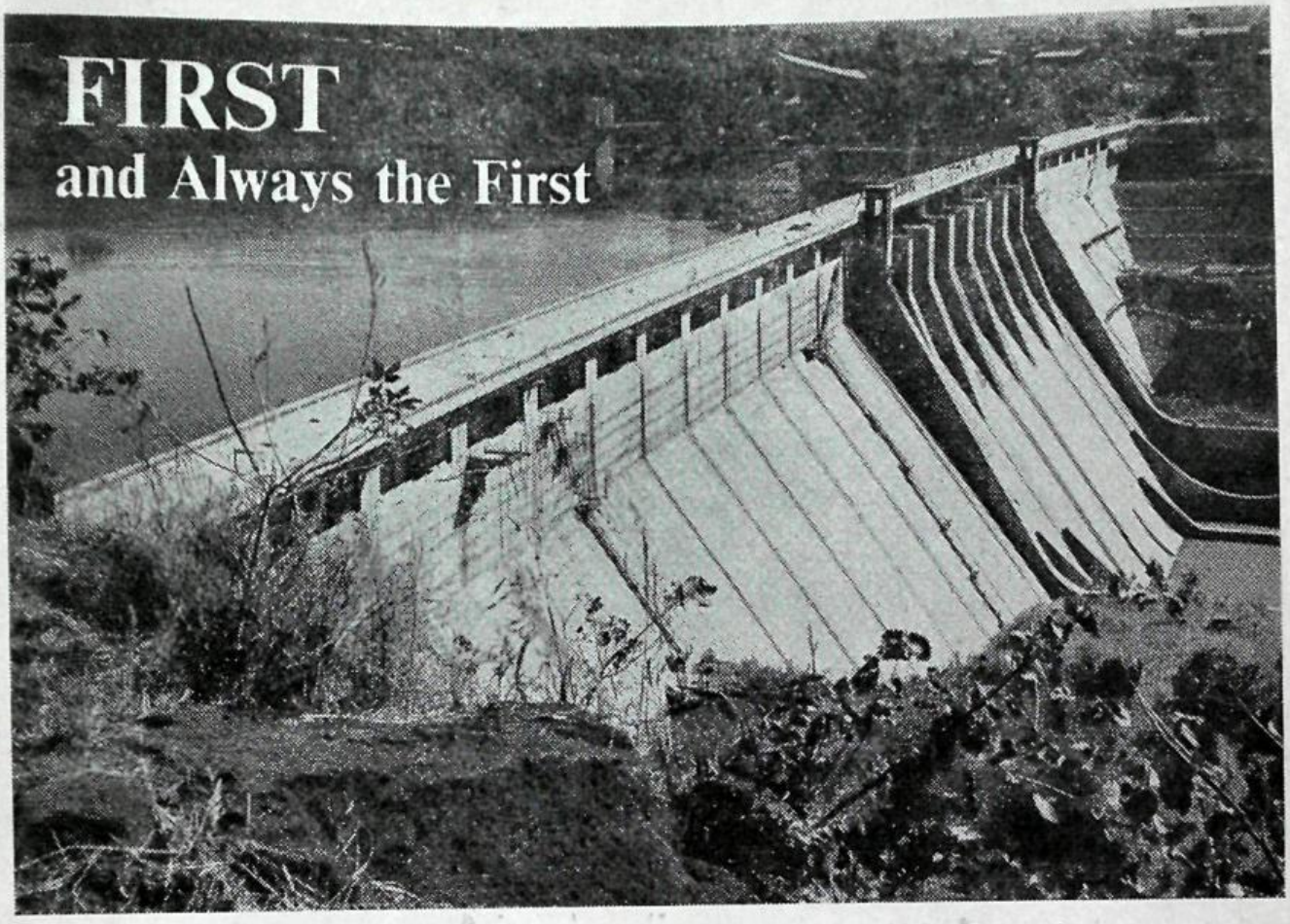
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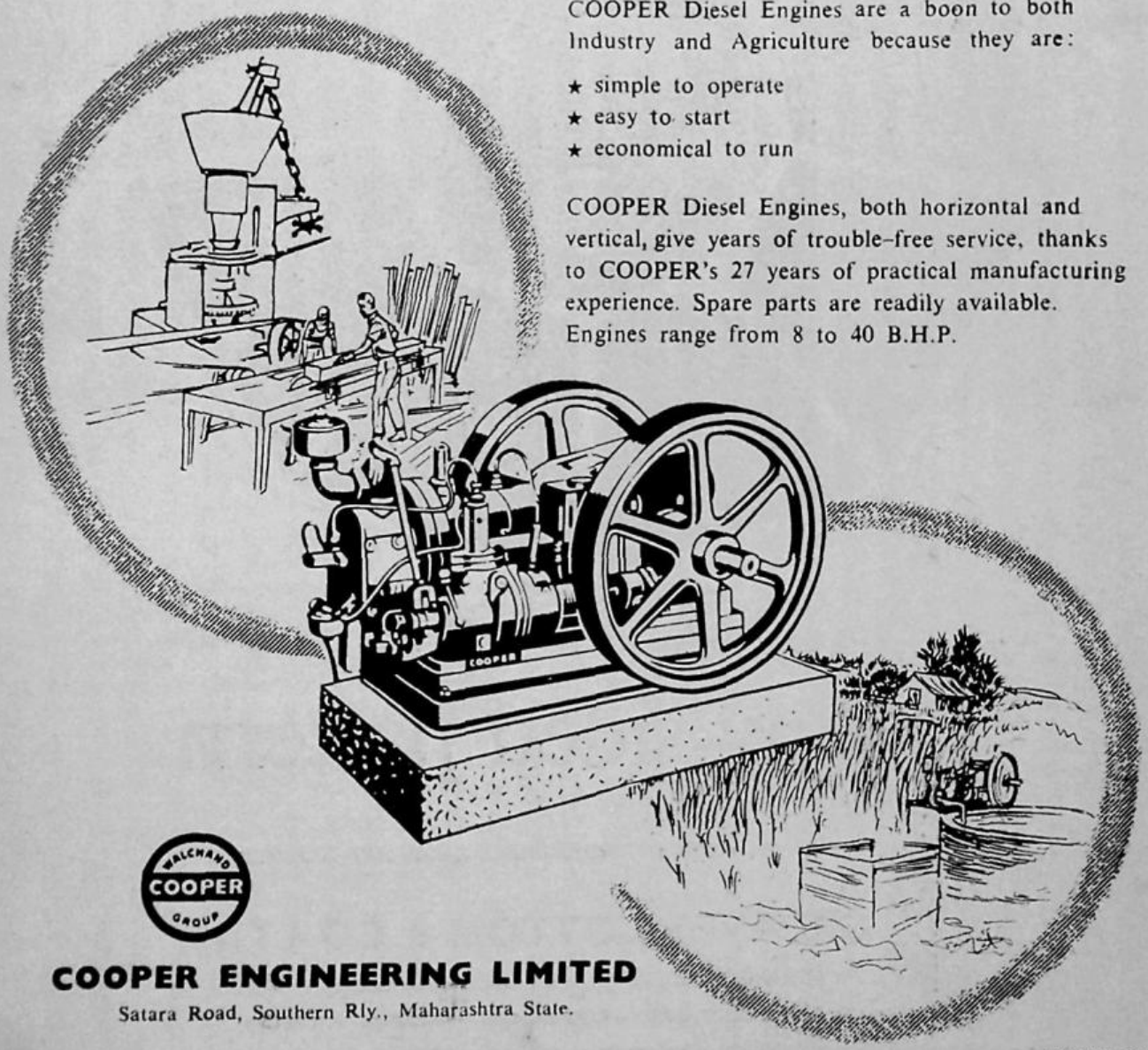
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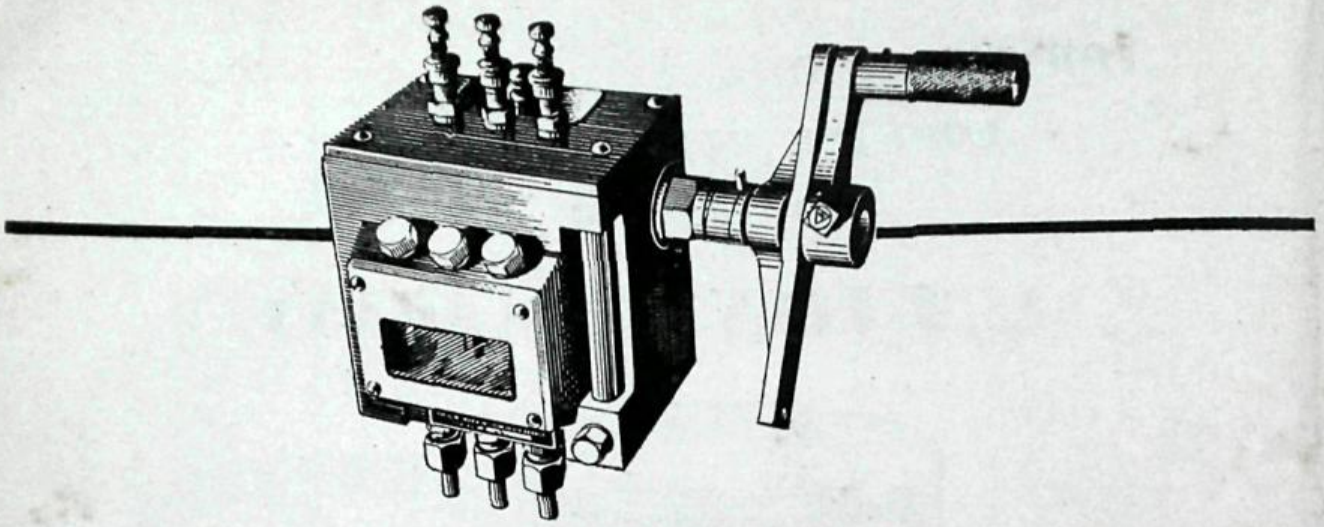


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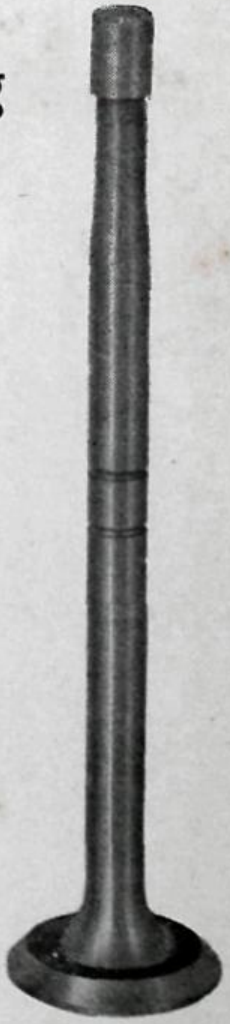
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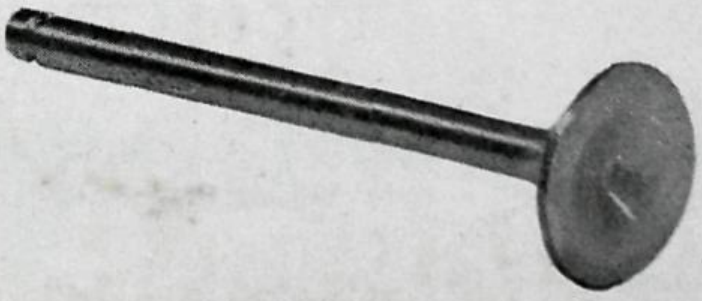


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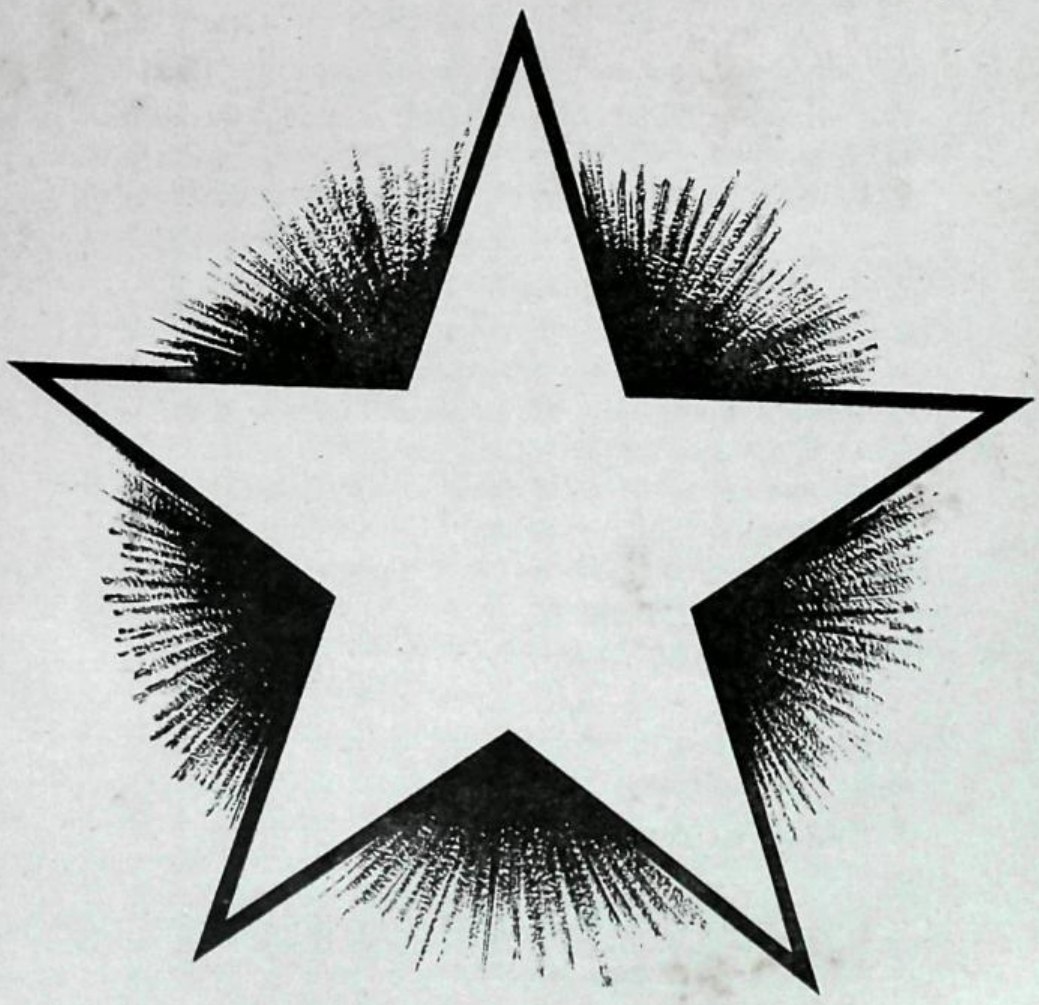
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SOUVENIR 1961



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Preface

THE SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION of the Swatantra Party assembles on November 25 and 26 in a city that is renowned the world over for its monument to beauty. The Party is grateful for the hospitality extended by such a historic city to a gathering of those who love freedom.

In 1947, India became independent. But today, in 1961 we realise with a pang of sorrow that, though the country is independent, the people do not feel free and happy. The emergence of the Swatantra Party is, however, a portent of the people's determination to breathe the bracing air of freedom.

That the Party's faith in the Indian people has not been misplaced is amply borne out by that burst of spontaneous popular support to the thinking which informs its policies and serves as the bedrock of the Party's platform.

The Convention assembles at a time when the electorate of the largest democracy in the world will soon pronounce upon some of the perennial political issues which have plagued man since he began living in organised society. Of these, the paramount issue is the ever-felt need and the never-ending quest for the harmonization of the authority of the State with the liberty of the individual. In recognising this as the central problem of political philosophy and governmental action, the Swatantra Party is one in a long line of those who have lit the lamps of liberty.

The Party takes this opportunity to express its debt of gratitude to those journals and periodicals by whose kind permission some significant articles have been reproduced in this Souvenir. The Souvenir itself has been able to see the light of day with the generous support of the advertisers to whom we extend our grateful thanks.

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To Prosperity Through Freedom

INDIA is a great country. Its people are a great people. We believe that it has a great future. In order that this greatness may be effectively and fully realised, the country must have a government capable of evoking the best that is in the people.

Today, twelve years after the attainment of national independence, the lot of the common man has scarcely improved. Our people still lack a sufficiency of food, of shelter and of clothing. Poverty is the lot of far too many. Prices are soaring. Cities are overcrowded; slums abound; people sleep on the pavements. The position of the middle class is more precarious than ever. A sense of frustration is becoming universal.

These past twelve years have seen a steady deterioration of the national fibre, due to the placing at a discount of the inherent qualities of fortitude, courage and industry and a subordination of these to the decrees of a small group of politicians who have been able to exercise an excessive authority irresponsive to public opinion by banking on the past services of the Indian National Congress.

The people, who keenly desired to have good government, have watched with resentment the growing maladministration, partisanship and corruption in the country, the manoeuvres and intrigues of those in power, their indifference to grievances, the destruction of social bonds by thoughtless social legislation and the neglect of the religious spirit which inspires selfless conduct, the increase in crime and the deterioration of law and order in various parts of the country. At the same time, they have heard with growing cynicism the incessant preaching of austerity and selfless service by those who disregard them in the administration, resulting in general demoralisation. To this sapping of the national moral fibre must be added the recent humiliation of submission to foreign occupation of part of our soil

The members of the ruling party, many of whom are conscious of the failure of their government's basic policies and of the need for a change, are unable to give expression to their feelings due to misguided loyalty, careerism and hero-worship. Parties that adhere to various Statist programmes in the field of socio-economic policy, playing on the same theme with slight variations, have in effect become mere satellites of the ruling party.

The time has come for India to face the challenge of this unfortunate situation. It is in this context that the Swatantra Party has come forward to provide the nation with a clear-cut alternative way of life and government.

II

Common Aspirations

Certain objectives and aspirations are common to all of us who loyally accept the Constitution of the Republic and the processes of parliamentary democracy. This area of agreement covers the aim of a fuller and richer life for the people through the development of agricultural and industrial production. It also covers the equitable sharing of the benefits of this increased production. A further point of agreement is the need speedily to improve the lot of our people consistent with the maintenance of basic human freedoms. Inherent in this is also the need for a measure of planning on the part of public authorities and economic institutions without taking away the rights inherent in parliamentary democracy and in the concept of individual liberty.

It is agreed that there should be equality of opportunity for all without distinction of religion, caste, occupation or political affiliation, while those who are working under handicaps, such as Harijans, Adi-

basis and other Backward Classes should be protected and helped so that they may speedily raise themselves to a better condition.

The Swatantra Party shares in these aspirations and is wedded to the pursuit of these objectives as much as any other party. Where we part company from the party now in office is over the method of achieving these accepted goals.

III

The Current Pattern

Judging from the policies and pronouncements of the ruling party, its basic philosophy is a fundamentalist belief that the State or Government is the main instrument of economic and social advance; that, in consequence, basic industries should be owned by, and strategic points of economic vantage must be in the occupation of, the State; that the State sector of the economy must constantly grow until, in the end, the free sector is reduced to inconsequential proportions; that the peasantry must somehow be persuaded to extinguish themselves in big "cooperative" or collective farms; that the lion's share of capital investment must go into heavy industries; that, while this process is in train, the people must be denied their reasonable consumption needs; and that, to secure these ends, Parliament should be subordinated to the party in power and the party itself to the decisions taken by a coterie of planners directed by a group of powerful party bosses.

While it is probably true that a large number of members of the ruling party do not subscribe to this philosophy, the fact of the matter remains that their opposition is not expressed or is ineffective and the aims which are actually being furthered are those outlined above. It is because of this that the establishment of the Swatantra Party became inevitable.

The Swatantra Party rejects the approach outlined above which has been taken from the methodology of totalitarian planning. It is not in accordance with the national genius of our people and the aspirations which they have deeply cherished. The Swatantra Party believes that totalitarian planning and democratic ways are incompatible and that to sacrifice the free way of life is to adopt psychologically and socially wrong means to serve an end very doubtful of being attained.

Every developing economy has a basic choice to make whether it will develop through a regimented system or through a free one. That choice cannot be postponed nor can it be evaded. A collectivised economy cannot coexist for long with political democracy.

Totalitarian economies rely for increasing capital investment on crippling taxation and savings forced out of the people by the ruthless cutting down of the daily necessities of life. In a free economy, the State does not usurp total control over raw materials, manufacture, distribution and consumption to impose its will. Regimented economies lead to the flogging of machinery and equipment and the reluctance of individuals to work for long periods under conditions of stress devoid of human dignity. The overhead expenditures for constant supervision are uneconomic and increase considerably the cost of production. Further, totalitarian production, not being responsive to consumer demand, is inferior in its quality. The increase in national production brought about in this manner in no way improves the standard of living.

In India, where the ruling party has foresworn on the one hand a free market economy and on the other hand is not qualified for a totalitarian dictatorship, there is the danger of falling between two stools. The government has not adequate control over the allocation of resources. Government has, therefore, little control over savings, yet it aims to operate Soviet

type planning. In the grip of such a dilemma arising out of its own confused thinking, the government has launched on a policy of extensive borrowing at home and abroad, of excessive taxation, and, through sheer desperation, of misuse of its currency printing presses. In its efforts at pursuing pseudo-socialist policies, the government has had to expand controls and increase non-productive expenditure. It has gone on an orgy of borrowing, mortgaging the country's future. It has taken over business concerns in spite of its inability to manage them efficiently and economically in order to exploit them for revenue purposes regardless of the consequent rise in the cost of living.

These measures have acted as deterrants to saving, investment and production, whether in agriculture or in industry. The availability of credit to agriculture has been impaired, efficient and thrifty farmers have been deterred from sinking capital in their land and have, on the contrary, been impelled to resort to precautionary fragmentation of larger holdings to escape the threatened legislation for "ceilings". As a result, agricultural output has been retarded instead of being increased.

Industry has been subjected to a wide range of governmental interference and regulation. If, despite governmental policies, industrial output has somewhat risen, it is due to the vitality of the productive forces of the Indian people. In conditions of import restrictions and a large protected market, almost any output would sell and bring returns regardless of economy and of the interests of the consumer. Figures of *per capita* income during the past three years present a picture of virtual stagnation.

Equally unfortunate have been the social effects of governmental policies. Owing to the rise in prices, agriculturists, wage earners and fixed income groups are adversely affected. Inflation inevitably produces a regressive and an anti-social shift in the distribution of the national income. Social injustice also results from controls, particularly from exchange controls and import restrictions which have resulted in undisclosed monopolies and have been rightly described as the worst form of disorder.

The benefit of the price gaps resulting from controls accrues to people in the upper income groups, persons with political influence, unscrupulous officials and others obtaining illegal payments for procuring the issue of import licences, traffickers in licences and smugglers. The resources of the State are directed into futile administrative and policing expenditure, while the law of diminishing returns is set in motion by excessive taxation.

The misguided activities of the government in the field of finance, currency, import restrictions, international payments and controls result in a pattern of distribution of the national income which is worse than before Independence.

The grinding effect of these combined pressures of stagnant income, rise in prices and excessive taxation has been particularly heavy on the middle classes which depend predominantly on fixed incomes. The middle classes, the backbone of society, are being victimised in the process.

The concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the State proceeds apace. This concentration is more dangerous than any other. The tyranny of the State, which is a total tyranny, is the biggest single threat to freedom.

The moral standards of the nation are simultaneously being undermined. Controls create scarcity in the market and give rise to corruption. Respect for law is being undermined.

The record of State Corporations and enterprises in India is evidence of the failure of the policy of nationalisation and of the incompetence of the government to run business and industrial undertakings. Such enterprises have, with exceptions, been marked by a wasteful use of resources, an unwillingness to take risks and quick decisions, red tape, a disregard of costs, and rigidity of action.

The cumulative effect of these policies

has been to create an all pervading sense of uncertainty leading to the drying up of initiative and enterprise in farms, shops and factories alike.

Statism is threatening many other spheres of life. In matters of education, independent experiments are being stifled by rigid educational codes. Text books are sought to be nationalised, introducing an element of indoctrination. Universities are losing academic independence.

In the name of secularism and by refusing grants in aid, institutions, despite the Fundamental Rights, are discouraged from giving religious education. Gifts to religious institutions are taxed. Attempts are made to convert religious orders into official parasites. Trust funds or funds appertaining to religious trusts are diverted to secular uses. In the name of saving religious institutions from maladministration, they are being placed under the control and direction of government.

All India Radio, which is a State monopoly, and the official censorship of films tend to permit only conformist talks and monitored expression, whether political or other. Documentaries, officially sponsored, focus attention on ministers and encourage hero-worship. Official patronage or fear of government is sought to be used to influence the Press which, it must be said to its credit, has so far preserved its independence with commendable tenacity.

Thus Statism is seeking directly or indirectly to absorb many activities which in a free society should be the concern of the people.

IV

Our Way

The Swatantra Party places faith in the Indian people—in their intelligence, initiative and enterprise. It has faith in the God-given strength in each individual. It believes that, by harnessing these attributes and combining them with the aspirations of the people, a fuller and richer life can result more quickly and without the tensions and strains that other methods involve. The initiative, enlightened self-interest and urge to self-expression of the individual citizen should be mobilised for the good of the community. "We cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they can do for themselves". The Party believes that, in a free society, those moral and material values which are the basis of a good life can best be produced by the people themselves.

Increased production is the result of sustained individual effort and economic surpluses derived from savings where individuals produce more than they consume. This process is dependent on the individual being encouraged to pursue his vocation urged by his own talent and interest.

The Party considers self-employed citizens to be the most valuable members of the community and will therefore do all it can to safeguard the rights and freedoms of the peasant-proprietor, the artisan, the shop-keeper and the professional man.

No system has yet been devised which gives a nation an opportunity to improve its material environment without detriment to the sense of liberty as fully as do the laws of a free society, where the consumer is the arbiter of the pattern of production, the worker has the right to choose his job and, when dissatisfied, to deny his labour, the investor is entitled to consume or to save and determine the field of his investment, and the producer to choose his vocation. This way of life was guaranteed to the citizen by the Constitution in the Fundamental Rights which include the three human freedoms, namely, the freedom to choose one's occupation; secondly, to pursue it without restraint within the limits of the Rule of Law; and lastly, to dispose of one's income between spending and saving.

A basic human trait is the sense of property. On this, along with its corollaries of competition, natural rewards for effort and

natural penalties for sloth, and the tremendous incentive that goes with the assurance that the citizen is guaranteed the full enjoyment of the results of his exertions, must necessarily be based our economic system.

The Party does not stand for what is known as *laissez faire*. It stands for free endeavour regulated by such State action as may be necessary for preventing and punishing anti-social activities and for the protection of the weaker but useful elements of society. The role of the State is a vital one of creating and sustaining an environment in which the genius of the people can fulfil itself. In pursuit of this end, the Party stands for maximum freedom for the individual and minimum interference by the State.

It is a role of the State to foster a sense of moral obligation and to encourage the pride, satisfaction and fulfilment felt by individuals in serving others—a heritage of our social and religious traditions—without taking over the management of their lives. The business of the State is not business, but government.

Energy results from differentials in level as much in the moral and economic fields as in the field of physical dynamics. We must, at the lower levels, strengthen the urge to improve one's lot, and at the other, encourage the sentiment of solidarity and the readiness to share one's possessions. These two urges are a feature of a healthy society. While there should be a constant movement upwards and downwards as a result of free will, State compulsion towards levelling tends to atrophy the spirit of enterprise at one end and to freeze that of compassion at the other. The Party, therefore, adheres to the principle of Trusteeship enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. It stands for a system of free enterprise restrained as well as enriched and reinforced by a sense of social obligation.

While the Swatantra Party rejects outright the current pattern of centralised and top-heavy planning based on totalitarian programmes, it is not opposed to planning as such. Planning must, however, be carried on within the limits of the Constitution without relaxing the care for freedom guaranteed in it. Above all, it must know where to stop.

The Party is opposed to the domination of a purely materialistic philosophy of life which thinks only in terms of economic standards without reference to the content or quality of man's life. The Party believes, that, while every step should be taken to achieve material advance, equal if not greater attention is necessary to develop those spiritual values which have been the source of the vitality of our people. It will do all it can to foster and strengthen those spiritual values which are part of our culture and tradition.

In pursuance of its fundamental principles, the Swatantra Party will make no discrimination against benefactions and charitable endowments made by donors and testators for the benefit of any community or communities of their choice but will encourage the spirit of giving for the benefit of the less privileged when the giving is either in general terms or for particular communities or for particular purposes. The Party hopes that ultimately all the underprivileged will thus be covered if free choice is given rather than by insistence on all or nothing.

V

Needs of the Common Man

The Swatantra Party holds that the first duty of a government is to meet the common man's needs of food, clothing, housing and water in adequate measure.

The Swatantra Party holds that self-sufficiency in food and raw materials is the first condition of the economy of a country like ours. Food being the principal item in the common man's budget, the production of food should be the first concern of the State. The ruling party has completely failed in this primary duty. Self-sufficiency in food production has been sacrificed to

spectacular attempts to achieve long-term projects. Essential needs like fertiliser, seed and water have not been made available to the peasant in adequate measure.

Our per capita consumption of cloth, which was 16.2 yards for 1958, dropped to 15.8 for 1959 as against 16.96 yards for 1938-39. The necessary steps to stimulate production in the textile and handloom industry have not been pursued with the vigour they demand.

The handloom, which plays a significant and sizable part in the supply of cloth and in national employment, has not been as adequately and effectively protected as it should be. The Swatantra Party will, in pursuance of its policy of protecting the weaker but productive sections of society, take all steps necessary effectively to protect the handloom as well as to stimulate production in textile mills.

The policy of imposing harassing restrictions pursued by the government retards the normal growth of house-building in both urban and rural areas. The Swatantra Party will initiate a big house-building scheme both in rural and suburban areas.

The ruling party has failed to provide adequate water supply. Minor irrigation works, which would provide adequate water supply for drinking, sanitation and agriculture in the rural areas, have been subordinated to a policy of putting up huge irrigation projects. At the beginning of the first Five Year Plan, only a small proportion of the urban population was served by protected water supply. In spite of the two Plans, very little has been done to secure additional supply. The position in the rural areas is much worse. The Swatantra Party will seek to remedy this.

VI

Agriculture

The paramount need for increasing food production can best be attained through the self-employed peasant proprietor who is interested in obtaining, and equipped to obtain, the highest yield from his land.

The Party will take all steps necessary to prevent waterlogging as well as erosion, the depletion of essential organic elements and the stripping of millions of acres of forest contributing to the violence of floods. This situation calls for capital investment and for the application of modern techniques.

Collectivisation cannot solve the problem posed by the increase in population. The Indian farmer is perfectly competent to do his job. While the average size of the Indian farm is unfortunately small, it is not as small as that of the farms in Japan which produce almost the highest yield of rice per acre in the whole world. The primary problem is therefore not that of the size of the farm but of giving the peasant the facilities and assistance he needs to undertake intensive cultivation of his land. The Swatantra Party stands for giving every kind of help to the agriculturist in the form of water, fertiliser, seeds and tools.

Alongside of this, the peasant must be provided with material and psychological inducements for greater production, in particular by making it possible for him to obtain cheap credit and a remunerative and steady price for agricultural produce in parity with the price of the goods that he has to buy. The Swatantra Party takes note of the dissatisfaction amongst the rural population that adequate attention has not been paid to their needs and will endeavour to remove all impediments that stand in their way.

In the field of taxation as in that of prices the Swatantra Party stands for a fair deal to the agriculturist. Today the bulk of India's indirect taxation has to be borne by the agriculturist. He has also to pay Land Revenue, whether or not he is able to make a profit from his land. The Swatantra Party stands for a reform of the Land Revenue system and the diverse laws relating to irrigation in order to reduce the burden on the peasant and provide for

suitable changes with reference to the conditions prevailing in various States including the earmarking of a part of land revenue for meeting expenditure in connection with insurance against crop failure due to uncontrollable causes. It is opposed to new levies on the peasant in the way of surcharges and 'betterment' taxes.

The ruling party, which has failed singularly to deal with the food problem, is seeking, in an effort to divert attention from the real issues, to advocate Marxist policies embodied in its Nagpur Resolution recently confirmed at its Bangalore Session. The problem of yield is not a problem to be solved by changing ownership, and the Swatantra Party is convinced that the Nagpur policies will, if carried out, decrease food production and reduce peasant proprietors to landless serfs labouring on collective farms like those in communist countries.

The Party believes that the cooperative movement can only serve its objective to the extent that it remains a voluntary and non-official one. The Party will therefore work for freeing cooperative societies from the present practice of official control and political exploitation. Decentralisation of political power can become a reality only if such organisations as cooperative societies and village panchayats are freed from governmental control and political influences.

The Swatantra Party believes in consumer cooperative societies, cooperative banks, industrial cooperatives and multipurpose cooperatives for the agriculturist. The Swatantra Party considers the use of the phrase 'Joint Cooperative Farming' in the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress to be calculated to mislead the people. The Nagpur Resolution envisages the pooling of land which is repugnant to the peasant's inherent sense of ownership. It will not be possible for our farmers to give up the family system and democratically and cooperatively to manage joint farms. Once the agriculturist loses his individual ownership, possession and utilisation of his farm, the free and self-respecting peasantry which is the bulwark of democracy will have gone and bureaucrats will have acquired a stranglehold on the economic, social and political life of the rural areas. The so-called right to "property" mentioned in the Resolution will become meaningless and worth no more than the scrap of paper on which it is inscribed. In point of fact, the Nagpur Resolution will replace the old zamindar with one big super zamindar, namely, the government.

The Swatantra Party holds that the claim of the ruling party that joint farming can be introduced on a voluntary basis is impracticable. The history of the world provides no example of peasants who own land having parted with it willingly. The Prime Minister's assurance on the floor of the Lok Sabha that no legislation will be introduced in connection with joint farming has already been violated by provisions in measures introduced in certain States by governments manned by the Congress Party. The Prime Minister's statement in Parliament that he would not scruple to discriminate against the farmer who is not willing to pool his land and use every form of administrative, legislative and economic pressure short only of turning off the supply of water to his farm shows that no reliance can be placed on these academic promises not to coerce the peasantry. The Swatantra Party warns the peasants of India against this danger to their ownership and possession of land which has come down to them from their forefathers from time immemorial or has been acquired from their hard earned savings. The Party stands by the peasants of India in this matter and will protect them against any attempt to filch the land away from them under the beguiling slogan of 'Joint Cooperative Farming'.

The Party deplores the attempt to misuse the concept of cooperation for advancing a system of collective farming with multiple ownership and bureaucratic management because it is calculated to confuse the minds of the people and hinder

the spread of the principles of genuine cooperation. The Swatantra Party proposes to educate the people on the distinction between genuine cooperation and State-sponsored and State-controlled projects which are being presented to the people in the name of cooperation.

The Swatantra Party rejects the scheme of ceilings on land holdings as likely further to injure efficient farming and the maximisation of the movement of food grains to industrial and urban centres. This proposal is incapable of providing land to the bulk of the landless. On the contrary, the ridiculously low ceilings proposed without reference to the laws of succession threaten to reduce the rural population permanently to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Ceilings are a device calculated to weaken the political power and capacity of the peasantry. This move will soon aggravate the problem of uneconomic farms so as to prepare the ground for compulsory collectivisation.

The attempt at setting up a State monopoly of the Foodgrains Trade enunciated at Nagpur has already failed. If persisted in, it will create yet another attack not only on lakhs of shopkeepers and dealers throughout the country who are engaged in the business of warehousing and distribution but also on millions of peasants. The establishment of a State monopoly in the Foodgrains Trade would mean that the peasant will have no freedom of choice in regard to negotiating the price of his crop and will be forced to submit to the arbitrary fixing of prices by the government monopoly under political pressure and influenced by considerations of their own.

Joint Farming, State Monopoly of the Foodgrains Trade and Ceilings will accentuate rural unemployment. There is need for special efforts to rectify the increasing pressure of population on the land by providing those who are unemployed or underemployed with other gainful employment. Such employment can only be found in industry, big and small, spread over the country and manufacturing goods to meet the people's wants.

VII

Industry and Trade

As opposed to the obsession with gigantism that dominates current governmental thinking and planning, the Swatantra Party holds with Gandhiji that a great part of the process of industrialisation must take place in a decentralised distribution of industry throughout the countryside. While a certain amount of urbanisation and organised industry is essential, equally important is the taking of industry to the villages of India where it can operate increasingly with the aid of electric power. The Party stands for the preservation of the freedom of the small and self-employed artisans, craftsmen and traders and will work for a decentralised distribution of industry. The Swatantra Party therefore stands for a programme of all round rapid industrialisation with a view to develop national resources and provide employment. It believes in a balanced development of capital goods industries, organised consumer goods industries and rural industries that afford supplementary employment in the processing of the products of agriculture.

While not opposed to the development of heavy and basic industries commensurate with the availability of resources, the Swatantra Party rejects the false and lopsided priority given to heavy industry to the neglect of cottage, organised and light industries producing consumer goods.

The Party believes that the free choice of the producer, the investor, the worker and the consumer must be given due place and importance. The Party believes in the incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprise, with adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable profits, prices and dividends in those cases

where there is no competition or where competition is not adequate to secure the necessary corrective.

While the Party believes in a mixed economy where State and free enterprise work side by side in the service of the community, it stands for the restriction of State enterprise to such heavy industries as are necessary to supplement private enterprise in that field, such national services as railways, and the starting of new enterprises which are difficult for private capital and initiative to establish. The Party is opposed to the State entering the field of trade and disturbing free distribution and introducing controls and official management and monopoly which lead to the inefficiency, waste and corruption of an ever-expanding official army.

Wherever the State enters the field of industry or business, the Swatantra Party is of the view that it should not be given a monopolistic position but should show results facing competition on equal terms.

The Party would regard such government ownership of industry as has been undertaken as only a transitional and limited device and it would not hesitate, wherever necessary, to undo such harmful measures.

In particular, the Swatantra Party will aim at reducing taxes and loans by giving up many State enterprises which are neither essential nor remunerative. This will also have the effect of reducing the present high prices which are inflated by government levies and loans. To the extent private enterprise relieves State enterprise, the burden of finance will be properly transferred from the common people who are not qualified to bear it to the enterprising rich who are willing to bear it.

The Party is gratified to note that, even in the few months that have passed since its establishment in August 1959, trends of thought in this country and throughout the world are vindicating the policies set out in its Statement of Principles adopted on August 2 at the Preparatory Convention in Bombay. The results of the British General Election last October and the general feeling that the slogan of nationalisation had caused the socialist defeat, the breaking away of democratic elements from the Socialist Party in Japan and the jettisoning of State Socialism by the German Social Democratic Party at its special Convention during November 1959, are only some of the indications of a world-wide trend against centralised, bureaucratic State Capitalism and towards the restoration of the primacy of the laws of the free market. In particular, the Party is gratified to note in the new German Socialist Manifesto the following echo of its own thinking: "Free choice of consumer goods and services, free choice of working place, freedom for employers to exercise their intiative and free competition are essential conditions of a Social Democratic economic policy. The autonomy of trade unions and employers associations in collective bargaining is an important feature of a free society. Totalitarian control of the economy destroys freedom. The Social Democratic Party therefore favours a free market wherever free competition really exists. Where a market is dominated by individuals or groups, however, all manner of steps must be taken to protect freedom in the economic sphere. As much competition as possible – as much planning as necessary."

VIII

Labour

The Swatantra Party will insist on securing for the labouring classes a voice in the determination of national policies. The Swatantra Party will strive for the economic progress, social betterment and cultural advance of agricultural, industrial and office workers. The Swatantra Party will pay particular attention to a programme of workers' education which will instil in them a wider outlook, make them conscious of their responsibilities as well as their rights and help them to realise

that they are interested not only in questions of wages and allowances, but in all matters affecting the well-being of society.

The Swatantra Party accepts the workers' right to organise themselves and through these organisations to improve the conditions of their life and work. Strong and responsible trade unions are an integral part of a democratic industrial order. Workers must be encouraged and helped to build their own unions and through them to bargain collectively with their employers regarding the terms and conditions of their employment. The Swatantra Party is not satisfied with the present position of trade unions. Most of them are managed by outsiders and many of them are playthings in the hands of political parties. The Party is keen that trade unions should grow as independent organisations of workers controlled and managed by themselves. Being opposed to the domination of trade unions by political parties, the Swatantra Party will not join the race to establish control over trade unions, though its members will be always ready to help in all possible ways.

The Swatantra Party stands for consultation and closer association between the workers and the management of industrial concerns. The Party believes that what is important in this matter is the spirit of mutual trust and cooperation and not any particular machinery. What needs to be developed is the spirit of partnership between workers and employers.

The Swatantra Party will lay emphasis on the internal settlement of disputes and will seek to reduce external interference to the barest minimum. The State should not normally interfere in industrial disputes, but should develop and keep ready machinery for conciliation and mediation to which parties in a dispute can turn in case of need. The State may also, whenever necessary, appoint courts of inquiry into the facts and merits of any dispute so that informed public opinion may exert its influence on the parties to the dispute.

Collective bargaining connotes the right to strike; if bargaining does not end in settlement, both parties should be free within the law to adopt any course of action that they think is necessary and desirable. In a free society, workers cannot be compelled to work for employers on terms and conditions that are not acceptable to them. They must have the right of individual as well as collective withdrawal of labour. It is, however, desirable in the larger interests of society to minimise, as far as possible, the resort to strikes by workers and to lockouts by employers. That objective can be achieved through the development of collective bargaining and through the acceptance of the method of voluntary arbitration for the settlement of disputes. The Swatantra Party will strive for the acceptance of these procedures by employers and employees.

The Swatantra Party stands for a good wage for a good day's work. Both the wage as well as the work should be rightly determined and provision should be made for the increase of the wage along with the increase of productivity and the prosperity of industry. Workers must be also assured safe, sanitary and pleasant conditions of work and an adequate measure of social security through provision for sickness, unemployment and old age. It is also necessary to attend to the workers' need for housing.

One of the fundamental problems before the country is that of unemployment. The Swatantra Party will devote particular attention to the opening up of new avenues of employment. The Party will endeavour to find work for all unemployed and able-bodied persons seeking it in State projects of road-making, afforestation and construction of buildings and reservoirs, as well as in private projects of housing and small industries subsidised to the extent necessary to facilitate absorption of unemployed manpower. The Party does not favour the use of machines where time is not of the essence and human labour can be employed instead.

The Party is particularly concerned about the conditions of agricultural labourers which are deplorable and it will strive to improve their conditions. The Party also believes that cultivable land still in the possession of the government awaiting development should not be reserved for joint farming but should be allowed in sizeable holdings to as many agricultural workers as possible to enable them to become self-employed peasant proprietors. The problem of the landless labourer is in many cases an aspect of the problem of unemployment. The Swatantra Party will try to help the opening of new avenues of employment.

In accordance with the economic policies for which the Swatantra Party stands, namely, the employment of the bulk of the available resources in agriculture and light industries, in both of which vast scope for expansion exists, the Indian national income should increase at a much faster rate. Maximisation of output would overcome both poverty and unemployment simultaneously. It is the Party's conviction that, if the economic policies it has put forward are accepted and vigorously pursued, they will bring prosperity and employment as no other policies can. In the last analysis, the welfare and advancement of workers are dependent upon the progress and prosperity of society as a whole.

IX

The Constitution and the Rule of Law

The Swatantra Party holds that the foundations of a true and prosperous society were well and truly laid by the Fathers of the Constitution. The Party will work to restore to the citizen the Fundamental Rights in the form in which they were guaranteed by the Constitution as it was originally adopted. They were later whittled down by the ruling party to suit its totalitarian approach.

The Constituent Assembly while laying down the form of government made it clear that free India would be a Union of States vested with a large measure of autonomy. Contrary to this plain intention, the ruling party has steadily drawn to the Centre increasing authority so that the States have little more than the power of Local Boards, depending upon the Centre for almost everything. The Swatantra Party will seek to correct this and restore to the States the measure of autonomy provided by the Constitution. In such a large country as ours, decentralisation of authority, which could give scope for self-government of regions without disturbing national harmony or hindering the central authority in its functions, should be the guiding principle. The Swatantra Party will seek to emphasize and spread the principles and practice of federalism and decentralisation in all spheres of public life, consistent with the Constitution.

The Swatantra Party is of the view that the ruling party has made an unconscionable use of its power to destroy or cripple property rights in the country, more particularly in regard to rural areas where the interest of the small man is concerned. The Swatantra Party will seek to rectify this misuse of power, particularly in regard to discriminatory expropriation and the fixing and payment of compensation.

Under the present regime, the Rule of Law is being undermined by a tendency among politicians in power to interfere in the judicial and administrative processes. Such interference in the normal judicial processes takes the shape of either withdrawing prosecutions or, even after the offenders are convicted, of remitting the sentences under party or group pressure. The Rule of Law should not be interfered with by politicians or by parties in power.

The concept of the socialist pattern, the content and implications of which vary from time to time as it suits the ruling party, is also having a deleterious effect on the judiciary which is sometimes persuaded to accept a "welfare" motive behind the

otherwise unjustifiable actions of the government.

The Party stands for the Rule of Law and an independent judiciary. It will work for the full restoration of the powers of judicial review essential for the maintenance of the Rule of Law and it deprecates the trend in current legislation of excluding the jurisdiction of the Courts and of giving vast descretionary powers to administrative authorities and tribunals.

The Swatantra Party will also restore the supremacy of the people and Parliament by disbanding the National Planning Commission which has tended to bring into being a non-responsible super-government, and will free Cabinet Ministers and members of the Union and State governments from the extra-constitutional intervention of the National Planning Commission.

The Party believes that the appropriate organisation for planning the affairs of the nation and submitting the annual programme is the Cabinet responsible to Parliament and the people and that, while the Government may resort to such expert assistance as it desires, there should be no other body which can influence the making of policy affecting the life of the nation.

X

Public Administration

The Swatantra Party will work for providing the country with the clean and good government which today is its most vital need. The Party stands for efficiency and integrity in the Services. It believes that the public services in India can be as good as in any other country. If, in spite of their hard work and loyalty, the administration is inefficient, it is because they are prevented from performing their functions in the most efficient manner by the unreasonable and politically-motivated interference in their day-to-day work by Ministers of the Union Government and State Governments and other members of the ruling party. The Swatantra Party is opposed to any form of political pressure being put on officials in the course of the fair and just discharge of their duties.

The Party believes that it is in the interest of the public services that recruitment should be restricted in the way of quantum and quality. The Congress Government's indiscriminate recruitment of a horde of six million government servants has resulted in debasing the value of the official, lowering his status and increasing public expenditure.

The Party is against the expansion of the bureaucratic machinery with a hierarchy of officials asked to do work which is best done by citizens and private agencies, resulting in unproductive waste of national resources. The Party reminds the people of what the Father of the Nation firmly held that "that government is best which governs the least".

The Party is of the view that, while efficiency of administration is necessary, its integrity is the very essence of good government. It will therefore endeavour to set up a supreme authority to whom an appeal can be made by individuals who suffer injustice as a result of administrative action such as cannot be remedied otherwise. There is necessity for such an authority where Party government prevails. There is precedent for it in the countries of Scandinavia where the Ombudsman is a non-Party man elected by Parliament and invested with wide powers of investigation and access to official papers. He is an officer of very high status and acts on the complaint of any citizen who has a grievance and seeks justice.

XI

Education

The Party believes that every citizen has the fundamental right to educate his children according to his choice in a free atmosphere untrammelled by official directives. The Party will work for full facilities for such education without discrimination such as by refusing grants or putting

restrictions and handicaps where religious education suitable to various denominations is given.

The Swatantra Party will encourage efficient private schools which will not only relieve the government of expenditure but set up competitive standards.

The solution of the problem of unemployment concerning the educated youth is not to reduce him to the dull and unremunerative life of an under-worked clerk in a government office, but to ensure that the quality of the education he receives facilitates his absorption in industry or trade or the professions, all of which could employ more persons than they do today if allowed to expand and prosper.

The Party takes note of the great interest shown by young persons in colleges and universities in the politics of the country and in particular in the Swatantra Party's programme. The Party is of the view that in free India, while students even before graduation should acquire some knowledge of the various trends in political thought, they should, while engaged in college life, abstain from active participation in the furtherance of any political party. Whatever other parties may be doing, the Swatantra Party is of the view that there should be no encouragement given to the division of students into groups related to the political parties of the country although they may be free to express and discuss their views in their own College Unions. Students above the prescribed age are no doubt eligible for membership of the Party and are welcome if they seek it. Students may form study circles for the appreciation of political and economic problems but, in the interest of discipline, the Party is of the view that it should not encourage the formation of political groups inside universities and colleges.

XII

National Defence

While the Party has yet to formulate its policy in regard to the various aspects of India's international relations, the aggression committed by Communist China against our country and the occupation of many thousands of square miles of Indian territory by a foreign power create a crisis in the field of national defence. The Swatantra Party urges that a firm and vigilant policy should be followed at least from now on in dealing with the Chinese Communist aggression against India. When our territorial integrity has been violated and our soil occupied by a communist power, the concept of non-alignment has little meaning. Our policy therefore now needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation. In the Party's view, this is not the time for ideological adventures in domestic policy. The measures necessary for ensuring the country's security and defence include: the settlement of outstanding issues with Pakistan and serious consideration of the offer made by Pakistan for collaboration in the defence of the sub-continent; collaboration with the countries of South and South-East Asia with a view to concerted measures for the security of the region; and vigilance against infiltration and fifth column activities.

The maintenance of high morale among the officers and men of the country's Defence Services, who are a fine body of patriotic men, will be a matter of special concern to the Party. To this end, the Party will press for providing conditions which will attract the right kind of men in adequate numbers. Further, we would like to see the fighting forces equipped suitably to perform the tasks that may be entrusted to them. Finally, we recognise the importance of keeping the Services free from political influence and manipulation.

XIII

The Party with a Difference

The Swatantra Party is a Party with a difference. It believes that the present trend followed in India and elsewhere by which political parties dominate more and

more the thoughts, activities and lives of their members is one that needs to be reversed. The Party holds that democracy is best served if every political party allows freedom of expression to its members on all matters falling outside the fundamental principles of the Party. The Swatantra Party therefore gives its members, whether in Parliament, legislatures or elsewhere, the fullest liberty on all questions not falling within the scope of its Principles and Statement of Policy. In particular, members of the Party will, in contrast to the way in which dissenting members of certain other parties are treated, be given an opportunity to express themselves in regard to the formulation of the Party's policies.

XIV

Our Goal

And so the Swatantra Party sets out on its mission of winning for the individual citizen freedom in the context of democratic life which the struggle for national independence won for the nation. It will complete the work of training the people in and for freedom which Mahatma Gandhi had begun and which continued until the Congress became a mere political party contrary to Gandhiji's advice. The Swatantra Party is a Party that the country needs in order to fulfil its destiny—the Party of ordered progress in and through freedom.

"I look upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear, because although while apparently doing good by minimising exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which is at the root of all progress.

"The State represents violence in a concentrated and organised form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.

"It is my firm conviction that if the State suppressed Capitalism by violence, it will be caught in the coil of violence itself and fail to develop nonviolence at any time.

"What I would personally prefer, would be, not a centralisation of power in the hands of the State but an extension of the sense of trusteeship; as in my opinion the violence of private ownership is less injurious than violence of the State. However, if it is unavoidable, I would support a minimum of State ownership.

"What I disapprove is an organisation based on force which a State is. Voluntary organisation there must be."

— *Mahatma Gandhi*

Moral Bankruptcy

HERE is a party that sits in office and spends all the time at its disposal this year in selling or promising or indirectly binding itself to sell to individuals, favours and monopolies large or small according to capacity, under the deceptive name of a controlled economy.

Controls are bad and cause more real harm to the economy than any good that is innocently calculated to issue therefrom. But when they are used just for the purpose of favouring some and disfavouring others according as they favour the ruling clique or oppose it, they become unadulterated evil.

The wide world knows how what I have said above is true. Everyone wants this permit-and-licence-raj should go and our economy freed from this post-war pestilence. I have undertaken a herculean task. Not only are the Augean stables heavily laden with evil, but the very victims that suffer are afraid to rise in revolt lest they meet immediate and fatal victimisation. They are not confident that my mission will succeed and dread to be in a losing battle. May God give them the courage that comes only from His grace, the courage which enabled all the battles of history to end in victory for the right cause against seemingly heavy odds.

The Congress party hopes to win with its three weapons, (1) astronomical sums of money collected from industrial, transport and other bosses at the point of the dagger, (2) the electoral advantage that helps a party in office in a land unused to real democracy, and whose tradition is to bow before official authority and (3) the opportunity a party in power has to win when its multiple opponents vote so to say, against one another.

Taking the last first, I hope and believe that the folly of being divided into mutually counteracting groups, giving a chance to the Congress to get away with it through a gap in the triangle will be realised in time. The fallacy of egalitarian socialism based on envy and ignorance of the mechanism of wealth-production, I trust will also be realised, and the socialism of the Congress rejected by every party. It is not socialism but just a cover for selling monopolies and favours. Much more honesty than is available in the Congress party is required to give a proper foundation for any policy of controlled economy to do good. The most expedient policy is free competition among producers and distributors so that the public at large, the consumers, may be the arbiters and not the monopoly-and-favours-selling clique in office.

As for the advantages accruing from being in office and having the power to victimise, the sooner the unfortunate sufferers throw off fear and make a bid for liberty, the better. One more victory for the Congress party would mean undiluted and unqualified arrogance and tyranny with no hope in the future for freedom. We must expose victimisations to public gaze, which would turn the tables on the Congress party at the elections and help to put an end to this barbarity which is inconsistent with the freedoms guaranteed in all democratic governments. Victimisation is not so profitable a game when the elections are near; and the Congress bosses know this.

Lastly, money power. Let me share with the public my faith that God will not allow this blackmailed accumulation of money-power to win. This world is not a place to live in, if indeed money alone could win parliamentary elections. Let money flow. Ill-gotten money had better get disbursed as soon as possible. It will not help but will soon breed its jealousies and quarrels. The people will vote against the ruling party for its bad administration. The falsehood of its promises is felt by all. Whoever takes the voters to the booth, whatever be the conveyance supplied and

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whatever be the scale of entertainments and the bribery, I feel there will be a tempestuous vote against the ruling clique. The money collected will be spent to no purpose.

The Congress party's total dependence on ill-gotten money and on its ministers holding office during the elections, and its anxiety to keep opposition parties apart, conclusively prove its moral bankruptcy. People will rise in revolt and refuse to give it a further lease of authority.

I may be all wrong in my beliefs. But I cling to a faith that is founded on *Satyameva jayate* and Divine rule. Let us trust that Power and fight the battle for freedom, for *swatantra* in life and occupation.

A friend writes to me from Italy, one who was in India for a long time during an acute phase of our struggle for freedom; he writes to say that he 'imagines I am a humanitarian who does not believe in the stupidity of egalitarianism'. He is quite right. The egalitarian socialism of the Congress is a fallacy and a fraud, a mere election-carrot for the donkey the Congress takes the electorate to be. We must kick the rider down from our back, rider and carrot. The mechanism of wealth-production is something quite different from the socialism of the Congress, which ignores the incentive, the capital, the frugal management and the output of work needed for increase of wealth.

The Congress brand of socialism makes the rich richer through the monopolies and privileges the party sells to them. It makes the poor poorer by reason of the rising prices resulting from the inflation brought about by its improvident plan expenditure and deficit financing. The Congress brand of socialism does not reduce but makes greater the difference between rich and poor; and this, both materially and spiritually, through the class conflict it generates.

The creed of the Congress trusting in officials and their capacity in preference to private producers and distributors is ruinous to workers and ruinous to all concerned. The loss and ruin are already there but covered by foreign aid and loans and the mystification of Government accounts. The gigantic parasitism on foreign aid is a demonstration of the dependence we have involved ourselves in by our foolish and un-Gandhian ambitions after Independence. The situation judged even from the mere material angle is one of deplorable dependence making a ludicrous show on the background of non-alignment.

(from "Swarajya" of March 4, 1961)

"Gandhiji defined democracy as 'the art and science of mobilizing the entire physical, economic and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all.' It would be a negation of democracy, he said, if the Government did everything for the people and people did nothing, or if the Government prevented them from doing anything they wanted to do. A Government worth the name had to show the nation how to face the handicaps of life through their own collective effort instead of its being effortlessly helped to live any how."

—From an article by Pyarelal in 'Hindustan Times' of Oct. 2, 1958.



THE BEGINNING – BOMBAY, AUGUST 1959

THE DAIS – CHOWPATTY, BOMBAY, AUGUST 1960





Prof. N. G. Ranga – Patiala, March 1960

Mr. M. R. Masani – Karnal, Punjab, August 1960



Why Swatantra and Why Not Congress?

WE sincerely believe that the Swatantra Party is a progressive force in Indian Politics. It stands for freedom for every person to achieve the highest worldly attainment and noblest human satisfaction that he is capable of and wishes to aim at. It wants to create such suitable and satisfactory environment within freedom as to enable him to rise to whatever position he is capable of and wishes for and thus achieve happiness.

The Swatantra Party is opposed to every type of exploitation. It stands for a non-exploitative social structure. It will try to eliminate all such social institutions and forces as cannot function and progress without causing avoidable exploitation of one person by another, of one institution or class by another, of some people by others. In this, it makes no distinction between individuals, classes, institutions, governmental and social authorities. It is afraid that Governmental authorities and agents are even more capable of exploiting people than private persons, institutions or organisations.

Such is not the faith of the Congress or Communist or Socialist parties. They have a blissful faith in the so-called inherent capacity of Governments and their agents ever to will and promote the welfare of all persons. And the experiences of the Soviet, Fascist and such other types of States have demonstrated the greater liability or tendency of Governments and their bureaucracies to cause limitless and often, inescapable exploitation of large sections of people for the sake of perpetuating their power and maintaining their inevitable inefficiency.

The Swatantra Party demands that Government should prove every one of its claims for extension of State Authority by its capacity to widen the area of Civil freedoms of people. But the Congress Party is not prepared to accept such salutary and essential limitation on the extension of State Authority. So, while the Swatantra Party is basically opposed to bureaucratisation of Public life, the Congress Party surrenders peoples' rights to bureaucracy.

The Swatantra Party is convinced that it is conducive to national progress if citizen's right for freedom and civic opportunities is exercised in such a way as not to militate against public interest and also that citizens should be helped to exercise their rights in such a way as to contribute to the sum total of public interest which should in its turn further broaden the scope of civic freedoms. Therefore, it would help towards the simultaneous and harmonious growth of individual Freedoms and Human Rights as well as civic opportunities for all. But the Congress Party is busy whittling down the very Fundamental Rights which were enshrined in the original Constitution of India and which indeed embody the basic and historic freedoms of all human beings, established by the progress of humanity towards humanism. Its passion for statism has become so overpowering that it has been exploiting the conception of public interest as an unholy weapon to destroy the fundamental rights of citizens. The Swatantra Party is determined to wage a relentless war against this Statism or Congressism.

The Swatantra Party believes that to live and work, to earn and save, to attempt, to possess property and inherit and accumulate and seek to bequeath it to one's relatives, friends or the public are rights which are most essential for the sustenance and development of the personality and freedom of all human beings. Even in socialist countries, these rights and their value in providing incentives for more

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intensive and better work and production are coming to be increasingly recognised. But the Congress Party has turned its face against these most essential elements to social progress and has, therefore, begun to undermine the security of property, question the claim of people whose properties are being taken over by the State for full and just compensation and arrogate to the State the right to decide the fate of the citizen's property, that is, the accumulated fruits of their congealed labour, according its own dictates, without any right of appeal to Courts. The Swatantra Party opposes this unsocial and arbitrary policy of the Congress.

The Swatantra Party is totally opposed to concentration of power, in social, economic, political and all other spheres of life. So, it will seek every opportunity to diffuse, distribute or decentralise such power, whether it is held by the State and its institutions or by persons or combinations of industrial or commercial magnates or joint-stock concerns or trusts. The Congress Party is, on the other hand, too keen on increasing the powers of the State and its agencies and institutions, and decreasing the powers, privileges and freedoms of the people; a retrograde move. Even the so-called *Gram Raj* institutions and co-operative societies, temple and trust management and quasi public corporations are being exploited though in name they are said to conduce to diffusion of authority as additional agencies of the State to minister to the needs of bureaucracy and the Ruling Party.

The Swatantra Party will not allow the State to take upon itself such social, industrial or commercial functions and activities which can be carried on equally well by the private citizen; through their own private or public concerns. In view of the proved inefficiency of the state in spheres of industry and trade and its liability to destroy people's freedom, thanks to the socialist failures of the past forty years all over the world, the Swatantra Party demands that the State (and its bureaucracy) should demonstrate its greater capacities and efficiency and the failure of the citizens' voluntary efforts in any sphere, before it can be allowed to venture upon those spheres and thus dwarf the opportunities available to the citizen at large to display their enterprise, initiative and organising and productive capacities. It follows, therefore, that nationalisation of industries, and socialisation of agriculture and trades and commerce, or State monopoly in any sphere should be an exception and not the rule and could be undertaken only in national emergencies like war or when citizens' efforts have demonstrably failed to serve society.

But to the Congress and Communist Parties, this faith in citizens' efforts and people's enterprise is anathema.

The Swatantra Party is, however, determined, to explore every means to prevent the exploitation of society as a whole or any section of it by joint-stock concerns or trusts or other combinations of private enterpreneurs. There is, therefore, no truth in the allegation that as had happened during the early decades of the last century in Europe and this century in the United States and Japan, the Swatantra Party would pursue anti-social capitalistic policies. Indeed, it will seek to regulate and guide peoples' enterprise from the Gandhian approach to social conscience and humanism.

While the Congress Party looks upon private or corporate capital and people's enterprise as the enemies of public interest and treats all those engaged in trade and commerce as public enemies, the Swatantra Party looks upon peasants, industrialists and merchants as self-reliant and constructive elements of society deserving of respect and encouragement and guidance consistently with public interest and enable them to render constructive and non-exploitative service to society.

The Swatantra Party is keen on developing our social economy on Gandhian lines of self-employment, industrial self-governance, decentralised economic enter-

prise and power and diffused property. It is, therefore, opposed to the Congress plans for more and more centralisation of economic enterprise and initiative, power and privilege in State enterprises and their bureaucracy. It considers the present Congress Five-Year Plans and Planning Commission as being destructive of the very foundation of India's traditional plan and practice of economic self-governance and self-employment. It is convinced that only through the reconstruction and re-orientation of India's social economy and Gandhian principles of decentralisation and democratisation of social life, India's progress towards full-fledged democracy can be ensured.

One of the most destructive means adopted by the Congress Party to weaken people's sense of security of property and their incentive to earn, save and invest more and thus promote economic development is its growing and unashamed resort to inflation. By pretending to promote its schemes of industrial development through inflation, the Congress Party is withdrawing also invisibly the real value out of people's investment in banks, Government bonds, provident funds, Savings Certificates, etc., and also currency. The middle classes who suffer so much in order to save a portion of their hard-earned incomes are ostensibly the worst sufferers. But the working classes and peasantry suffer equally because the value of their wages and incomes is being defrauded by the Congress Governments' inflation. The Congress regime has withdrawn from every rupee more than 40% of its real value and threatens to continue this vicious process of defrauding the common people. The Swatantra Party is opposed to this. It questions the Congress assertion that inflation is inevitable in the development of planned economy. It maintains that without inflation, planned development of employment and enterprise is possible. It does not however, wish to resort to deflation. It only wants to stop inflation and help people to find adequate accommodation for credit from Banks, Investment Trusts and even from the Government to develop our economy. In this and other ways, it wants to protect the value of people's property and enterprise and thus respect in its true spirit the fundamental right guaranteed by the constitution under the original article No. 31.

The Swatantra Party is keen on helping the public to help themselves in all their social and economic activities. It does not believe in either spoon-feeding them and thus robbing them of the incentive to be self-reliant or destroying their initiative, enterprise and self-employment and thus turning them into mere robots. Therefore, it is anxious to encourage them to develop their protective armour through co-operative movement. It will encourage all types of Service Co-operatives, providing from credit to ware-housing facilities, from consumers' stores to refrigerators and re-drying plants for perishable goods, from processing manufacturing plants like sugar factories to spinning mills and Saw mills, with the special purpose of strengthening the self-employed producers, working on their own or rented lands, in their cottages, or in their shops. It is, however, opposed to all such collective enterprises destructive of self-employment, masquerading as Co-operative Farms, Co-operative Power-loom factories etc., which are being started and encouraged by the Congress Party as a part of its national campaign for socialism.

The Swatantra Party is conscious of the national waste caused by the failure of more than 80% of the existing Service Co-operatives to live up to their aims and plans and to function in a truely democratic manner, free from factions and corruption and wants priority to be given to their revitalisation and reformation. It will certainly try to help further development of Service Co-operatives, but they must be freed from State controls and regulations and also from political influence. It is opposed to Congress proposals to devote tens of crores of Rupees to its destructive plans to build up through State Subsidies

and coercive powers, alternatives to the noble and progressive citadels of freedom, namely, the peasant and artisan economies of self-employment.

The Congress Party has so far failed with all its control over the State Apparatus to demonstrate where and when and to what major degree, has co-operative farming succeeded in providing larger quantum of employment, greater production *per capita* or per acre, higher incomes and rising standard of living for peasants than what the peasant economy is achieving. The Swatantra Party is convinced that peasant economy has afforded so much of economic and social freedom and incentives for the growth and display of peasant's personality, besides contributing towards soil-protection, timely and efficient cultivation and progressive production. The Swatantra Party knows that, on the other hand, wherever it has been tried co-operative farming failed in democratic countries and has proved to be the first step in the descent of self-employed peasants into the abysmal depths of economic wage-slavery and social loss of personality. Hence, its spirited opposition to the Congress plans for joint co-operative farming.

The Congress Party has pitched its faith in large-scale industries and Sovietised or Americanised industrial and commercial trusts, which are all so unsuited to India's too large population and their traditionally planned and decentralised and productive enterprises with their more than hundred crores of self-employed toilers. The hollowness of its professions of loyalty to Gandhian faith in such decentralised economy is exposed by its plans for building up through State Subsidies, the so-called co-operative factories for Power-looms and Co-operative Farms. The Swatantra Party will try to lay special emphasis on labour, intensive productive and commercial processes with a view to giving priority to the need for employment of our masses. While encouraging the development of large-scale productive enterprises, it will expect such enterprises to produce all such producers' goods, as are needed by the self-employed masses, in their productive activities. It will assiduously explore and pursue all such possibilities as can derive the maximum advantages of large-scale production, as well as the highest degree of self-employment and largest production and standard of living of the masses engaged in small-scale units of economic enterprise. The Congress has set its face against such a Gandhian approach.

The Swatantra Party charges that the Congress Party has wasted enormous national resources by devoting them mostly to State enterprises and avoiding the utilisation of people's enterprise. For instance, Congress Governments have invested crores on State enterprises and derived hardly 60 nP. profit on Rs. 100 investment. Moreover, by giving monopoly rights to most of these State enterprises, the Congress regime has encouraged costly, inefficient and unsatisfactory productive effort and defrauded the concerned consumers. While professing opposition to concentration of power, monopoly etc., it has engendered monopolist, costly, unproductive and unprofitable State enterprises. Not being satisfied with this wastage of time, resources and creation of wasteful and costly monopoly power of the State in the economic sphere, the Congress Party proposes to gain control over all available capital from internal and external sources and devote during the next five years more than Rs. 6,000 crores out of the estimated total of Rs. 10,000 crores to the further development of similar State enterprises. The Swatantra Party wants that priority should be given to National interests and not to Statism. Therefore, people's enterprise, which has demonstrated its capacity to produce better and cheaper goods, yield higher dividends on the capital and labour invested and be amenable to nationally competitive forces of production and servicing, should be encouraged and preferred, except when it is proved to have failed to subserve national interests.

The Congress Party has developed a

fancy and partiality to socialist means of controls and compulsions, licences and permits to throttle and squeeze out people's enterprise and levy its toll, party-wise and State-wise. All its fifteen years of Control Regime has cramped and dwarfed the natural growth of national economic enterprise. It has weakened the spirit of self-reliance and adventure and independence of the business and industrial cadres of our people. The whole of our people's enterprise is made to feel itself shackled and suspect and kept under sentence of death, to be executed by the State at its will and pleasure. No wonder, foreign entrepreneurs who were so enthusiastic, soon after the attainment of our national freedom, have grown shy about entering into partnership with our national entrepreneurs and the latter's daring efforts to gain the partnership of foreign capital and know-how were smothered by the Congress regime of socialistic planning. The Swatantra Party is opposed to this Soviet-oriented policy of controls and wants the State to play the role of friend, promoter and protector of people's enterprise. State enterprises may be developed in certain spheres as a competitor but not as an alternative to people's enterprise. There is already in India state enterprise and even monopoly in many more spheres than what is found to be the case in Socialist England and New Deal America. So, the Swatantra Party will see that State monopoly is not extended to any more spheres unless its indispensability in true public interest is clearly demonstrated.

The Congress Party has pitched its faith in borrowing enormous sums from abroad on a Government-to-Government basis and from the United Nations sources. This policy is leading our country towards national bankruptcy, since the Rs. 600 crores of interest charges by the end of Third Plan—and the burden of repayment will be far beyond the national capacity to achieve surplus of exports over imports. Moreover, such a Congress policy leads to wasteful adventures in state enterprises. If on the other hand, foreign entrepreneurs are encouraged to join hands with our national entrepreneurs in developing our industries and commerce, then our foreign liabilities can be minimised and kept within our national capacity to repay. The Swatantra Party will, therefore, pursue such a constructive policy of achieving economic progress by sponsoring protective and progressive partnership between national and foreign entrepreneurs and know-how resources.

The Congress Regime has become notorious for its fascination for levying ever higher burdens of taxation upon the rich as well as the common people of our country in a daredevil fashion. It threatens, without as much as an apology, to levy another pall of Rs. 1,600 crores of additional taxation during the next five years. Even the Estimates Committee has had to exclaim that in one year alone as much as Rs. 90 crores of tax revenues were raised for the purpose of fulfilling certain planned schemes, but the Government failed to undertake those works. This process of levying in an irresponsible manner additional tax burden for financing unproductive and non-urgent, fanciful projects has become the hallmark of the Congress Regime. The Swatantra Party wants to call a halt to this suicidal policy of sacrificing this and the next two or three generations of our people for the sake of the totalitarian policies and plans of the Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi pleaded for a welfare society; so does the Swatantra Party. But the Congress Party stands for the welfare state and its concomitant, socialist and totalitarian state, contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. The Swatantra Party wishes to inculcate with the aid of the votaries of all religious and social leaders, the spirit of compassion and mutual voluntary service, but the Congress Party has chosen to follow the irreligious Soviet type of Statism to force people to work for each other through its bureaucracy. The result of this State-induced plan-

expenditure, budgeting and inflation is what the Prime Minister has admitted that the poor have become the poorer. The Swatantra Party is opposed to this mad planning and its bad results.

The strangest phenomenon of the Congress Regime is that while it has been devoting more than a thousand crores since 1947 for the so called Social Services, Community Development, so much of which has gone to waste, even according to the Prime Minister, it has failed to utilise the State's Services to bring the more than 10 crores of acres of Government's waste land under cultivation and distribute it among the land-hungry agricultural workers. It has also failed to assure our peasant masses stable and economic prices for their produce and protect them from the ravages of inflation and political pressures for one-sided slumping of agricultural prices. The Congress Governments have wasted more than Rs. 900 crores on so called Agricultural Development while discouraging peasants from investing in their land improvements, through its so called Land Reforms. Why has the Congress Regime failed to provide this minimum protection to the vast agricultural masses? Why has it, on the other hand, raised its mailed fist against landholders and fixed too low ceiling rates? Why does it want to single out peasants for such discriminative treatment? Because, it has been intriguing against the continuation of peasant economy. Because it wants to collectivise agriculture through the deceptive means of co-operative farming.

The Swatantra Party, on the other hand, will give priority for a protective and promotional policy and programme for agriculturists.

The Congress Party is furthering urbanisation of our population. The Swatantra Party wishes to sustain and improve the cheaper, healthier and socially wholesome rural atmosphere of India in the Gandhian manner. The Congress Party is neglecting the housing, water supply, public health and educational needs of the common man in preference to exhibitionist urbanisation. The Swatantra Party has chosen to concentrate on the fulfilment of these most elementary social needs of our masses.

The Congress Regime has intensified the war time process of controls, permits, regimentation and bureaucratisation of public's contacts with the Government. The growing tentacles of centralised planned economy are strengthening both the bureaucracy and the Congress Party's exploitation of that bureaucracy. The evil influences of Congress bosses with those growing social circles, which are obliged to win the good-will of the bureaucracy are demoralising our public life. Thus, all the evils of the 'New Class' and bureaucracy and technocracy have grown to poison the well-springs of our national life and freedom. The Swatantra Party wages a relentless war against these evil tendencies. It seeks to establish a non-partisan, impartial, honest and efficient administration. It wants to free bureaucracy from its present humiliating subjection to party bosses; minimise society's dependence upon that bureaucracy and thus liberate the people from this eliphantiases of Statism.

So many more aspects of our social life have to be liberated from the deadening influences of Soviet planning and the partisan administration and unholy politics of the Congress Regime. Other writers will lay greater stress upon some of the points mentioned herein and touch upon other aspects of our social life, which are in need of protection from the Congress Regime and its Planning.

In conclusion, we have to remember that it is high time to call a halt to this Soviet Planning of Nehru's Regime. To help our society to recapture the inspiring breath of Gandhian principles and planning, the Swatantra Party has undertaken this Herculean task of helping people to help themselves by voting the Congress Party out of power and enthroning Dharma and Humanism, in place of Sovietism and Adharma.

We can and Should Resist Chinese Communist Aggression

THE Prime Minister's foreign policy has won him the support of the Communist Party. This development recalls a similar situation that arose in 1924 when the first British Labour Government came to power. The British Communist Party then asked Moscow—in a fashion that still prevails—"What shall we do? What is our attitude to the Macdonald Government?" And Lenin's answer is historic: "We shall support Mr. MacDonald," he wrote back, "as the rope supports the hanged man." This is just about the value of the current Communist support to the Congress Government's policies.

The past is a good guide to the future. What is the record of a decade's relationship with the Chinese Communist regime? Going through the White Papers and the correspondence concerning Chinese aggression against India published by our Government, three or four impressions are left on one's mind. The first is that the Chinese actions right from 1954 onwards, almost from the time that we signed the Panchsheel agreement, had shown a grand design. They are all facets of the same mind at work.

On the other hand, on our side, we find a sad failure to react to this consistent policy of probing and trying to find out how much nonsense we would stand. We wrote apologetic notes, always asking: "Do you really know what your people are doing?", as if after the first or second incident there was any doubt on the subject as to what the Chinese Government was telling its troops to do. The Chinese, on their part, accused us of aggression, of planning military action against them from "land, sea and air". That is the second impression one gets. It is a desire to avoid a clash, putting that aim above even the defence of India's territory.

The third impression one gets is a sad one about the suppression of facts from Parliament and people. The Prime Minister wrote to Mr. Chou En-lai that he did this because he hoped to settle the matter without letting the people know so that they did not get excited. Whatever the intention, the result was exactly the opposite. Mr. Chou En-lai was greatly encouraged when he found that Mr. Nehru was not taking the people into confidence. He was encouraged when he found that the Parliament of India was being denied facts to which it was entitled from the Prime Minister. This suppression is a grave act. I do not know if the full consciousness of its implications has sunk into the mind of our people yet, but I do believe that the Prime Minister will have a heavy responsibility before the bar of history for this action of which he has been guilty.

The fourth thing is our neglect to raise the boundary issue in time. Mr. Chou En-lai explains in his letter to Mr. Nehru on January 23, 1959, why they did not raise it. It makes very good sense. He says that conditions were not "ripe" for China to raise the boundary issue with us. He said: "We are now proceeding to take certain steps in making preparations." We know what those "preparations" were—to lull us into a false sense of security and then to nibble at our territory, to bring their forces up to the frontier armed in a way superior to our own. Those preparations were made all the time. We understand their tactics.

But what about ours? Why did we not from 1950 onwards raise the matter of our frontiers? In 1954, we signed a treaty

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selling out the independence of Tibet. We cheerfully allowed a valuable buffer State that separated us from China to disappear. In 1954 we put our signature to that deed.

It was criminal negligence on the part of our Government at least not to get a *quid pro quo*. I will not for the moment argue on moral grounds. There was a time when our Prime Minister was fond of saying that freedom and peace are indivisible. He said it about Czechoslovakia, but he forgot to say it in the case of Tibet. On the point of sheer national interest and cold-blooded foreign policy, should we not have asked in return for a guarantee of the MacMahon Line and the Ladakh frontiers before we accepted the conquest of Tibet? Why was that not done?

I hope it is not too unkind to suggest that it was not done because the people of India would not have tolerated this policy of appeasement any longer if they had known the facts. In other words, the Prime Minister put a particular policy to which he was wedded above the vital interests of this country. If the Indian people had known in 1956 or 1957 about the aggression that had already been perpetrated, *Panchsheel* would have "lost its lustre" in the eyes of the Indian people earlier and that would have done the country a great deal of good. We would have been forewarned; we would have been fore-armed; we would have deployed our troops and equipped them. All this, we were not able to do because, instead of drawing our attention to the real menace about which they knew, our Government directed our attention to the frontiers of Pakistan rather than the frontiers of China, and let our troops be caught off guard.

The story goes back to 1950. Ever since the Chinese Communist revolution, a policy of sentimental misreading of history has been inflicted on this country. For ten long years, we were told that China was always a peace-loving country. Now the Prime Minister says: "No, for 2000 years they have been expansionist."

In Parliament, in the debate on December 6 and 7, 1950, nineteen Members spoke. Out of them, ten Members warned the Prime Minister that the invasion of Tibet was the first step to the invasion of India. Among those who gave this warning were Acharya Kripalani, Mr. Frank Anthony, Prof. N. G. Ranga, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, the present Speaker Mr. M. A. Ayyangar, and myself. The Prime Minister called us as escapists.

There was another warning. Mr. Mao Tse-tung had said in 1948, soon after taking power: "To talk of neutrality is a fraud.... There is no third force." Still Mr. Nehru persisted in being neutral and being a third force. Our Prime Minister was called the "running dog of the Anglo-American imperialists" in the official Press agency of the Chinese Government, the New China News Agency. That agency again issued a statement saying that the "Chinese People's Liberation Army will hoist the Red Flag over the Himalayas." Mr. Mao sent a message of greetings to Mr. Ranadive, then General Secretary of the Communist Party, after the Calcutta Resolution in 1948 when the communist were in arms against our own Government in Telengana. In that message, he said: "Relying on the brave Communist Party of India.... India will certainly not remain long under the yoke of imperialism and its collaborators"—(that is Mr. Nehru)—and India, "like free China will one day emerge in the socialist and People's democratic family."

If that is not a blue-print of Chinese conquest of India, one does not know what is.

Yet all these warnings were blatantly ignored by the Prime Minister who kept on telling the Indian people that there were 2000 years of Indo-Chinese friendship. This is misreading history. There has been neither friendship nor enmity between the Indian and the Chinese people because there was no contact. Somebody has rightly said that, by the same token, there has been unbroken friendship between the Indian and the Eskimo people

for the last 2000 years, because they never went to war with each other.

Lenin gave us another warning. He said that "the road from Moscow to Paris lies through Shanghai and Calcutta". When Shanghai fell to Moscow, instead of welcoming the regime, instead of welcoming Russian expansion and instead of being its salesman in the United Nations and introducing it to the Bandung Club, we could have taken the lesson.

On 21st October, 1959, the Prime Minister said at Calcutta that he did not think there was any "major idea" behind the Chinese incursion on our territory. Does this show any greater awareness as a result of the last nine years of harsh experience? If there is no major idea, *what are the Chinese doing? Is it the* whims and fancies of Mr Chou En-lai? Or are they like the British who occupied India in a fit of absentmindedness? One fit of absence of mind is enough for us. Many of us went to prison in the Quit India movement and took part in many campaigns to end that fit of absence of mind by which Britain had conquered India. Are we, after ten years, to surrender our freedom to a more ruthless, more brutal gang?

We are up against an expansionist, imperialist, communist Power of the most ruthless kind, a power that has before our eyes murdered our neighbouring country of Tibet, a power that, under the guise of "volunteers", invaded the Republic of Korea, a power that even today is infiltrating through its North Viet Nam satellite regime into the country of Laos, a power that is striving to expand in every possible direction. This power showed its understanding of negotiations when there was a truce in Korea, and we all recall those agonising months at Pan Mun Jon, where a new kind of diplomacy was revealed, a diplomacy which used the negotiating table for nothing else than waging a war of nerves. The Chinese communist regime does not believe in negotiations and it has never till now negotiated in good faith. Every promise which it has made, it has violated, whether in Tibet or elsewhere. For the Chinese communist regime, negotiation is an act of war at the conference table, a continuation of war by other means. It is with such an opponent that we are now dealing.

Is the Chinese Communist Government a Government whose word is worth anything? Let us go back to history and our own experience. In 1950, after assuring our ambassador and our Government that the Chinese forces would not enter Tibet, the Chinese forces entered Tibet. Our Government sent diplomatic notes of protest against that breach of faith. In 1959, Tibetan autonomy was violated although we were promised that it would be respected – a second breach of faith. The White Paper shows a consistent course of breach of faith of every one of the Five Principles of *Panchsheel*. Are we, after all this, going to accept the path of a diplomacy that starts by an assumption of the good faith of the Chinese Government? What kind of realism will that be? I am not saying that there should be no agreement with the Chinese Government, but an agreement with a Communist Government is worth anything only to the extent that you are able to enforce it by physical force.

Mao is not, like our Prime Minister, a lover of peace. Mao once said: "Political power grows out of the barrel of the gun." That gun has come across the Himalayas. There is a Fifth Column in India ready to help those on the other side, and to link up with them is the first objective of the Chinese communist's presence on our frontiers and across the border. They want to occupy dominating heights from which they can threaten to invade this country, from which they can give moral aid and material aid and arms to the guerilla forces fighting against our own Government.

Consider the contrast between Malaya on one side and Viet Nam on the other. Why is it that in Malaya the guerilla warfare conducted by the communists had been defeated after several years of fighting?

Why is it that in North Viet Nam, there is a satellite Government of the Chinese communists, and why is it that that country is divided? The reason is that there is a common frontier in the case of Viet Nam and there is no common frontier in the case of Malaya. After giving the Chinese on a platter a common frontier with ourselves by the betrayal of Tibetan freedom, now let us realise that any further encroachment, any occupation of points of vantage, is a dagger planted at the heart of Indian security.

There are other objectives: the destruction of the morale of the Indian armed forces. Slap the Indian armed forces and make them realise that they could not stop the Chinese and thus destroy their self-confidence in defending the country. That is by itself a moral and psychological victory for the Chinese, and the Chinese know all about psychological warfare.

The third objective is the destruction of the morale of our small neighbours in the Himalayas: the Government and the people of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. If these people find that we are not able to defend our frontier, what faith are they going to place on our assurance that we will defend theirs? Even today we find in the attitude of the Nepalese Government undertones which do not make us very happy. Just as we have been neutral between different people, they are neutral between the Chinese and us. And we feel hurt. Have we any right to be hurt? If we are not able to defend our own soil, why should the people of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim believe us when we say that we will go and defend theirs?

Finally, the Chinese attack on India is a beginning and an attempt at demoralising the countries of South and South-East Asia.

Let me quote from a valuable report from Professor Samar Guha of Calcutta, who is a member of the Praja Socialist Party, and who recently visited these countries. The report says: "Professor Guha has been frankly told by many highly placed leaders of these countries that they look upon the Himalayas as not the frontier of India only, but of the whole of the free and democratic Asia."

It goes on to say that they do not understand why Mr. Nehru is not defending this strategic frontier: "A few very important leaders of the neutral countries felt compelled to compare, rather in a mood of dismay, the leadership of Mr. Nehru to that of a captain of a ship without a compass."

This attack on our frontiers is one step in the Chinese communist attempt to dominate the whole of South and South-East Asia. They have chosen India, because, we are the strongest. When the strongest cannot fight, everyone else capitulates. They have also chosen us because for four years now we have encouraged their aggression by the cowardly and supine attitude which we have shown in not resisting their activities.

What does non-alignment mean? To defend your own territory is not to wage a war. I have never known of this suggestion before, that if you throw out bandits from your territory, you are engaged in an act of war! It is not an act of war. It is just police action in your own territory.

Secondly, non-alignment does not mean that we cannot equip our forces adequately. Mr. Nehru said many years ago in Washington that, when aggression was there, "we cannot and shall not be neutral." He said: "We have to meet aggression and resist it; and the force employed must be adequate to the purpose." Can anyone who has read the White Papers say that at any moment in the last four years the force employed was adequate to the purpose of defeating aggression? Every time we were outnumbered and outmanoeuvred and humiliated by superior detachments. So, equipping our army with arms obtained from other countries is completely consistent with non-alignment. Sweden and Switzerland are neutral and non-aligned. But among the countries of Western

Europe, theirs are the biggest and the best-equipped land armies. Why? Because they realise that, since they are non-aligned, they will have to fight in their own defence.

Why do we not equip our armed forces better? The Prime Minister and Defence Minister have, in their wisdom, said that they will not accept military equipment without payment. Between accepting military equipment and adhering to a policy of non-alignment there is no contradiction. Marshal Tito took military assistance from America as long as he needed it, discontinued it when he did not need it any more, and nobody has ever suggested that he sacrificed non-alignment for even a minute. If Tito could do it, we can do it.

Thirdly, non-alignment is not inconsistent with the capacity to recognise a dangerous neighbour. For nine years, a Government which lacks the character of a peace-loving and orderly Government has been glorified and made respectable in our own country. We have received Mr. Chou En-lai, a man with blood on his hands, and held him up to our people as a lover of peace. Non-alignment does not mean that we keep our own people in the dark.

"What can we do?" Many good friends have put this question: I believe there are many things which this country can do. We in opposition are not privileged to have adequate data about our military forces on which to recommend specific policies. That is the monopoly of the Government, and must be left to the Government. But it is quite clear that there are two broad alternatives before this country.

One is, if we have the power, to eject by police action the Chinese aggressors from the territory they have occupied. This is what a country normally does. Whether we have the power to do this or not, one does not know. Judging by the views expressed by the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister, who tell us that the country's armed forces have never been in better condition, that they are adequately equipped to drive out any aggressor from our territory, there is no reason why they should not be asked to do their duty. There are many, however, who have doubts on that subject. If they were so adequately armed and equipped, why are we where we are today? Therefore we can only make the hypothetical statement that, if we have the strength to do what we should be able to do, then there is only one honourable course and that is to give the order to the armed forces to do their duty.

The question is raised: "But that will lead to war." There is no logic in that statement. It will certainly not be an act of war on our part. It has never been held in history that a country that has been invaded, while repelling foreign troops from its territory, is guilty of an act of war. It is an act of defence. But it is possible that the other party will then make it an act of war by broadening the front or by making it a general action. That is possible. But we seem so preoccupied with our own difficulties that one would imagine that the Chinese Communist Government is ready to launch a major war on India. I would like to question that ready assumption. I am not depending on any peaceful professions of theirs. I am depending on the situation in which they find themselves. They are encountering a severe draught. The inmates of the regimented communes in which they have penned their people like animals in a zoo are looking for an opportunity to rise. They have a Nationalist Government outside their boundaries which is almost certain to try and land and liberate the mainland. That threat may not be a serious one. But is the Chinese Communist Government prepared to shift its main forces thousands of miles to our frontiers, leave their mainland and home territory exposed to internal revolution from the discontented people of the country and to a landing from the Nationalist Government outside? I doubt if communist China is prepared to fight a major war on two fronts. So, when we think so

much of our own weakness, let us also consider the element of bluff on the other side.

Assuming that we have got the fighting force, what do we do? There again, there is a great deal that this country can do. A brave nation has not been known to connive at or acquiesce in the occupation of its territory. If we are not in a position to restore the *status quo* before the aggression, let us be dignified enough to stay where we are, to say we will not give up this territory, that we shall retake it as and when it becomes possible for us to do so.

Why do we not call a Conference of our neighbours in South and South-East Asia and tell them where we stand? Why do we not invite them to a pact—to say that an attack on one is an attack on all? Leave all the foreign powers out. Let us form a regional organisation of the countries of South and South-East Asia and let that organisation invite assistance and aid from other parts of the world so that the independence of judgement and the independent foreign policy of any single country is not endangered in the slightest.

There are three definite things our people want. The people demand the appointment of a Defence Minister in whom the armed forces and the country have confidence. Secondly, the need is for the construction of roads and air-fields, and the obtaining of equipment wherever it can be found to put our forces on a parity with the Chinese Communist army. The third and final step is the removal of restraints on our armed forces to do their duty of making the aggressors withdraw, ejecting from our territory those who have their feet on it and seeing that the flag of India and not the flag of the "Chinese People's Liberation Army" flies once again over the Himalayas.

"Where freedom was concerned, the founders of socialism *made no bones about their intentions. Freedom of thought* they regarded as the root-evil of nineteenth-century society, and the first of modern planners, Saint-Simon, even predicted that those who did not obey his proposed planning boards would be 'treated as Cattle'.

"Only under the influence of the strong democratic currents preceding the revolution of 1848 did socialism begin to ally itself with the forces of freedom. But it took the new "democratic socialism" a long time to live down the suspicions aroused by its antecedents. Nobody saw more clearly than De Tocqueville that democracy as an essentially individualist institution stood in an irreconcilable conflict with socialism:

"Democracy extends the sphere of individual freedom,' he said in 1848; 'socialism restricts it. Democracy attaches all possible value to each man; socialism makes each man a mere agent, a mere number. Democracy and socialism have nothing in common but one word: equality. But notice the difference: while democracy seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude.' "

—Friedrich A. Hayek

Democratic Planning Versus Totalitarian Planning

A DISHONEST propaganda is being carried on that the Swatantra Party is opposed to all planning. In truth the Swatantra Party is opposed only to totalitarian planning adopted by the ruling party.

Our stand is clear. The Swatantra Party stands for planning, not of the totalitarian variety favoured by the Congress, but democratic planning, that is, planning in which individual initiative and resources are fostered by creating favourable conditions and climate. It does not rule out State participation in developing the economic order wherever necessary without frustrating private enterprise on which alone a democratic society can be based.

We stand for social welfare but not through statism—*Ctatisme*, to use the appropriate French phrase. Planning should never be a cover or an instrument for suppressing freedom, nor should it conduce to a totalitarian control of social and economic factors.

In planning, all the needs of the common man—food, housing and clothing—must be given the first priority. Any planning which aims at hasty industrialisation, the imposition of bureaucratic control over the economic order, the fixing up of unrealistic high targets at the cost of the common man, the setting in motion of inflationary spiral, the incurring of reckless expenditure regardless of efficient implementation and available personnel, leads away from democracy.

Such totalitarian planning leads and has led in India to inflation—the Demon of Unrighteousness—and the multiplication of its vicious brood: high prices, oppressive taxation, black-markets, ostentatious living on the one hand, frustrated greed on the other. It is tending to destroy moral values, undermine simple living, break up families and deprive the individual of spiritual growth.

The totalitarian planning of the Congress with its over-ambitious industrialisation has also shaken the foundation of the agricultural sector. Food sufficiency is nowhere in sight. Every half-starved villager who migrates to well-fed industrial sectors increases the demand on the food resources of the country and his demand has to be compensated by higher production.

As a result of the Congress policies, the farmer has been deprived of his Fundamental Right to own his land. The enterprising farmer is being driven out of agriculture by ceiling laws. By the ideological device of joint farming enforced through legalised coercion and lavish bribery, the self-employed farmer is being converted into a wage earner dependent ultimately on official direction.

On official figures agricultural indebtedness has increased. Agricultural prices often are not equal to production cost. This agricultural planning is leading towards the collapse of the independent and enterprising peasant-proprietor who ultimately is the reservoir of sturdy democratic freedom.

The Swatantra Party stands for giving an agricultural bias to the planning, for giving the farmer full scope for developing individual enterprise; to fixing agricultural prices not below the cost of production; to providing the individual farmer necessary facilities for intensive cultivation and efficient marketing; and to securing a minimum wage to agriculture labour.

Without the Swatantra policy of putting a break on totalitarian planning, democracy is doomed in this country.

K. M. Munshi
Vice-President, Swatantra Party

Planning in India--Shortcut to Prosperity and Social Justice

OVER the last few years, a myth that private enterprise in India is opposed to planning has been sedulously cultivated. It serves the purpose of doctrinaire politicians, but does no justice to truth. This myth needs to be exploded.

When the National Planning Committee was set up by the Indian National Congress in the late thirties, I had the pleasure of being one of the members. The work of the Committee indicated possibilities of planning in an under-developed country like India. The first big attempt to arouse the country to the potentialities of planning to raise the standards of living of the masses was made when what is popularly known as the Bombay Plan was presented to the public in 1944. Of the eight industrialists and businessmen who authored the plan, I had the privilege of being one. It is apparent that in fact it was private enterprise which first aroused the country to the need and potentialities of planning.

There are a number of differences with regard to techniques of Planning although almost all are agreed on the necessity of planning itself in an underdeveloped country like ours. The differences arise because value judgements are involved. For instance, the stress one lays on the freedom of the individual has an important bearing on planning.

There can be no better starting point to examine planning in India than to review the experience of planning in the country since 1951. This will bring to light the differences of opinion on the subject of planning in India.

The First Five-Year Plan covered the period between 1951 and 1956. Actually, the First Plan was nothing more than a conglomeration of projects some of which had been initiated even before the attainment of independence in 1947. The Plan was a success in that at its completion national income rose by over 18% and per capita income by about 11%. It is significant to note that the much maligned private sector which had been a target of sustained and growing attack during the plan period overfulfilled its targets of new investment whereas the public sector fell short of its target by about 40%.

The Second Five-Year Plan is an example, in my judgement, of how not to plan in a democracy. The Plan was initiated in 1956 with a proposed investment of Rs. 4,800 crores in the Public Sector and Rs. 2,400 crores in the Private Sector. Before the year was out, the Plan had run into difficulties and broken down on a number of fronts. For instance, the Railway Minister was complaining in Parliament that some of the railway projects could not be implemented owing to shortage of cement. Our foreign exchange resources, which are expected to be depleted at the rate of Rs. 40 crores per year, thus still leaving a balance of over Rs. 500 crores at the end of the Plan period, had almost touched the bottom of the bucket as early as 1958. But for the timely aid of the World Bank and the generosity of countries like the U.S.A., the U.K., West Germany, Japan and Canada, India would have had the misfortune of being branded a defaulter in her international obligations. The price of food and other necessities of life had registered a sharp increase owing to very heavy deficit financing, thus negativing the possible increase in individual incomes. It is indeed a sad spectacle that before the Plan reached its completion, there have been urgent deliberations on ways and means of holding the price line. The basic cause of all these serious deficiencies, which even an unplanned economy does not encounter,

A. D. Shroff

is the totalitarian planning techniques, as copied from the Soviet Union, were sought to be applied in the Second Plan.

It is necessary to appreciate some of the salient features of totalitarian planning techniques as applied in Communist countries in order to realise its dangers. Some of the features are:

(a) Totalitarian planning is all-comprehensive. In other words, a Central Board of Planners determines the priorities for development, the initiation of all economic activities, the price policy and all other aspects of economic life. Like the Fascist State of Mussolini ("everything for the state; nothing outside the state; nothing against the state"), in comprehensive planned economies of the Soviet type nothing is outside the scope of the Plan.

(b) Setting up of physical targets and a search for resources afterwards is another feature of totalitarian planning.

(c) Totalitarian planning is biased towards heavy industries to such an extent that consumer goods industries and agriculture are given a step-motherly treatment.

(d) A monolithic administrative apparatus backed by a secret police to brush aside all opposition in a ruthless manner is an essential element in totalitarian planning.

A look at Indian economic realities is enough to convince anyone that communist totalitarian planning techniques are not suitable to India. Let us examine these issues one by one.

The comprehensive structure of the Plan is basically defective even in a totalitarian country because the Planners are not omniscient and they cannot effectively control the activities of the people in a set pattern. In India there are two additional handicaps to comprehensive planning. The first of these is the lack of adequate statistical data so essential for planning and especially planning of a comprehensive character. Even the slightest error is magnified when projected on a national scale and may lead to disastrous consequence to the country as a whole. A comprehensive plan thus becomes a house of cards. The second handicap is the pluralistic character of the Indian, society. Comprehensive economic planning is nothing but an attempt to impose a monolithic solution. This is not possible in a pluralistic society.

Physical planning is also impossible within the democratic framework of the Indian society. The setting up of targets in the first instance and the frantic search for resources later on is possible if there can be an element of compulsion. For instance, the State should be able to resort to compulsory savings on a vast scale in order to mobilise the financial resources; there should be all-round physical controls of commodities and full-scale rationing of consumer goods and food articles. Mobility of labour would be at an end because the State would become the supreme director of labour force. Drastic measures and police surveillance become part of the social structure in order to satisfy all these criteria. A totalitarian regime as in communist countries where there are no human values and even the leadership is subject to purges afford plenty of scope for such physical planning, but not democracy.

The heavy industry bias of totalitarian planning can be overdone in an underdeveloped economy. While it is necessary and desirable that there should be a sound base of heavy industry for rapid and large-scale economic development, it should not be forgotten that heavy industries themselves are not enough. If in the process of building up heavy industries there is resort to heavy deficit financing, there will be inflation which will be accentuated by the fact that industrial production of consumer goods does not catch up with the issue of currency. Moreover, without consumer goods whose supply suffers when there is undue emphasis on heavy industries, there can be no meaning to the term "standard of living."

Another problem arises with regard to

agriculture which comprises an important segment of the Indian economy. The intersectoral balance will be upset when there is undue emphasis on heavy industry. The resulting disequilibrium has adverse effects on economic growth.

The monolithic administrative apparatus which comprehensive economic development requires can be evolved and operated only at the cost of democratic values. The problem of discipline assumes great proportions as the administrative apparatus grows beyond a certain measure. An element of ruthlessness will be required to impose discipline, to retain the efficiency or the semblance of it in the administrative apparatus. At present government employees in India do not possess the right to participate in political activities. One can leave to imagination what would be their fate when they are not only deprived of political liberties but also subjected to ruthless disciplinary measures.

The problem posed by co-ordination is also great and cannot be easily tackled even if the problem of discipline can be. In addition, administration in India suffers from lack of trained managerial personnel and evolution of efficient techniques of public administration to meet the needs of a changing society. These cannot be developed overnight. It will be a task of decades to dismantle the administrative techniques of the British era which have been inherited and to develop new techniques in harmony with the changing structure of society and the impact of industrialisation.

If comprehensive planned development on the Soviet model is unsuited to Indian conditions, the question then arises as to the type of planning India should adopt. An article of this nature can only indicate in broad outline the type of planning suited to India.

First of all, it is important to remember that the purpose of planning in India is rapid and large-scale economic development to increase the national wealth, to ensure its equitable distribution and to promote a just social order. Certain basic postulates should be respected for this purpose. Realistic planning should first of all start from the premise that human nature is to be taken as it is and not as it ought to be. In other words, individual initiative and enterprise should be given great importance. Ideological slogans and shibboleths have no place in the work-a-day world. Right to private property should be firmly established and respected. Realistic planning should also recognise the harsh realities of economic laws which cannot be mitigated nor altered by legislation however powerful the legislature may be.

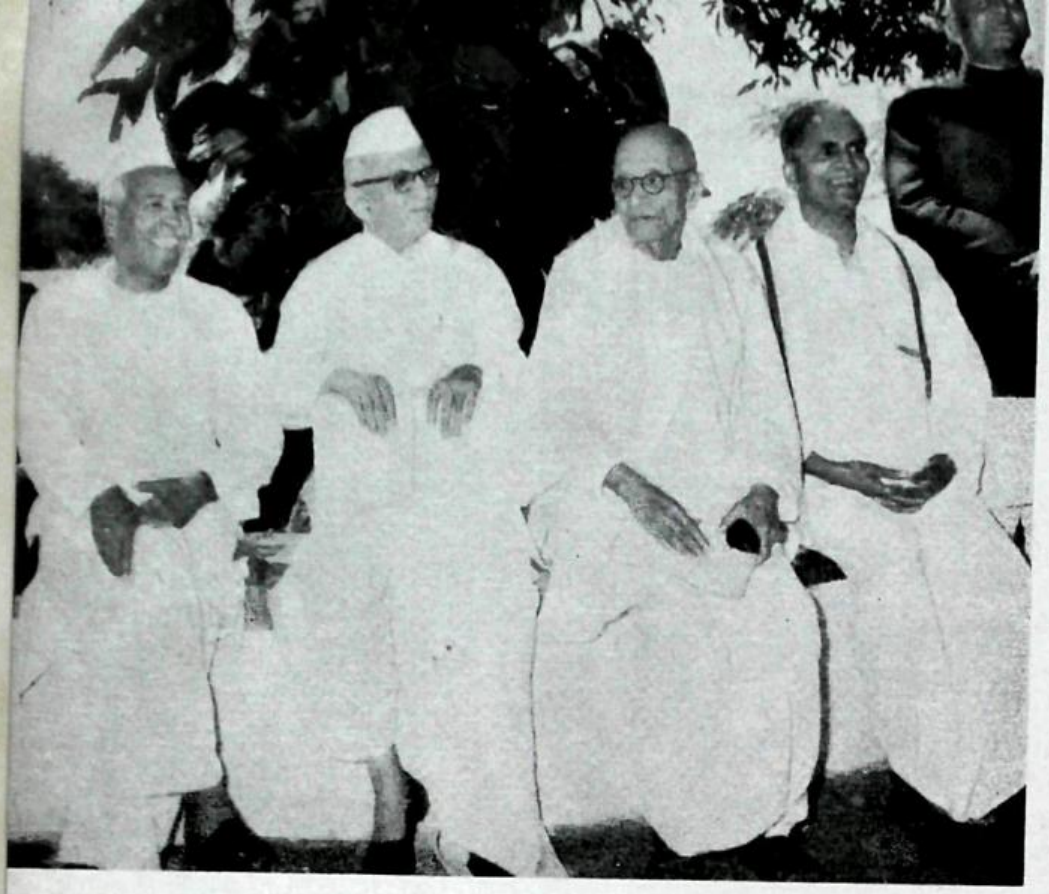
The starting point for planning in India should be the recognition of the pluralistic character of Indian society. In the din of slogan-mongering by collectivists like Communists and Socialists, it is conveniently forgotten that planning need not necessarily be monolithic as in the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, every individual acts on the basis of some plan or the other. He learns to take a view of things and plans his economic activities accordingly. The industrialist who sets up a manufacturing plant anticipates a certain demand for the product, envisages a certain possibility for the development, and in general, takes a view of things which induce him to take the risk of starting the industry. The farmer who sows wheat instead of rice, or cash crops instead of food crops, similarly takes a view of things and acts on a certain plan of his own. The student who studies medicine or law also takes a view of things which induces him to take to those careers. Thus it is apparent that every economic activity is primarily based on some sort of planning. It involves some thinking and decision-making. It is millions of such decisions taken every day in the life of every individual and at all levels that make up for the sum-total of economic activity. Modern State planning would be erring on the side of wisdom if it reckons this basic fact, and, instead of trying to impose a monolithic solution,



H. H. Maharani Gayatri Devi – Jaipur, April 1961

Mr. K. M. Munshi – Patiala, October 1959





PALIWAL, MUNSHI, RAJAJI, RANGA, RAMGARH – BANGALORE, FEBRUARY 1960

JATHEDAR UDHAM SINGH NAGOKE – PATIALA, APRIL 1961



promotes economic development by creating an atmosphere for entrepreneurs and individuals to take economic decisions which would lead to rapid and large-scale economic development. In other words, the State should act as a catalyst of economic development. Instead of substituting individual or co-operative enterprise as manifested in joint-stock companies, the State will supplement it wherever necessary and encourage it wherever possible. This would require some efforts on the part of the State to assess the basic resources of the community in terms of financial resources, man-power, technical skills, managerial ability and raw materials. Then the State would have to set up certain priorities for economic development and encourage development along those lines.

Having set up the targets, which should be reasonable and also flexible to meet the needs of changing conditions, the State should provide the requisite infra-structure for the development of the economy. Such an infra-structure comprises of net-work of good roads and railways, ports, hospitals, technical schools and engineering colleges, educational facilities with a stress on civic consciousness, self-discipline and individual development, efficient postal, telephonic and telegraphic facilities, and most important of all, a sound administrative machinery not interfered with by politicians and operating with the minimum of rules and regulations.

Having provided the infra-structure and economic climate for development, the State should ensure competition. The bane of economic development is monopoly, whether private or public Instances are not wanting as to how the consumer suffers when monopolies operate. It is, therefore, essential that the State should cease from starting insulated monopolies or nationalising existing industries. It should foster healthy competition among private units, and, wherever in the interests of economic development the State has to enter the field of economic development, then it should compete on a fair basis with units in the private sector.

Such realistic planning should have as its aim the production of adequate consumer goods. The drawback of communist planning has been the denial of consumer goods. No central authority can visualise the multifarious needs of the citizens. At the same time, it is consumer goods which lend meaning to the term "standard of living". It is not a few planners but every individual as a planner who has to decide what he wants. In satisfying his demands economic activity is stimulated on a large scale, employment potential is increased, incomes rise and there is all-round prosperity. In fine, planning should be for free enterprise and not against free enterprise. It will not be like the Soviet planning which a "Sovietology" expert aptly describes as follows:

"I know men and women without the ability to keep their own household accounts in order, who have no hesitancy in tackling the godlike book-keeping of human destiny."

Realistic planning, it can truly be said, ensures rapidity of economic development and promotion of justice. With the spirit of independence and enterprise which such planning fosters in individuals, there will emerge a nation of freedom-loving people who find not only the satisfaction of their basic needs but also a joy in creation and the satisfaction of noble aspirations in a free society.

Individual Liberty and the Rule of Law

CITIZENS in free India are suffering from complacency. The legal profession is neither properly organised nor equipped for tackling problems facing a progressive State. The leaders of the Bar made notable contribution in the struggle for national emancipation. Yet they recognised that political independence was only the means to achieve the end. The end was "self-realisation and self-fulfilment" in the words of the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das.

The diminishing influence of lawyers in Society and State is attributable to their diminishing contribution in the political, social and economic fields. Law must not be static but must respond to the new social and economic demands. Although we are opposed to a State functioning as a leviathan we recognise that law must be a conscious agent in the creation of new norms. In a democratic system there must be constant inter-action between social values and legal development.

We must remember that eternal vigilance is the price that we must pay for the protection of Fundamental Rights. The attacks on basic human rights come not only from the powerful executive but also from the tyranny of the majority in the legislatures. Therefore, every State in India should set up a Civil Liberties Committee whose duty would be to fight for the vindication of basic human rights whenever they are in peril and specially to arrange for competent forensic assistance free of charge to help indigent citizens.

The growth of administrative process is a natural phenomenon of modern society, specially when the State sets up its own enterprises and dominates good part of the economic life of the nation. The citizens in India should attempt the systematisation and implementation of the principles governing the review of administrative action.

The leaders of the country should train up the younger section in tackling the important problems of modern industrialised society, namely Capital and Labour adjustment, unemployment insurance, the oppression of women and their inability to secure justice in Matrimonial Courts and the harassment of the ordinary citizens by revenues and taxation and administrative tribunals.

The Rule of Law does not mean the adherence of old concept of the Victorian era with its economic and political philosophy of *laissez faire*. The Rule of law in a democratic State must rest on the triple foundation of equality, liberty and the freedom of the judiciary from executive control, direct or indirect. But liberty is not a negative dogma. It must have a positive content so that the Individual feels that he can make his own contribution to the progress of the State with his judgment and opinion untramelled by bureaucratic control. The legal profession should resist the unworthy symptom which is apparent in some Courts – a craze for quick disposal of cases. When Chief Justice Warren of the U.S.A. Supreme Court came here, the Prime Minister discussed with us the desirability of having a time-limit of one hour in the Supreme Court, I think I voiced the considered opinion of the profession when I resisted this suggestion and I think it will be an evil day for India if the Courts pay greater attention to disposal of cases than to dispensation of justice.

The ordinary citizens have exhibited an attitude of pathetic indifference towards

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the emergence of centrifugal forces which are destructive of Indian Nationalism and which may put in peril our cherished freedom. Linguistic minorities have been tortured and persecuted in Assam and are unhappy in Punjab and other areas. We resent the unfair outburst of the President of Pakistan over the tragic incidents in Madhya Pradesh. But we should admit that the minorities are feeling perturbed in some of the States in India and linguistic frenzy and provincial or chauvinistic tendencies are being helped by the tyranny of the majority. The time has now come when citizens should organise Civil Liberty Organisations in every State, and constructive suggestions should be made by leading public men to amend the Constitution so as to secure adequate protection to the minorities throughout India.

"But in all countries there are people who, although themselves frantically committed to the idea of all-round planning, i.e., public ownership of the means of production, become frightened when they are confronted with the real face of communism. These people are disappointed. They dream of a Garden of Eden. For them communism, or socialism, means an easy life in riches and the full enjoyment of all liberties and pleasures. They fail to realize the contradictions inherent in their image of the communist society. They have uncritically swallowed all the lunatic fantasies of Charles Fourier and all the absurdities of Veblen. They firmly believe in Engel's assertion that socialism will be a realm of unlimited freedom. They indict capitalism for every thing they dislike and are fully convinced that socialism will deliver them from all evil. They ascribe their own failures and frustrations to the unfairness of this "mad" competitive system and expect that socialism will assign them that eminent position and high income which by right are due to them. They are Cinderallas yearning for the prince-savior who will recognise their merits and virtues. The loathing of capitalism and the worship of communism are consolations for them. They help them to disguise to themselves their own inferiority and to blame the 'system' for their own shortcomings."

— Ludwig Von Mises in "Planned Chaos"

Swatantra Party's Contribution to Democracy

IS the Swatantra Party a conservative party? It is often said to be so, and the statement is often made an accusation against it. Rightly understood, the Swatantra Party is a conservative party, but there is nothing to be ashamed of in wise conservatism.

Conservatism is not reaction. That is merely reacting blindly against every change. Nobody in his senses can oppose every change — in this century of all-round, tumultuous change. But this fact of incessant, bewildering change itself calls for conservatism.

The individual body can stand a certain amount of change — in temperature, pressure, diet, and so on. But if change goes beyond certain limits, then there is danger. The same is true of society. If it is shaken up too much it begins to go to pieces, the relation between one generation and the next is broken, all standards are lost, nobody knows where he is, we all become mad. The speed of change in the twentieth century is nearing the danger point, where it will begin to make everybody mad. Men must have some stability; they must have something to cling to. Even if that something is not as good as could be wished, they must cling to it because it is there. The conservative believes in keeping something to cling to.

Only those who think that nothing in the national past was good can wholly oppose conservatism. Obviously that is a ridiculous position. If nothing in our past was good, why did we not accept the British culture complete, as Macaulay invited us to do? Nationalism implies the desire to conserve the national personality. Many people who formerly were enthusiastic nationalists now take the attitude that everything Indian is old fashioned, out of date, superstitious, and that it must all be swept away. I submit that they are inconsistent.

In fact, we have already had too much unthinking acceptance of foreign ideas and practices. I am not in favour of any hasty change, but I believe we ought to be thinking towards a system of political democracy that would suit the size of our country and the nature of our people better than the present one.

Change comes about mainly because of two things; technology and social theories. In regard to technological changes, industrial progress, and the like, we are all in favour of them. But even there, we would do well to adopt a little of Gandhiji's caution. As he often said, he was not against industrialism. But he wanted all industrial changes to be scrutinised and tested to see if they were really beneficial. We are apt to rush blindly into these changes, and then find that they cause unexpected ill effects, which have to be set right at great cost, so that in the end we may have gained nothing.

If the conservative is slightly sceptical about the benefits of technology, he is distinctly sceptical about theories of society. There are some departments of social theory, as in economics, which are well tested and firmly based on fact. He has no objection to those. What arouse his doubts are attempts to explain the vast complexity of human affairs in a simple formula, and the habit of responding to complex situations and proposals with emotional slogans. Both are really appeals to mass prejudice against the supremacy of reason.

The conservative believes in reason and distrusts mass prejudice, but he is not against the interests of the masses. He has the interests of the have-nots at heart just as much as anybody else. Every society, including the most extreme socialist societies, gives high rewards for good service. If that is not done, all experience shows

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that society will not get good service. The conservative, therefore, works for equality of opportunity, so that all who are capable of good service may give it, and earn their reward. But equality of opportunity is still a long way away, and we must work towards it gradually and by consent. For the have-nots are not going to gain by upheavals, expropriation, and the like, which destroy confidence and harm everybody.

The conservative stands for the gradual reduction of extreme inequalities. As society grows richer, it is possible to move faster towards equality. The Conservative Party in Britain, for example has accepted many of the Labour Party's proposals for improving the position of the poorer people. All the conservative demands is that changes must be well thought out and shown to be really beneficial.

I read recently an article by the famous American journalist, Dorothy Thompson, in which she expressed very well the attitude I am trying to explain. "The conservative believes in *experience* – the experience of a nation, the value of its tried and tested traditions, and the experiences of history. The conservative, who is the least Utopian and most commonsensical of political minds, is the one most disposed to exercise foresight and to weigh alternative policies in the light of their probable consequences. He does this from what is known of previous experiences in his own civilisation and others, and what is known of human nature, which has changed far less in centuries than have the external factors of life. He feels at home only in dealing with realities. Before he makes judgements he wants to know facts...".

That puts well the essential position of the conservative. He is a realist. He wants facts. He demands policies that are based on a thorough analysis of reality. Above all he is practical.

But because he is practical, it must not be inferred that he is unprincipled. He is against Utopian aims and high flown theories, partly because they are apt to undermine the more fundamental principles of social life and public conduct. Theories and utopias, being based on emotion rather than reason, are a kind of intoxicant. They seize upon the mind and make their victim blind to everything else. The utopian and the theorist is apt to become a monomaniac, a fanatic. For him only one thing counts, and everything else –law, loyalty, truth, morality, commonsense–seems insignificant.

It is true that in extreme situations, when the national survival is at stake, for example, other considerations may have to be sacrificed to it. But it is precisely the care of the conservative to conduct affairs in such a way that extreme situations are avoided, so that he is never compelled to make these desperate choices. He does not believe that good comes of these dramatic upsets. He believes in progress step by step, consolidating each gain before attempting a new one. He believes, therefore, in preserving the decencies, and he considers that the best test of advance of civilisation is the degree in which the decencies of private life can be observed in the conduct of the public affairs.

A wise and cultured Indian, who during a distinguished public career always tried to observe the decencies, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, once discussed in a public speech how far that principle can be applied. He asked: Is it possible at the same time to be a politician and a gentleman? He was not thinking of the grosser departures from propriety. In fact, such things were hardly thought of in his day. He was thinking of the smaller temptations that break down the resistance of a gentleman and eventually turn him into a common politician.

It is instructive to see how Srinivasa Sastri visualised the process of political corruption, "in which men deteriorate, in which they forget the standards of public life, in which they put aside this great interest, namely, the welfare of the community; in which indeed all forms of casuistical argument come in, and a man not voting as the public interest requires

him is still enabled to make his conscience to go sleep, because forsooth, although he has not voted upon the highest grounds, he has still voted upon unselfish grounds, because he has voted as his leader desired, or as his party prescribed.... Yes, that is the way Satan comes in always for guiding and manipulating those of us who are willing to listen to him."

Notice that the gentleman described by Srinivasa Sastri started upon the downward path, not by accepting a bribe, or by getting his nephew a fat contract, but by voting as his party prescribed. It is very suggestive that a man of the moral sensitiveness of Srinivasa Sastri should pick out *submission to party discipline* as the most likely starting point for political corruption. Submission to party discipline is for many good men the first step down the slippery slope, the first little mistake that blunts the edge of conscience, and so prepares the way for bigger mistakes, and eventually crimes.

If you can prevent that first mistake, you may be able to prevent all the later ones. If a decent man entering politics can be saved from the subtle demoralisation of submitting to party discipline, of voting as the party dictates even when he disagrees with it, then he may be preserved throughout his career as a gentleman in politics.

I believe therefore that Rajaji may have done a very big thing by laying down the principle that in the Swatantra Party, discipline will apply only to the 21 agreed points of the programme, and that on all other matters every member will be free to speak and vote as his conscience dictates.

What was the beginning of Non-Violence? Nobody, I suppose, would now question that it was a great advance in civilisation that Gandhiji achieved when he introduced non-violence into public life. Older people can remember the scepticism that greeted him. Even decent men, good men, smiled at each other and shook their heads. But he showed that it could work and it is now an accepted part of our public life.

At our stage of development parties are necessary for democracy. But we have to acknowledge that party as such is a powerful factor for demoralisation. Here Rajaji may have taken the revolutionary first step in separating the positive function of the party from this negative, demoralising side effect. If so, he will have saved party politics, and will, therefore, have saved democracy; he will have purged it of an outstanding evil.

"We can make flour out of corn; but if we grind the corn into flour, and sow it, no amount of watering or manuring or sunlight can make it grow. Grinding the individuals down into a common mass would result in just the same total sterility. This is a universal law."

— Shri C. Rajagopalachari

The National Appeal of the Swatantra Party

NOT the least distinguishing feature of the Swatantra Party is its comprehensive appeal. With its principles and policies it appeals to all sections of the population, to all communities, classes and creeds, to the rich and the poor, Labour and Capital, to the Haves and the Have-nots. That is because its positive aim is the improvement of the condition of the people as a whole and in every particular section thereof. Its preventive service is the defence in entirety and integrity of every right and liberty guaranteed to individuals and communities, especially minorities, by our Constitution. Its practical objectives make its appeal general, country-wide, national. All are to benefit from its power and influence. Aiming to improve the lot of everybody in every section, community, and class, it can appeal for the support of everybody, in every section, community, and class. Its practical aim of improvement accounts for its completely and inclusively national appeal. It is bound by no Ideology—not even the Ideology of Individualism.

It starts from Individualism because the individual with his liberty is the starting point of political life. But the individualism is not absolute, it is to serve and therefore be modified, limited, controlled by the ends of society and social welfare. The other parties profess an Ideology and on account of the absolutism of an Ideology divide the people and profess to benefit one section at the expense of the others. The Communist ideology professes to benefit only the proletariat and, therefore, tries to extinguish the other sections of the population. The Socialist Ideology makes Socialist parties class parties aiming at the improvement of the condition of the poor to the impoverishment of the prosperous. The Congress party with the ideology of "the Socialist pattern of society" wants to bring landlords, industrialists, merchants to the level of the mediocre and the moderate. These parties even when they bear the title of national as does the Congress, can have only a particular, limited, narrow appeal. Although they may appeal to the numerically largest section of the population it is not an all-inclusive, national appeal as it excludes consideration of the interests of large minorities. Compared to them, the Swatantra party is the only national party —for the simple reason that the improvement of the condition of the people as a whole and in its every particular section is the aim of the Party.

With this all-inclusive, comprehensive, national appeal the Swatantra Party has a right to expect support from every section of the people. The Have-nots should support it because its policies and programmes will convert them into Haves. The Haves will support it because it will enable them to have more so that through a wisely framed and fair system of taxation they will provide financial resources for the welfare services of education, health, insurance that the poor need. Industrialists look to it for the breaking of those shackles and fetters that prevent them from the exercise of that initiative and enterprise that have contributed to the prosperity of the textile, steel, cement, and sugar industries long before the Congress Government stepped in to intervene and take part in business which is not the business of any Government. The small merchant, trader, craftsman will all get encouragement and facilities for increasing their business and adding to the national income. Above all the agriculturists who form 75% of the population will be assured their farms and be provided with the facilities – village

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roads, wells, sanitation, drainage, improved housing and the education that will give them the health and strength that will enable them to produce more and give them employment all the year round. Not only support but service, the Swatantra Party would expect from all these classes and sections of the population. From the educated, the professional classes, who have by Congress policies been kept out of political service, the captains of industry, the propertied classes, it will expect the service of leadership which they with their education, leisure, and independence arising from possession of property can well give the party and the country. From those who have not the leisure and other facilities for leadership, it will expect the service of faithful, loyal, and cooperating followership. For effective followership is as necessary to the success of a party as competent leadership.

There is one community, especially, which has recently "swum into the ken" of the Swatantra Party and to whom a special appeal is due. That is the community of the princely order. As a result of the integration of the former Indian States, to which the majority of the members of this order readily and loyally agreed, they have been deprived of the opportunities of political work which they enjoyed and used for centuries. Now in the era of freedom and independence new opportunities for service to the country have opened to them. From rulers in India they have become citizens of India. And as citizens they have a right to take part in the political life of the country. As political action in modern democratically organized countries goes, a citizen can take an active part in political life only in and through a Party. Independents are excellent as individuals but do not go far in positive political action. "When bad men combine", said Burke "good men must associate: otherwise all will fall one by one an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle". Of all the parties in India claiming the allegiance of the members of the princely order, the Swatantra Party is the one that ought to appeal to them the most. It will conserve all the rights and liberties guaranteed to them in the Covenants they concluded with the Government of India. No Government of India may unilaterally repudiate these Covenants if they are to expect foreign Governments to trust in the agreements concluded with them. The princes are now citizens of India, with every right to take part in the public life of the country as voters, as legislators, as members of any political party they wish to join. The principles of the Swatantra party must be agreeable to them for it will conserve the traditions spiritual and secular to which, as an order they are attached, the reign of spiritual values in public life, accord and harmony between classes and communities one helping the other, each as necessary as the other, each performing the duties of its *dharma*, and all working together for the good of the country. It offers them opportunities for the service of leadership. Members of this order have the education, the leisure and independence which come from the possession of property, the experience of administration which will enable them to give disinterested service to the country.

They are invited to offer themselves as candidates for election to the legislatures of their States and to the central Parliament from the localities which cannot find suitable candidates of their own. All that they have to do is to step down from the high places in which they have lived and moved so far. They must cultivate "the common touch" of democracy, rub shoulders with and act with the common people. It will not be difficult for them to do so as it has been the tradition of Indian rulers to go about among their subjects to find out their needs and grievances. Their descendants have only to revive that tradition and translate it into the habits of modern democracy. They will have to work hard to secure the knowledge from books, journals, governmental reports and blue books that will enable them to be-

come wise and competent leaders of the people. They have only to follow the example of the English aristocracy which even in these days of universal suffrage furnish candidates to the Conservative party at every election. I may quote to them the example of Lord George Bentinck who after the defection of Sir Robert Peel from the Conservative party in 1846 took up the leadership and prepared himself for it by selling his race-horses and "scorning delights and living laborious days", poring over blue-books in the library of the House of Commons. The members of the princely order may go and do likewise in India. The country needs them, their traditions of service expects them to do this service. *Noblesse oblige.*

With the national appeal which its principles, policies and programme embodys, the Swatantra Party with confidence looks to the people for a national response.

"The authority directing all economic activity would control not merely the part of our lives which is concerned with inferior things; it would control the allocation of the limited means for all our ends. And whoever controls all economic activity controls the means for all our ends, and must therefore decide which are to be satisfied and which not. Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends. And whoever has sole control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower, in short, what men should believe and strive for."

— F. A. Hayek 'Road to Serfdom'

Congress Statism or Gandhian Swatantra?

STATISM is the common characteristic of Communism, Fascism, Nazism, and the Socialism of the Indian National Congress. Indeed it is the working point in all these forms of authoritarian national policy, whichever group takes the reins of authority in the name of the people. All of them hope to achieve their goal of governance by State control of all activities, the freedom that is left to individuals being reduced to the barest unavoidable minimum. The expressed goal of all these types of authoritarian rule is popular welfare and the even distribution of the material things of life. The goal attracts popular support and that gives them power. Ideas of what is happiness may differ somewhat among them but there is broad agreement among them all to lay emphasis on material possessions as the only means of happiness. All these schools of Statism agree on this that the authority of the State and the force of its executive arm can alone maintain the discipline necessary for maximum production of wealth and compel the sacrifices necessary for its even distribution.

Opposed to these schools of compulsion is the way of freedom and maximum provision for individual enterprise and incentive which Gandhiji advocated and which the Swatantra Party stands for. The profit motive is the impulse at the base of production and competition is the check on its unhealthy dominance. The inner policeman replaces the compulsion of the State and the authority entrusted to State officials, religion and conscience being the source of discipline, not secular sanctions. The drive for individual profit is checked by competition and the discipline of spirit by which ownership is transferred into trusteeship.

The objectors to this entrustment of the discipline of the individual to conscience and religion apprehend that this inner sanction may not work. But on the other hand authority vested in the officials of the State cannot be expected to steer clear of the temptations that always beset authority and there is the universally accepted fact that efficiency of public management is inferior to management with personal interest. Since production is the primary requisite and basic element of national economy, what is necessary and most contributory for this must take precedence over what may possibly be better for even distribution. Realism calls for a balance between good and evil, and from this follows priority to the essentials of production rather than to the equality of distribution at the expense of production. The individual's incentive is at the base of all production. In production under public management the wages and salaries take the place of the profit-interest in private enterprise. This too is personal interest but is far inferior as an efficient productive incentive.

Of all these types of Statism, Socialism may perhaps be described as one that avoids expressed and explicit dependence on compulsion. But this is a difference only in appearance. It must fall back on State-compulsion in actual practice. Otherwise it fails to be a school of governance. It becomes just semantic jugglery by creating a confusion between goal and means. Social justice and general welfare are aims, not means, and they are also the aims of a free economy.

To throw away the natural check on error and wrong-doing, namely competition, and to rely on the integrity, diligence, and loyalty of officials controlled by some minority group acting in the name of the people is to abandon the sure way and taking a very doubtful path. The path of State regulation has been amply demon-

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strated to be a failure. There is no guarantee, to put it most mildly, that the objective will be attained. On the other hand the losses involved are certain, the greatest among them being the loss of individual freedom with all its far-reaching consequences in the material as well as spiritual field.

Minimum government and maximum freedom for the individual, decentralised responsibility instead of centralised planning and concentration of authority, and a moral revolution instead of legislative compulsion, the inner law taking the place of the external policeman, leading to the gradual transformation of personal ownership into trusteeship for the community, without detriment to the fundamental principle, the dynamics of wealth, namely the personal interest of the man who works and sacrifices and risks what he has lawfully earned and acquired in order to obtain an increase of wealth—this is the Gandhian pattern of economic and political life which is reiterated by the Swatantra Party and for which it has raised the standard of revolt against the Statism of the Congress Party. Individual power is a cow. It is not to be cut up and made into beef; it should be kept alive and fed. It will give abundant milk, the milk of national prosperity, and multiply itself even as a cow does.

(from "Swarajya" of March 11, 1961)

"Take that line of nationalisation cans down from the shelf and let's have a look at them. A bit dusty. Not selling so well as they used to. Where did they come from? In fact, 1918 is the date when nationalisation first appeared, although it was made in Germany rather earlier by Mr. Marx. 'Common ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange' is the slogan on the tins.

"I have no doubt at all that we must scrap nationalisation. That is politics—'Government of the people, for the people, and by the people." and the people have spoken. They want no more of the Labour Party's stale lines...."

—Mr. F. J. Bellenger, M.P.,
former Secretary of State of War in
Labour Govt. of U.K.

The Rape of Tibet and its Consequences

AS long ago as the summer of 1950, I felt distressed by the Prime Minister's uncalled-for and ill-advised statement that India had always recognized the suzerainty of China over Tibet. It was most unfortunate in every way. India had just attained Independence, and common prudence demanded a little more thought before rushing to make such statements without full consideration of their consequences.

Even a little enquiry and examination of the records of the late Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India before Independence would have revealed that they had a special political representative of their own for Tibet and it was their policy under the guidance of the British Foreign Office to keep out as far as possible any substantial Chinese influence in Tibet and in fact, for all practical purposes, to regard Tibet as independent. The policy was quite clearly guided by the desire to keep the Chinese as far away from the Indian frontiers as possible and to keep Tibet as a friendly buffer state.

This ample precaution was taken even though for hundreds of years China was torn by internal dissensions and was economically poor and had granted extra-territorial rights to foreign powers. She was in no position to take any aggressive action against India or any other foreign country. All the same, the British policy was far-sighted. It was only as a matter of policy that the British did not try to define Tibet's independent position too precisely. They perhaps thought it was good policy to have the Tibetans leaning upon British friendship.

But Tibet was important to the British only so long as they had great stakes in India. It is a pity that once India attained independence, the British lost all their interest in Tibet and the Indo-Tibetan relationship. Moreover, in those days the British were anxious to build up Chinese friendship and Chinese trade, especially having regard to their interests in Hong Kong.

The result was that in order to placate China they threw Tibet overboard and declared that His Majesty's Government had always recognized the suzerainty of China over Tibet, a declaration which India also made about the same time in blissful ignorance of the consequences. His Majesty's Government had no Tibetan policy in the past other than what they had practised through the Indian Foreign Office which has been already described.

The statement of the Government of India in 1950 had most unfair implications for the Tibetans and was unfortunate and incorrect. Above all, in the 20th century when every nation, big or small, has been struggling to establish independence under the aegis of the United Nations and its Charter, and when India herself went through a great and historic struggle for shedding the foreign yoke, tolerating neither the sovereignty nor the suzerainty of Britain, and she had successfully taken part and is still taking part in supporting the claims of so many small countries in Africa and Asia (such as Tunisia, Algeria, Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia and others), it is amazing that we should have talked and continue to talk of the suzerainty of China over Tibet. Why should we have taken a different line in the case of Tibet?

But even going so far as to grant that in 1950 India had no occasion to sponsor the independence of Tibet before the world, we surely need not have gone out of our way to proclaim piecemeal our acknowledgement of Chinese suzerainty

V. Narahari Rao

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over Tibet. If we at all felt compelled to say something about China and Tibet, the only thing to have done was to express the hope that Tibet, which was a large country and had a racially distinct population, should be recognized as an independent sovereign state completely free to manage her own affairs, in the same manner as we have been supporting the claims of many subject nations in Africa and Asia. It is amazing that we should have made only a partial statement acknowledging the moribund suzerainty of China over Tibet and ignored the consequences and dangerous potentialities which might arise in future from that partial statement.

We have served ourselves and the Tibetans and indeed the cause of freedom and peace very badly by implanting all kinds of hopes in the Chinese. This was neither prudent nor morally correct. It is not surprising that the Chinese have now turned against us the moment they discovered that our neutrality and co-existence did not extend so far as to assist them in their pursuit of the Dalai Lama in India. They would have treated us as good friends had we refused to give shelter to the innocent Dalai Lama and had arrested him on his entry into India and handed him back to the Chinese. Even though we have never intervened in Tibetan affairs, our giving refuge to the Dalai Lama and a few Tibetans in our country (which was a common and well-recognised sovereign right) and saving them from being massacred has sent communist China into a blaze of fury and provoked large-scale military aggression on Indian territory. This is no time for soft words and one can only hope that our Government will know how to deal with aggression by faithless neighbours. Force must be met by force.

Perhaps another reason for the change of the Chinese attitude towards India may be that they have got somewhat disappointed with the reverses that communism has recently suffered in India in Kerala. The magnificent hospitality shown to the Chinese dictators during their grand tours throughout India, and slogans of "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai", must have raised fond hopes that it was only a matter of time for India to go Red. These hopes have probably been damped if not shattered by the recent events in India. The tragedy of the situation is that the Chinese after having coolly violated Indian territory have now the audacity to accuse India of having violated Chinese (Tibetan) territory—a reminder of the fable of the wolf and the lamb!

The time has come to take complete stock of the whole situation, our foreign policy and immediate defensive and other measures. There should be no wishful thinking or self-deception in this matter. It must be frankly acknowledged that in our policy of neutrality in foreign affairs we have been a little more than neutral and softer to the communist bloc and we have turned a blind eye to the creed, policies and events in communist countries and their satellites. Possibly, the support which the communist powers have been giving to India on the Kashmir issue in the United Nations may have had some influence on our attitude to the communist powers. But the ends never justify the means.

Here is what one of the most eminent men of this age said about communism over a quarter of a century ago; "Communism is not only a creed. It is a plan of campaign. A Communist is not only the holder of certain opinions; he is the pledged adept of a well-thought-out means of enforcing them. The anatomy of discontent and revolution has been studied in every phase and aspect, and a veritable drill-book prepared in a scientific spirit for subverting all existing institutions. The method of enforcement is as much a part of the Communist faith as the doctrine itself. At first the time-honoured principles of Liberalism and Democracy are invoked to shelter the infant organism. Free speech, the right of public meeting, every form of lawful political agitation and constitutional right are paraded and asserted. Alliance is sought with every popular movement to-

wards the left. The creation of a mild Liberal or Socialist regime in some period of convulsion is the first milestone. But no sooner has this been created than it is to be overthrown. Woes and scarcity resulting from confusion must be exploited. Collisions, if possible attended with bloodshed, are to be arranged between the agents of the new Government and the working people. Martyrs are to be manufactured. An apologetic attitude in the rulers should be turned to profit. Pacific propaganda may be made the mask of hatreds never before manifested among men. No faith need be, indeed may be, kept with non-communists. Every act of goodwill, of tolerance, of conciliation, of mercy, of magnanimity on the part of Governments or statesmen is to be utilized for their ruin. Then when the time is ripe and the moment opportune, every form of lethal violence from mob revolt to private assassination must be used without stint or compunction. The citadel will be stormed under the banners of Liberty and Democracy; and once the apparatus of power is in the hands of the Brotherhood, all opposition, all contrary opinions must be extinguished by death. Democracy is but a tool to be used and afterwards broken; Liberty but a sentimental folly unworthy of the logician. The absolute rule of a self-chosen priesthood according to the dogmas it has learned by rote is to be imposed upon mankind without mitigation progressively for ever. All this, set out in prosy textbooks, written also in blood in the history of several powerful nations, is the Communist's faith and purpose. To be forewarned should be to be forearmed."

It is not a day too soon to take the bitter lessons we are having to heart and retrace our policies and save the country and our people's freedom.

Only those persons are entitled to vote and to be elected to democratic institutions who firmly and sincerely believe in the principles of democracy and democratic institutions. The oath of membership of parliaments is a farce otherwise. Have not recent events proved that these criteria do not apply to the communists in India any more than elsewhere, and that they are only making a convenience of parliamentary institutions and complying with constitutional formalities only for gaining power while biding their time for undermining democracy?

It is, therefore, high time that the Communist Party in India should be banned from entry into Municipalities and Legislatures. It is true that this course would be new to established democratic practices, notably in the U.K., but democratic institutions are also quite new to this country. In the U.K, the communists have not yet succeeded in getting control of the parliament. We have to chalk out our own course for saving the State and vital principles of democracy. There is no room for complacency or a moment's delay. There are good reasons for believing that when he made the original statement of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet in 1950, the Prime Minister, who had been overburdened with work in many fields, was badly served by some of his advisers in whom he had placed undue confidence. Unfortunately, neither the Prime Minister nor the country can escape the dire results which flow from wrong policies and actions.

The Rule of Law and the Tyranny of the Executive

THE expression "the Rule of Law" has two meanings. In the strict sense it means administration of the country according to fixed legal principles which are applicable to ordinary citizens and Government officials alike. In this sense we do have the Rule of Law in this country. The other meaning of the expression "the Rule of Law" is governance in accordance with the basic principles of human freedom and justice. In this sense the Rule of Law needs to be carefully watched and guarded in this country because year by year we are having steady, though sometimes imperceptible, inroads by the Executive into the citizen's basic freedoms.

The Attorney-General of India in one of his recent addresses referred to the "tyranny of the Legislature" in this country. He also referred to the drift towards authoritarianism. These expressions, coming as they did from the highest Law Officer of the Government of India, who is known for his balanced and moderate views, must make every citizen sit up and wonder whether the heritage of freedom does not need to be guarded more carefully now than ever before.

The tyranny of the Executive has increased manifold in recent years. A large and all-powerful bureaucracy has grown up in this country which has no conception of fundamental rights and little respect for the basic principles of the Rule of Law. Let me mention one instance here, which arose under the Central Sales Tax Act. The Central Sales tax is levied by the Centre for the benefit of the States and the different States collect the tax as the agents of the Central Government. In the case of one of the biggest and best-run Companies in India, two different States levied the central sales tax as the agent of the Central Government on the same transaction. After the Company had paid the tax to one State, the other State still insisted on recovering the same sales tax over again on the same transaction under the same law as the agent of the same Central Government. All attempts to prevent such double recovery of the same tax, which ran into several millions, having failed, the Company had ultimately to seek redress in the Supreme Court. Such an instance speaks volumes for the sense of justice with which the personnel in the Revenue Departments are imbued.

Instances of tyrannical administration can be multiplied from the Company Law Administration Department and the Department of the Controller of Capital Issues. There have been instances where the Controller of Capital Issues has refused to grant permission for the issue of capital on the terms proposed by the company for no understandable reason related to the law which he is administering.

The main misfortune of India today is that its good citizens are all men of thought, and it is only its bad citizens who are men of action. The bad citizens set fire to public properties and throw stones at the police and they get exactly what they want, from the dismemberment of States to the repeal of an increase in levy on sugar or tea. The good citizens merely grumble harmlessly to their friends at Clubs or at small gatherings and their most legitimate and crying grievances remain unredressed. The good citizens will not fight for their rights but are content to bemoan the way in which the laws are enacted and administered and they accept this state of affairs with a degree of fatalism which is hardly conducive to the growth of a healthy democracy.

The Constitution enjoins that the laws must be administered without discrimination. The public authorities think that it must be administered without discernment.

N. A. Palkhiwala

Very often the guilty and the innocent, the honest and dishonest, are treated alike. Under Section 23A of the Income-tax Act which has been referred to earlier, companies which do not declare sufficiently large dividends are penalised by being charged an additional super-tax. In order that the Income-tax Officer may not apply this section in a case where justice demands that an Order under that section should not be made, it is provided that action can be taken by the Income-tax Officer only with the prior approval of the Inspecting Assistant Commissioner. In my experience, I have rarely come across a case where the Inspecting Assistant Commissioner withheld his approval to action proposed by an Income tax Officer under Section 23A. I have seen cases where the Inspecting Assistant Commissioner has cheerfully granted his approval to the Income-tax Officer's proposal to penalise the company under Section 23A where the company had admittedly no funds out of which to declare the divident and had outstanding tax liabilities to clear and would have suffered attachment and sale of its property had it chosen to declare a dividend instead of paying taxes. In another case, where a company did not sell its shareholdings in other companies but merely valued them in the market price in its balance sheet, the Income-tax Officer with the previous approval of the Inspecting Assistant Commissioner levied penal super-tax under Section 23A because the company did not do the impossible, viz, did not declare a dividend out of what was only book appreciation. Where a bureaucracy has so little sense of justice and fairplay, it is most undesirable to clothe it with powers of such wide-ranging amplitude and invest it with such unfettered discretion as many of our laws provide for. I shall repeat here what I have said before on other occasions, that I have not seen one Sales Tax Officer or one Income Tax Officer ever come to grief as a result of making fantastic assessments, whereas countless citizens come to grief every year as a result of not duly paying their taxes to the State. This tyranny of the Executive will continue to persist and will take accentuated forms, unless public opinion is mobilised and the public authorities are compelled to display a sense of fairness and justice in their dealings with the citizen.

Samuel Butler once said that conscience is very well-bred and soon ceases to speak to those who will not listen to it. As with the conscience of individuals, so with the conscience of Governments. The Government reaches a stage, after it has gone on for years completely impervious to public grievances and public criticism, and completely oblivious of its duty to act fairly by the citizens, when its conscience ceases to speak to it and it comes to believe that the public are just grumblers who will not appreciate what a golden administration they enjoy in their own country.

The tyranny of the Executive becomes absolutely intolerable when it goes to the length of even ignoring or overriding the statutory law of the land. The statutes expressly enact that no orders, instructions or directions shall be given by the Central Board of Revenue so as to interfere with the discretion of the Appellate Assistant Commissioner in the exercise of his appellate functions, and yet in practice circulars of the Central Board of Revenue are regularly and systematically circulated among the Appellate Assistant Commissioners, indicating what are the views of the Central Board of Revenue on questions arising under the Income-tax and other fiscal laws. I have found in practice that in an overwhelming majority of cases these circulars of the Central Board of Revenue are scrupulously followed by the Appellate Assistant Commissioners, and thus the provisions of the statutory law of the land are clearly subverted. One would not have much quarrel with this state of affairs if the circulars were fair and reasonable. But even when the circulars are hopelessly unfair and are directly contrary to the statutory laws of the land, they are still fol-

lowed not only by the Income-tax Officers but also by the Appellate Assistant Commissioners. An instance in point is a circular of the Central Board of Revenue that for the purposes of wealth tax, the value of a life interest should be taken on the basis that the purchaser of the life interest would be content with a 4% yield on his investment. Section 7 of the Wealth-tax Act, 1957, provides that the market value of the property should be taken as the value for wealth tax purposes. So the correct statutory test is — how much would a person pay in the open market as the purchase price of a life interest under a trust. No man in his senses would purchase a life interest on the basis of getting a 4% yield, when he can easily get 6% on first-class debentures and more than 6% on first-class preference shares or on the ordinary shares of the best banks in the country. Again, no sane man would buy such a life interest without taking into account the expenses of taking out an insurance policy on the life of the life-tenant to guard against the loss of capital which he would suffer in the event of the premature death of the life-tenant. Nor would any rational man convert his capital which is not liable to income-tax, into taxable income, without taking into account the factor of taxation. Every purchase of a life interest would involve the conversion of income-tax-free capital into taxable income, and consequently the factor of taxation would go to reduce the price which any sensible purchaser would be willing to offer for the purchase of a life interest. Besides, anyone purchasing a life interest under a trust would have no control whatsoever over the corpus, which fact would dissuade anyone from buying a life interest unless he gets a better yield than he would by investing his capital directly in shares and securities over which he can have complete control. All these factors which any intelligent layman would understand and which need no special training either in accountancy or in law, are totally ignored by the circulars of the Central Board of Revenue, which presume that the haf-witted citizens of this country would be willing to offer for a life interest a price which gives them 4% yield, without taking into account the aforesaid factors of taxation, insurance charges, much higher yield on first-class investments, etc. The result is that following the circular of the Central Board of Revenue which provides a rule of thumb having no relation whatsoever to the real market value of the life interest calculated on any rational or commercial basis, all Appellate Assistant Commissioners dispose of wealth-tax appeals by valuing life interests at fantastic figures which are nowhere near the real market value of the life interests. Thus, Section 7 of the Wealth Tax Act, which is the law of the land, is openly violated by the very persons who administer the law. It is about time that people compelled the Government to amend the Wealth Tax Act and provide that the Government should be under an obligation to take over, if the assessee so elects, the life interest or any other property at such valuation as the Wealth Tax Officer chooses to put upon it for the purpose of the Wealth Tax Act.

Another instance of the tyranny of the Executive is the scandalous way in which permits have been granted to the State Transport Corporation under the Motor Vehicles Act. Under that Act it is in the discretion of the Regional Transport Authority to grant a permit for plying buses to an applicant. There have been a large number of cases even in a well-regulated State like Bombay, in which the State Transport Corporation applied for and obtained permits to ply buses, without even having buses to put on the road and without being able to say within what time it would ever acquire the buses; and permits were refused to citizens who had buses and had been plying them for many years. Such *mala fide* exercise of discretion is the very travesty of justice. The final appeal from the decision of the Regional Transport Authority is to the Government

itself, i.e., the very State that owns and controls the Corporation and which wants its own creature, the Corporation, to get the permit. In other words, the Government is constituted by the law of the land a judge in its own cause and the subordinate authority, the Regional Transport Authority, seldom brings a judicial mind to bear on the case which it has to decide.

One of the main reasons why unfair legislation can easily be rushed through Parliament and the State Legislatures is that the uneducated electorate is hardly concerned with returning the right type of man to the Legislatures. A man may have the highest intellectual and moral qualifications but he would be defeated in an election by a candidate whose sole qualification is that he believes in the dissection of a State. The best minds in the country are outside the Legislatures and the Government takes precious little pains to utilise them in the national cause. Even when Committees and Commissions are appointed, it is the narrow statistical expert who gets appointed and seldom the man of vision and culture, of humanity and imagination.

What is the effect of this type of tyranny of the Legislature and of the Executive? A wide-spread feeling of discontent among all strata of society. The people feel the injustice of it, though they are too spineless and too fatalistic to offer effective opposition against this type of legislation and administration. The whole atmosphere is drenched with disrespect for the law. Evasion of the law is the way most often resorted to do get round unfair legislation and unfair administration. The tides of democracy have receded in neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Burma, Indo-China and the countries of the Middle East, precisely because of the unfair administration of unfair laws, coupled with the inefficiency and corruption which honeycomb the administrative set-up. There is a positive danger of the public discontent in India resulting in the sapping of the strength of the Government and the morale of the people, unless something is done quickly and firmly to bring about a sense of justice and fairness in the administrative machinery and greater care is bestowed by the Government on the need of enacting laws which do not bear hardly and harshly on the citizen. The whole difficulty arises from the naive belief that the Executive alone knows what is good for the people, that the Executive should be paramount and supreme and that the citizen exists only to be bludgeoned by the State.

Two things alone can counteract this tyranny of the Legislature and the Executive. First, there must be a powerful, well-knit opposition inside the Legislatures to baulk the passage of Bills which are not consistent with the basic principles of the Rule of Law. Secondly, the public conscience must be aroused to an extent where the citizen forgets his own selfish interests and fights for a cause which he knows to be be the cause of individual liberty and public good. Unless such an opposition is developed inside Parliament and such public opinion is aroused outside it, we may continue to enjoy the husk of democracy, but the essence of democracy and of the Rule of Law will be irretrievably lost.

Socialism and the Constitution

WHEN the Constitution was drafted and passed in 1950, the nineteenth and thirtyfirst articles thereof inscribed therein as a fundamental right to be enforced by the courts against the government of the day, whoever it may be, the right of all citizens, without any discrimination against any of them, to practice any profession, to carry on any occupation, trade or business, to acquire, hold and dispose of property. These are the words of the Constitution. When, in contravention of this, the methods of communist countries in respect of citizen's properties were sought to be adopted, the Congress party was compelled by the adverse decisions of courts to amend the Constitution on several occasions. Amendment of the Constitution was easy enough as there was a steam-roller majority for the Congress party. The original constitution-makers solemnly adopted articles to prevent socialistic expropriation and to give no room to the government for practising a fraud on powers by giving inadequate compensation for compulsory acquisition. The subsequent amendments were passed only to facilitate such a fraud.

The original sub-clause in the article permitting the imposition of restrictions on fundamental rights in the interests of the general public was in the course of the debate improved by the addition of the word 'reasonable' before the word 'restrictions', which was not in the first draft, but which was put in to give the courts the final voice regarding the legitimacy of such restrictions and to prevent the nullification of the citizen's fundamental right by the exercise of the power to place restrictions in the interests of the general public. The Supreme Court was given the authority to examine and strike down any misuse of the powers.

Article 26 of the Constitution specifically laid down the right of every religious denomination or any section thereof to own and acquire movable and immovable property and to administer such property in accordance with law. The State was not allowed to practice any kind of expropriation.

Article 31 laid down that no property movable or immovable or any interest in any company owning any commercial or industrial undertaking shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired.

It is obvious that the founders of the Constitution intended to provide not only against the 'socialistic pattern' but also against any misuse of powers to achieve such an object by indirect or devious means. This article of the original Constitution has been subsequently amended so as to nullify the original intention.

There is a chapter in the Constitution dealing with policies and principles of government. The provisions of this article are not 'justiciable'. But the direction in this chapter is that State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which social, economic and political justice shall inform all the institutions of the national life. The State according to this chapter should direct its policy towards securing that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good and the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment. There is not a word here to support the false doctrines of egalitarianism. The principles enunciated are those that govern the laws of America against

C. Rajagopalachari

combines and monopolies. What the Congress regime now does under its system of permits and licences is exactly the opposite of what is laid down in the Constitution—they serve to concentrate wealth and the means of acquiring additional wealth on the few persons chosen by them for doing business or industrial production in several important lines and these monopolies created by the State in favour of chosen persons work to the common detriment.

There is not a word in the Constitution recommending the socialistic pattern or socialism but everything was done in anticipation to prevent such mischief. The present government has not only disregarded the intent and purpose of the founders of the Constitution but have laid violent hands on the Constitution itself.

(From "Swarajya," April 15, 1961)

When American Senator Hubert Humphrey met the Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, in December 1958, he asked the Russian Premier what he thought of communes.

"They are old-fashioned, they are reactionary,"* Mr. Khrushchev said of the communes. "We tried that right after the revolution. It just doesn't work. That system is not nearly so good as the state farms and the collective farms.

"You know, Senator, what those communes are based on? They are based on that principle, 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.' You know that won't work. You can't get production without incentive."

"That is rather capitalistic," the Senator commented.

"Call it what you will", Mr. Khrushchev replied.

"It works."

—Mr. Khrushchev

*This portion was subsequently denied, but not the rest.

Swatantra Party's Price Policy— The "Honest Rupee"

A QUESTION is often asked: What is the special appeal of the Swatantra Party to the Masses of India? Why should the people of India vote for the Party? Among the twenty-one items contained in the Statement of Principles of the Party, there are several with which every citizen of India is directly concerned. There are others which influence his life but indirectly. In the first category, there is one principle which is of very great significance to every one of us and that is the concept of the "Honest Rupee". Amongst the most important reasons which will induce the middle classes and the masses of India to vote for the Swatantra Party at the forthcoming election, one could put its price policy as the foremost.

Item 14 of the Statement of Principles reads as under: "The Party is opposed to all policies that lead to excessive inflation, high prices that reduce the value of savings, endowments, and fixed incomes and which create undue hardship for the present generation in the hope of a distant gain." Even in cold print this principle seems attractive enough as it has a special appeal to everyone of us who is concerned with the problem of a limited income and unlimited wants. It is necessary to consider this principle in greater detail to appreciate its importance. The voters certainly have a right to ask: 'As a principle, it is allright. What does it mean to me in actual practice? How is your party going to implement this principle when it comes to power?" Although, I do not, and cannot, claim to speak for the Party, I would like to examine this principle with a view to indicating its broad significance. The best and the simplest way is to consider some basic principles which a Government or a Finance Minister must follow to grapple this problem of prices with a courage of conviction.

(1) Rather than squabble over the equal distribution of national income, it would be much more sensible and realistic to concentrate all available energy on the problem of increasing the national wealth and income.

(2) Allow all working people to get constantly increasing wages but out of higher productivity. The only exception to this principle shall be people who through old-age or illness can no longer directly participate in production. Trade Unions which demand higher wages, which are not counterbalanced by increased productivity, and thus lead to increase in prices, are no better than irresponsible speculators whose reckless activities bring economic disaster.

(3) Realistically administer the law against Monopoly to ensure that no individual citizen or a group of individuals, whether entrepreneurs or workers, is strong enough either to interfere with or suppress individual freedom in economic matters.

(4) Find a balanced mid-way between absolute *laissez faire* and extreme totalitarian state control.

(5) Turn the men and money loose to make the country strong. Administer the theory of free market economy with faith in it. Give scope to free competition.

(6) Do away boldly with rationing, price controls and such other irksome Government regulations even though there may be scarcity of goods. On the other hand, create conditions which will increase production

Dr. Rustom C. Cooper
Treasurer, Swatantra Party, Bombay branch

through the mechanism of the free competitive market.

(7) Promote a generous international exchange of ideas particularly by encouraging through every available means the obtaining of foreign technical know-how.

(8) Make an utmost effort to keep the domestic currency values stable, prevent even a small rise in price level but achieve both these results without endangering economic progress. Both the Government and the people must regard "Savings" and "Currency Values" as something sacred. Currency stability must be regarded as a basic fundamental right of every citizen and any negligence on the part of the Government in the matter of prices which leads to a lowering of the value of savings must be regarded as a fraud on the people of India.

(9) Government must be absolutely impartial and cultivate disciplined behaviour of both workers and employers.

(10) The Finance Minister should all along take the people into his confidence. He should not permit any price increases without keeping the people fully informed about the causes for price increases and its harmful effects on the community.

(11) The Government must strive to put an end to the vicious spiral of wages rise chasing the prices and *vice versa*.

(12) No individual group or class of society should be allowed to put forward demands, whether it be employees, employers, consumers or producers, which are contrary to the good of the country as a whole. Although, the problem of organized pressure groups exerting strong political influence on the Government is universal in all parts of the world, an honest effort must be made to rid the Government as far as possible of its evil influence. This can best be done if the Government has the least possible opportunity to distribute various types of favours through manufacturing, import, export and other licences and permits.

(13) Direct international co-operation towards the problem of stabilizing domestic price level.

(14) Acknowledge the just demands of the citizens to cut the tax burden. An obvious outcome of rise in the national income would be that although the rates of taxation remain stationary, the tax revenues considerably increase, provided Government expenditure is kept within reasonable limits.

(15) Stabilise the Government expenditure at its present level which is already quite high.

(16) Economic freedom should be ensured to every citizen both in his capacity as a consumer as well as a producer. In the words of Dr. Ludwig Erhard, "First consideration must be given to the freedom of every citizen to live his life according to his financial circumstances, personal desires and values. This basic principle of freedom for the consumer must logically be counter-balanced by freedom for the producer to make and sell what he believes to be marketable, that is, what he has found, after studying individual needs, to be essential and likely to succeed. Freedom for the consumer and freedom to work must be explicitly recognized as inviolable basic rights by every citizen..... Democracy and free economy are as logically linked as are dictatorship and state controls."

(17) Government should keep clear of the policy of artificial forced economic expansion. One of the main reasons for the present dissatisfactory state of affairs in our country is Government's policy of proceeding too fast—a frivolous policy of expansion. Proceed-

ing cautiously should not be mistaken for inactivity. It should be remembered that such a cautious policy does not necessarily slow-down economic progress but, on the other hand, pays much better dividends. It is indeed most interesting to note the following words of Dr. Erhard which are so appropriate to the policies followed by the present Government in India to-day: "Above all, we must not try to achieve an apparent success through increasingly watering down our money.....and thus move towards inflation. In that way, we would steal imperceptibly the money of those who have saved. That would be the most damnable method which could be conceived."

(18) Medium, small-scale and cottage industries must all have their rightful place in society. No one could deny their right to exist. Any attempt, however, on the part of the Government to artificially control or hamper the growth or scale of production under mistaken ideas, such as, exclusive reservation for or undue encouragement to cottage industries when it is unwarranted, must be avoided. This could lead to artificially limiting production and waste of economic resources. This by itself leads to rise in prices. Government must do its utmost to encourage increase in the productivity through modernization and rationalisation calculated towards higher standard of efficiency.

(19) It is noticed that successive Finance Ministers in this country have contributed to the view that inflation in small doses is not only permissible but even desirable. This is a definitely mistaken and dangerous proposition. The principle of basing all economic decisions on the basic need for stability of currency should not be compromised or sacrificed under any circumstances.

(20) If Government is really going to perform the role of an impartial judge between the diverse forces of vested interests which constantly bring pressure on the economic system, it is but imperative that Government should itself refrain from participating in actual economic activity. The simple formula for success is that the State should not undertake the economic activity and the businessmen should refrain from interfering in the economic policy making, which is the prerogative of the State within the limits of democracy. The free market economy does not imply a right of uninhibited and licentious behaviour on the part of businessmen and industrialists. Modern economic policy of the State under democratic form of Government does not mean complete renunciation of all intervention in economic affairs. Far from it, the State is supposed to lay down; encourage and promote healthy economic policy calculated to promote best interests of the citizens without itself unduly interfering with or undertaking economic activity.

(21) Minimise the number of laws, regulations and decrees to the least necessary for efficient Government. The success of administration lies not in a plethora of laws but on efficient administration of a few simple laws. This will foster confidence in the Government and deter the undesirable element in the Society from perpetrating anti-social acts. One of our worst mistakes since Independence has been that, we have come out with far too many laws but we have failed to administer our laws effectively.

Above all, it is necessary that a Government should be sincere and honest in facing the problem of 'Rising Prices'. It should not try to sidetrack the issue by clouding it with political mist of socialistic dogmas. As a pure political weapon, the Congress Party has always come out with

a suggestion that Swatantra Party stands far unbridled private enterprise without any check on it—complete free trade or *laissez-faire* policy. The party neither believes in complete free trade nor abolition of each and every law, regulation or decree. Anybody who goes through the statements of Principles of the Party will be convinced that what it advocates is least but effective Government regulations, free scope for healthy competition, minimum Government participation in trade and industry, more efficient, effective and economical administration and stringent measures against corrupt officials as well as businessmen. These have to be coupled with a desire on all sides to maintain an Honest Rupee which will be subject to no watering down of its value and prevent the value of one's savings from going down with passage of time.

The critics of the Swatantra Party will naturally raise a simple question—should the Government sit back and watch without interfering when the people resort to profiteering, hoarding and such other undesirable practices which soar the prices sky-high? The answer is an emphatic "No". Instead of relying on rationing and price controls which the Government knows are bound to prove ineffective, it should take more realistic measures. It should employ psychological persuasion which in future economic policies of democratic countries is bound to play a very important role. It should pursue more flexible monetary, credit and currency policies which will lead to greater stability of currency. There should be persuasive discussions between individual economic groups and the Government when the latter feels that any particular business or commercial interest is not acting in the best interests of the country. Government must constantly talk to the masses to make them "price-conscious", through speeches of Ministers and also official public statements. Instead of justifying the rise in prices as is often being done in India to-day by responsible Ministers, it will be much better to speak day in and day out about the evils of price increases so that through constant appeals the masses of India would develop an automatic sensitivity to slightest increases in prices.

"A deaf Government and a dumb people do not make democracy. Democracy is not just a statutory entity. A knitting together of people's hearts makes democracy; the hearts being not of sheep but of men."

— Shri C. Rajagopalachari

A Study in Free Vs. Controlled Economy

A VISIT to East and West Berlin is as I now find it, a pilgrimage. I would recommend it to economists who are still wavering on the relative potentialities of freedom and State regulation, to administrators who think that controls are indispensable for accelerated economic growth and to ministers, legislators and politicians who believe that India's economic salvation is not possible without centrally directed five-year plans.

The contrast between the two Berlins cannot miss the attention of a school child. West Berlin, though an island within East Germany, is an integral part of West German economy and shares the latter's prosperity. Destruction through bombing was impartial to the two parts of the city. Rebuilding is virtually complete in West Berlin. Vacant plots are often used to raise crops. Buildings still in damaged condition are rare. The residential areas, including flats for workers,—of varying floor space, they are not chawls—and the shopping centres radiate boom conditions. In East Berlin a good part of the destruction still remains; twisted iron, broken walls and heaped-up rubble are common enough sights. The new structures, especially the pre-fabricated workers' tenements, look drab.

The main thoroughfares of West Berlin are near-jammed with prosperous looking automobile traffic, the German make of cars, big and small, being much in evidence. Buses and trams dominate the thoroughfares in East Berlin; other automobiles, generally old and small cars, are in much smaller numbers than in West Berlin. One notices cars parked in front of workers' quarters in West Berlin. The new phenomenon of workers owning cars, which West Berlin shares with U.S.A. and many parts of Europe, is unknown in East Berlin. In contrast with what one sees in West Berlin, the buildings here are generally grey from neglect, the furnishings lack in brightness and quality, and the roads and pavements are shabby, somewhat as in our cities.

The contrast applies, too, to shop windows. The departmental stores in West Berlin are crammed with wearing apparel, other personal effects and a multiplicity of household equipment, temptingly displayed. Nothing at all comparable is visible in East Berlin. East Berliners visit West Berlin to take back un-noticed whatever goods they can buy. The food shops in East Berlin exhibit cheap articles in indifferent wrappers or containers and the prices for comparable items, despite the poor quality, are noticeably higher than in West Berlin. Walking into a restaurant in East Berlin, one finds the same contrast. The stranger's doubt whether payments will be received in West marks is soon dispelled. They are accepted with a twinkle in the eye. Coffee and ice-cream cost 3.10 marks; to economise on foreign exchange, coffee is heavily mixed with synthetics; genuine stuff alone is served in West Berlin and it may be had for half the price.

The frontier between East and West Berlin is nominal. There are no passport formalities as a normal practice. Foreigners, in particular, may move across the frontier quite freely. Generally, there are police guards only on the Eastern side. On the underground railway, movement between East and West is virtually free; the change in the uniformed station staff indicates the passing of the frontier. The generally shabby clothes of the people coming in is another evidence of the entry into East Berlin.

Visiting East Berlin gives the impression of visiting a prison camp. The people do

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not seem to feel free. In striking contrast with the cordiality of West Berliners, they show an unwillingness to talk to strangers, generally taking shelter behind the plea that they do not understand English. At frequent intervals one comes across on the pavements uniformed police and military strutting along. Apart from the white armed traffic police and the police in the routine patrol cars, uniformed men are rarely seen on West Berlin roads.

But Communist party men are eloquent. They have a ready explanation for the contrast between East and West Berlin. West Berlin is part of the dollar empire! For propaganda effect, American capitalists are pouring money into West Berlin; once this blood transfusion ceases, West German economy will collapse. East German prosperity, on the other hand, rests on solid foundations—hard and devoted work of East German workers. Though progress may be slow, it will endure.

This is a grossly misleading explanation. It is not true that West German prosperity rests on foreign capital; nor is it superficial and temporary. Though foreign aid played an important part in speeding up reconstruction in the initial phase, even so, aid between April 1948 and the end of 1954 was of the order of 6-7 per cent of the gross investment of the period. Foreign aid has played a much more vital role in the progress of planning in India; it accounted for 23 per cent of the investment in the public and the corporate private sector in the first three years of the Second Plan. It is much more true to facts to say that, as in the case of Canada, continued German prosperity attracted foreign capital, rather than that this prosperity rested on foreign capital. In recent years, there has been a net outflow of German capital, which amounted to DM 1.64 billion (Rs. 185 crores) in 1959, and yet German prosperity continues on the uptrend. Share values in Germany since 1951, keeping pace with the national product, have risen at an annual rate of 28 per cent, in a back-ground of comparative price stability. This would not happen if the economy lacked in soundness and stability.

For an explanation of the contrast of the two Berlins, we must look deeper; the main explanation lies in the divergent political systems. The people being the same there is no difference in talent, technological skill and aspirations of the residents of the two parts of the city. In West Berlin efforts are spontaneous and self-directed by free men, under the urge to go ahead. In East Berlin effort is centrally directed by Communist planners, who do not lack in determination for speedy progress; the urge to progress is particularly strong, if only to demonstrate the potentialities of Communism to foreign visitors to the two Berlins. The contrast in prosperity is convincing proof of the superiority of the forces of freedom over centralised planning. It is difficult to resist the inference that workers in East Berlin, deprived of the incentives of full property rights over the fruits of one's effort, are loath to put in their best.

This is reflected in the unabated emigration from East to West Berlin. The emigrants have to leave behind all their assets, save the clothing they wear and such valuables as they may carry unobtrusively. The route they take is usually the underground railway. Once in West Berlin, the emigrants are assured of hospitality at the reception centre at Marienfelds. Depending on choice, job availability and background, they then leave to the several parts of West Germany. The largest bulk of the emigrants is within the age groups of 18 and 45; the urge to leave is great among technicians, professional men and intellectuals. While the population of West Germany is growing, that of East Germany is declining. Communists can never give a satisfactory explanation to this strange phenomenon of workers, by self-choice, abandoning their paradise, leaving behind kith and kin and possessions, to start life all anew in a decaying community dominated by capitalist exploiters.

The flow of traffic, human and financial,

is predominantly one way, from East to West Berlin. This is reflected in the glut of supply of East marks and in the exchange rate in the free market. One West mark buys 4-1/4 East marks, the official rate being one to one. Conversion at the free rate may be effected at banks or money changers at important railway stations in West Berlin. This explains the twinkle in the eye when East Berliners receive payments in West marks at the official rate.

Theatres, news-stands and book-shops in East Berlin exhibit home products and propaganda material on the achievements of Communism. For a breath of fresh air and for the news, literature and amusements of the free world East Berliners visit West Berlin. Out of sympathy for them, Bonn and West Berlin subsidises cinema houses to permit their accepting payments at par in East marks, the amount of the subsidy being of the order of 10 million marks a year.

The contrast in achievements, which has widened with time, is a heavy strain on Communist nerves, and, doubtless, is a factor in the "Berlin problem". To begin with, East Berlin was better fed and clothed than West Berlin. With the coming of Professor Erhard's free market policies in 1948,—when he threw "into the waste paper basket, in one swoop, hundreds of decrees promulgating controls and prices" —West German economy began to boom and soon overtook East Germany.

Statistics of West German progress testify eloquently the superiority of the forces of freedom. The gross national product of West Germany expanded at an annual rate of 17 per cent during the past decade,—a world record for a sustained rise at this high rate—and West German wages rose, during the same interval, by about 90 per cent. The international payments of the country were chronically in deficit, calling for doles, when "planning" prevailed; since the restoration of freedom to the producer and the consumer, the payments position has shown rising surpluses, German exports forging ahead from the fifth to the second place in the world.

That an innate conflict exists between freedom and progress is a delusion which is clouding the vision of policy makers in many countries, including our own. Policies ensuring economic freedom, in every case, have rescued economies from semi-stagnation, to which controls and statism had condemned them. The examples of West Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Japan, Hong-Kong and, more recently, France demonstrate this. West Germany has achieved, in less than ten years, more economic well-being for the citizen than Russia had done after 40 years of ruthless regimentation. Communism makes for sectoral, not general progress.

(From "Swarajya" of August 6, 1960)

"I disagree with the view that nationalisation or even public ownership is the be-all and end-all, the ultimate first principle and aim of Socialism."

— Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, M.P.
British Labour Party leader

For A Stable Rupee

FOR several decades before Independence, India was a country with surplus of balance of payments in her favour. She had a world monopoly in the export of some of her produce such as jute and tea. During the first World War (1914-1918) the balance of payments was so very much in favour that the rupee went up as high as 2 sh. 11½ d.

The balance of payments in India's favour was currently liquidated in gold, which was freely available in the market at about Rs. 15 for a sovereign. The rupee was a silver coin with a high statutory content of silver, and the Government was under an obligation to cash unlimited amounts of paper currency in silver rupees (not paper rupees as at present) at its currency Offices.

About 1929-30 two great steps were taken to reform the monetary system. One was to peg the exchange ratio at 1 sh. 6 d. to the rupee instead of a fluctuating rate or the rate of 1 sh. 4 d. which had prevailed before the war. This was a highly controversial change. It was welcomed by importers but opposed by exporters.

I must however add the very important fact that at that time sterling was on the gold standard, and the rupee was also very strong and its exchange was therefore on the gold standard basis. The position, therefore, was that about 1930 gold sovereigns were freely obtainable for—about Rs. 13.6.0. Gold being, in the last resort, the only acceptable medium of universal foreign exchange, India's monetary position *vis-a-vis* the rest of the world was *par excellence*.

The second great reform in the thirties was the establishment of an independent statutory monetary authority, viz., the Reserve Bank of India, with a strong majority of elected non-officials on the Board of Directors, for the purpose of regulating the monetary and currency policies of the country, free of Government control.

About 1931, owing to world-wide depression, India had to suffer on account of being tied to Britain. When Britain went off the gold standard there was no need for India to follow suit and continue to link herself to sterling at the same old rate, viz., 1 sh. 6d., and bring about an unwarranted devaluation of the rupee in terms of gold.

If this measure had not been taken the rupee would have soared in relation to sterling by virtue of its own strength, and Britain would have had to pay higher prices for imports from India. Actually the Finance Member did unlink the rupee from sterling and allowed it to find its own level in terms of gold, but this was countermanded, overnight by the India Office and the rupee was linked to sterling, which was now off the gold standard, at the same old rate, namely 1 sh. 6 d. This and a few other actions resulted in uncalled-for devaluation of the rupee and enormous sales of gold in India and its export abroad.

However, we survived all this, and at any rate the common middle-class man found that it was a period of very low cost of living and no shortages. The 80% of our population living in villages undoubtedly suffered a shrinkage of their cash income but to the extent that they were consumers of the bulk of their own agricultural produce, fluctuations of prices did not hit them seriously. They were not affected to the same extent as non-agricultural communities. The urban population did not suffer at all. Indeed they were generally very happy.

In 1939 the second World War broke out and India became one of the most important sources of supply of war materials and goods of all kinds to the allied nations. But the financial arrangements for

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those supplies and the mode of payment were so different from the straight and simple methods adopted in the first World War that India just accumulated, virtually blocked sterling with the Bank of England, and the Reserve Bank printed notes to finance expenditure in India. The result was highly inflationary, and a scarcity as well as rise in the prices of consumer goods by about 200-300% as compared with pre-war prices.

Nevertheless, India's financial position was very strong. Instead of being a debtor country which she was before the war, and owing hundreds of millions of pounds to the U.K. we became a creditor nation, having discharged hundreds of millions of the sterling debt, and in addition accumulated about 1160 million sterling in London to our credit. This is an astronomical figure. Our immediate effort soon after the War was to enter into arrangements with the U.K. for the gradual withdrawal and utilisation of our sterling balances in order to supplement our own foreign exchange earnings for the reconstruction and post-war development of India.

The point which I wish to emphasise is that India had a very strong and stable currency right up to Independence, and it was fully backed by enormous foreign exchange resources and an ample balance of payments in her favour. It was expected we should have ample resources for beginning a great effort for the economic and social development of India, which would bring about an increase of national income and improve the standard of living.

It was also expected that a judicious utilisation of the accumulated sterling balances and consequent increased production would bring about a reduction of prices, which had risen during the war. Unfortunately, our policies within 5 or 6 years after Independence resulted in a rapid decline of our exchange resources, mounting inflation and rising prices over even the 1950 levels.

About 18 months ago, a friend of mine gave me a statement of prices of household provisions in 1935-36 and the prices during February 1959. You may like to get a few of the details.

The incomes of the poorer and middle classes have of course not risen in anything like the same proportion as the cost of living. After Independence our great amibition has been to raise the standard of living of our people and wipe out poverty, hunger and disease. But inflation, mounting prices and irrational taxation have been making the life of the poorer and middle class sections of the people one increasing anxiety and misery.

	Commodity	*Per*	*Rate during* 1935-1936	*Rate during* Feb. 1959
1.	Old rice	Re	6¾ Seers	1 3/8 Seers
2.	Thur dall	Re	6 Seers	8/9 Seer
3.	Bengal gram	Re	8 Seers	1 Seer
4.	Gingeli Oil	Md	Rs. 5.00	Rs. 18.50 nP.
5.	Sugar	Md	Rs. 3.25 nP.	Rs. 12.00
6.	Chillis	Md	Rs. 2.50	Rs. 23.00
7.	Copra	Md	Rs. 5.87	Rs. 24.00
8.	Tamarind	Md	Rs. 1.25	Rs. 7.00
9.	Arecanut	Md	Rs. 8.75	Rs. 76.00
10.	Sooji	Re	7 Seers	1 Seer
11.	Charcoal	bag	Re. 0.81 nP.	Rs. 6.00
12.	Coconuts	100	Rs. 6.00	Rs. 28.00
13.	Milk	Re	6 Seers	1 ¼ Seers
14.	Butter	Re	3 Seers	5/6 Seer
15.	Fuel (Wood)	Re	7 mds.	1½ mds.

In a recent review on Taxation and Inflation published by the Institute of Public Affairs in Victoria, Australia, the idea that increased taxation is necessarily anti-inflationary has been contested. It is stated that in one way or another the different sections of the community eventually take action to counter the effect of increased taxes, and this activity inevitably gives rise to inflationary consequences.

Various sections of society seek for ways to circumvent the impact of higher taxes on their incomes. There will soon be a "build up" of pressure for higher wages and salaries; the professional man may decide to rise the scale of his fees or wages; the businessman will lift his prices so as to maintain his profits.

Increased taxation even in the form of higher indirect taxes will have the undesirable direct effect of raising prices, to give rise to a similar series of consequences on the various sections of the community in their endeavours to maintain their real income intact. An increase of company taxes will make the companies raise their selling prices, and the effect will be to increase the cost of capital projects and involve governments in additional expenditure.

Keynes never forgot that the natural reaction of human beings to given measures of policy can be ignored only at the cost of rendering those measures abortive. He argued that, faced with a reduction in income, a man will tend to reduce his savings rather than his customary expenditure on consumption. An increase in taxes designed to reduce expenditure on consumption will be nullified, at least in part, by the fact that people will draw upon their savings to maintain spending on their everyday needs. Increased taxation will thus mean a reduction in voluntary savings.

It is argued that while increased taxation may have little or no effect on consumption, the drawing down of savings will mean that less money will be available for private investment, and this at least will have some deflationary effect. But in an environment of full employment and rapid economic development, it is hardly likely that businessmen will submit tamely to this situation. They will strive to obtain their funds from other sources by additional borrowing, or if this is denied to them, by competing for some of the savings going into government and semi-government investment, or by raising prices to provide additional finance from their own earnings. All these would intensify inflationary pressures.

In my opinion, the main causes of inflation even after 1950 are:

(1) a continuous increase of taxation on an irrational basis;

(2) pumping in of money, including money from foreign aid sources, on projects which have failed to bring adequate and timely returns, and continuously raising costs; and

(3) the running down of our Exchange Reserves and deficit financing.

The total Central revenue for 1938-39 was about Rs. 83 crores, and of the Provincial revenues, excluding Indian States, for the same period was about Rs. 77 crores. By 1946-47, ordinary Central revenues and expenditure charged to revenue stood at Rs. 400 crores, and that of the State Governments, excluding Indian States, at about Rs. 250/- crores. This was clearly a result of war-time inflation.

In 1959-60, the Central revenues stood at about Rs. 966 crores – more than double that of 1946-47 and 12 times that of the year 1938-39. The figures of State Governments show corresponding trends.

The currency in circulation in 1935 was Rs. 158 crores in silver coins and Rs. 160 crores in note circulation, and the demand deposit of the banks was Rs. 250 crores. Since 1948, the rupee coins have been falling in circulation but the notes in circulation stood at the following figures:

	Rupee coins in circulation	*Notes in circulation*
	(In crores of rupees)	
1935	158	160
1948	155	1304
1951	138	1204
1952	125	1097
1953	119	1089
1954	118	1142
1955	113	1234

By October 1960, 1820 crores of paper currency was in circulation, note circulation actually declined from 1948 to 1953. But from 1955 onwards, the circulation has risen by 50%, while our sterling assets dwindled from over a thousand millions in 1947 to just about a hundred millions at present. Is it surprising that we have now to depend upon the charity and kindness of Western countries for our existence and such progress as we can make, instead of on our own strength?

The Public Debt of India stood in March 1939 as follows:

Rupee Debt : Rs. 710 Crores
Sterling ,, : Rs. 469 Crores

I have not got the precise figures of our present debt position but I believe that the internal funded debt of the Central Government alone is of the order of Rs. 5600 crores, expected to become Rs. 6300 crores by the end of 60-61; and interest-bearing external debt is about Rs. 610 crores, apparently excluding all our obligations under P. L. 480.

It is a well accepted financial principle that normally current revenue expenditure should not exceed the normal administrative requirements of Government, including the repayment of any unremunerative debt and interest on such debt, and should be financed from current revenues. All expenditure on the creation of permanent assets such as railways, large irrigation projects, harbours, hydro-electric projects, etc., should be financed from loan money, as it is unfair to expect the present generation alone to bear the cost of such long-term assets.

It was on this principle that projects such as railways, irrigation, navigation, hydro-electric works, etc., were all financed from long-term and even permanent borrowing, and were expected to be managed for the public benefit without undue profit. It was considered, rightly, that the soundest policy was to recover no more than what was required to cover interest charges on the capital on a permanent debt basis, working expenses, depreciation, annual and special repairs and obsolescence.

In recent years, unfortunately, in our anxiety to make rapid progress and to find resources for that purpose by hook or crook, all this has been forgotten and indiscriminate charges are levied for all such services. For instance, it has been advocacated that electricity projects should be self liquidating within a few years, and so also several other projects, with the result that the present generation is expected not only to pay for the amenities provided by the State but also to make a gift of such amenities to future generations—an impossible task, especially when we are aiming at doing so much in so short a time.

It is such mistaken policies which have led the Government to levy all kinds of taxes on capital goods which go into the construction of factories and development projects. Such inflation of costs results in inflationary prices, which grow like a snowball and result in a continued rise of the costs and prices all round.

Cement is an example of the absurd lengths to which taxes and State trading have gone, with very adverse effects on house-building and various other projects. The ridiculously high prices of indigenous motor transport have resulted in raising the prices of many commodities and the cost of living.

It is painful to see that even essential drugs and medicines have become very scarce, and if available at all the prices are fantastic and beyond the reach even of the middle classes. I can only hope that before it is too late the Government will

realise that a reversal of such policies and the adoption of well-known financial and economic principles will lead to more rapid progress. It is a pity to see them engaged in an obstacle race.

I would like to invite attention to two articles by Andre Vission which appeared in the Reader's Digest for April and December 1959, on the terrible problem of inflation in France. Between 1927 and 1959, the cost of living in France increased by about 40 times, and people who by normal standards were extremely well off gradually became penurious.

It is only recently that the French people and their Government have at last realised that there is not much difference between the State and a private person so far as budgeting is concerned neither can live beyond its means very long.

Since May 1959, General de Gaulle and Antoine Pinay, have been able to report astonishing progress. The dollar reserves are going up and France has trimmed her expenditure, put an end to costly subsidies for industry and agriculture, and is selling enough abroad to pay for her imports. Ninety percent of the import quotas have been abolished; private enterprise and foreign investment have been encouraged. Confidence in the Franc has been restored at home and abroad and the inflation-ridden country is feeling deeply relieved, knowing it will again enjoy the long forgotten advantages of a stable currency.

Political freedom cannot survive unless sustained by economic freedom. M. Pinay believes that Government controls should be reduced to the indispensable minimum, something like traffic lights. To those who call him "the champion of old-fashioned economic liberalism," he replies that private initiative, integrity, hard work and thrift are not, and should never be allowed to become, outdated virtues.

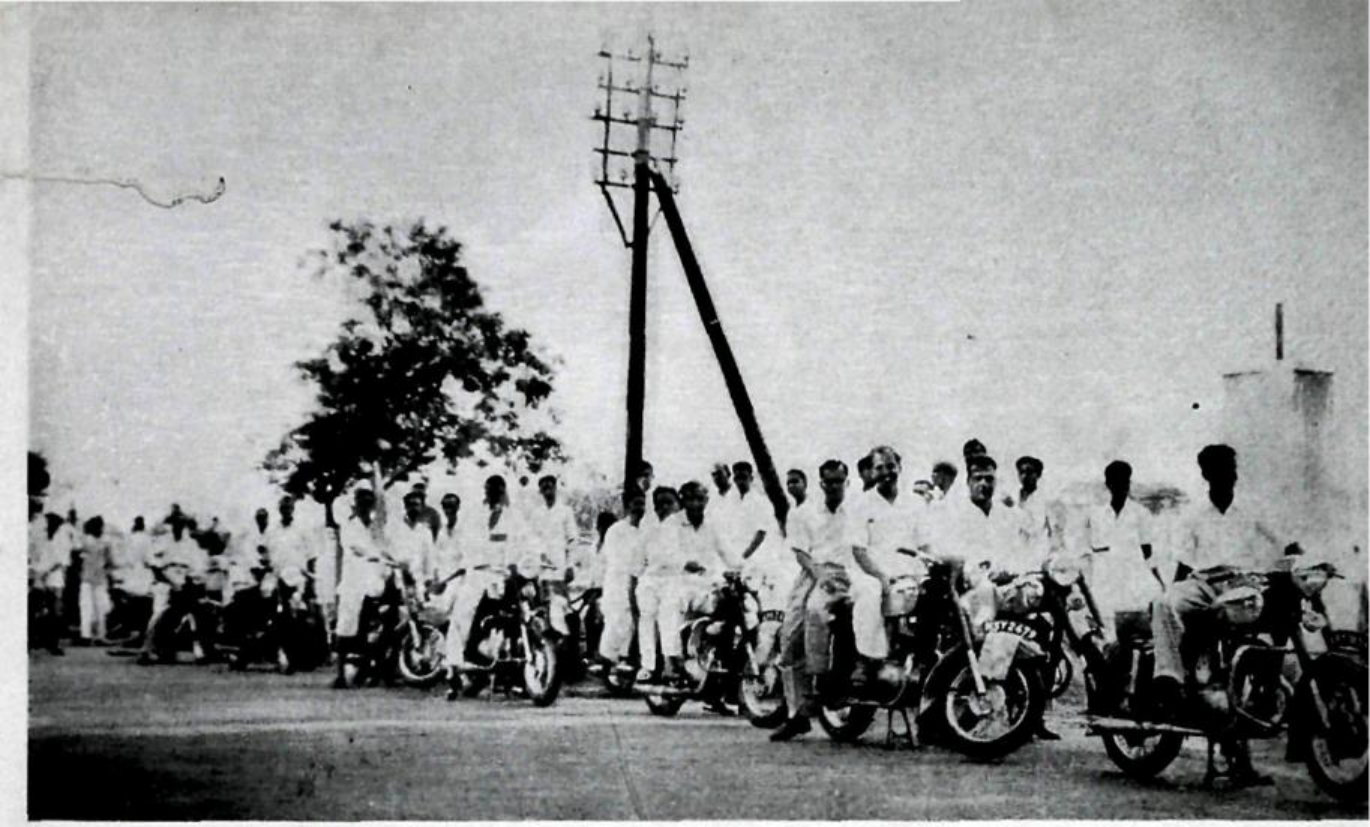
In the course of reforming the French currency, his first objective was to stop inflation; to balance the budget, cutting down expenditure instead of raising taxes. Then he issued a loan with repayments pegged to the price of gold. This is a very important step. It is dishonest to ask people to entrust their savings to you and then pay them back in depreciated currency. There is scarcely any one of us who has not been robbed of hard-earned savings in the form of provident fund and insurance taken out long ago.

The restoration of the German and Japanese economies and finances within a very short period after the war are miracles of modern economics and good government. West Germany was in a state of rubble at the end of the War, but by 1956-57 she was in a position to lend a couple of hundred million dollars to the World Bank and to assist India in her steel Projects. She believed in honest, hard work and private enterprise. Likewise, Japan is even stronger than before the destruction she suffered in the War.

It is noteworthy that the Labour party in England has just recently affirmed its faith in private enterprise; but it must be private enterprise with free competition. In India, private enterprise thrives only at the pleasure of Government control and licence, which is only a form of monopoly and is very damaging to the interests of the consumers.

To conclude, inflation not only undermines the economic foundations of a nation; it weakens its political and social structure, and even its morality. A constantly depreciated currency makes people lose their sense of reality and all confidence in the State and its monetary authority.

I hope it is not too late for the Government to trim its expenditure and be content with less ambitious programmes of planning. The most important thing for the next few years will be to destroy the monster of inflation and ensure a stable currency and prices, and give people some confidence in the State and human nature. We should consolidate what we have done.



ANTI-INFLATION DAY – MADRAS, SEPTEMBER 1960

NADIAD, GUJARAT – NOVEMBER 1960





PATNA CONVENTION – MARCH 1960

CHOWPATTY, BOMBAY – AUGUST 1960



Bureaucratic Plans Stifle Economic Enterprise

IT is remarkable that in this scientific and rationalistic age, centralised economic planning by the State has been raised to the pedestal of a holy cult. The dominant theme in India for some years past has been the economic uplift of the masses, and centralised all-out planning has been resorted to as the means of promoting that object. And this in spite of reiterated lip-service to decentralisation. The major fault of centralised, comprehensive planning is that it imposes a monolithic burden on a people composed of diverse elements at all levels and in all occupations. The achievements that it might show in a few selected areas are bought at the cost of the freedom and enterprise of the individual. The individual and his creative ability are smothered by a proliferating bureaucracy and innumerable rules and regulations.

Planning should not be looked upon as an end in itself. It is essential to place it in its proper perspective and to realise its political consequences. In the life of a nation, 12 or 15 years is but an infinitesimally small period. Broader visions should not be obscured by momentary fancies or by the exaggerated importance given to certain things. Everyone knows that it was Soviet Russia which implemented first the concept of centralised, comprehensive State planning. When it was realised in the West that the industrial revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had led to concentration of capital in a few hands, the Socialist idea of State ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange was developed in Europe in order supposedly to ensure equitable distribution of the goods and services produced by large-scale mechanisation. This movement took the form of a protest against the operation of *laissez faire* capitalism and a demand for parliamentary democratic methods to bring about complete State ownership. Communism went further and resorted to every weapon in its armoury, including force and fraud, to bring about the same end. Both sought to overlook the laws of the free market. Through central State planning, both Socialism and Communism brought into being and promoted the huge Leviathan of the State, subordinating the individual to the dictates of a small band of people who maintained their own power and covered all their sins of omission and commission with the fog of a coming paradise.

A "command economy" thus came into existence. The planners arrogated to themselves the wisdom required for assessing and mobilising all the resources of the country, determining a comprehensive scheme of priorities, ordering industrial and agrarian growth along certain predetermined patterns, and fixing prices and patterns of distribution of the goods and services produced. They thus undermined the freedom of mutual service as well as democracy. It is yet to be shown whether this "command economy" of centralised, comprehensive planning guarantees efficiency in production. The odds are against it. On the distribution front, it has already been proved a tragic failure. During his visit to India a couple of years ago, Mr. Anastas Mikoyan acknowledged that the difference between the lowest and highest paid in Russia ranged from 1:59. According to others the difference is 1:100 or more. The figures, by themselves, do not give an idea of the distribution picture which was indeed the Socialist carrot before the donkey. We have to include what cannot be expressed in terms of money, all the pain inflicted on the souls of people and all the bodily miseries they are made to undergo in the name of comprehensive planning.

C. Rajagopalachari

After liquidating millions of people, Communism has given birth to a new class and a new feudalism instead of abolishing class distinctions and privileges. Party members, less than 4 percent of the people, enjoy all the privileges of life in the name of over 200 million people who are forced to do hard work. So much for centralised State planning in a regime unencumbered by democratic notions. Though these things are well known, they need reiteration today because we are apt to be carried away into imitating Communist policies and methods in our blind admiration for their achievements, overlooking the cost, which is a grim human tragedy. The Prime Minister, in his presidential address at the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress in 1936, made a statement which looks pathetic today in the light of subsequent disclosures about the actual state of affairs in Communist countries. I refer to it because Mr. Nehru is essentially the same man now as he was when he made this statement. His admiration of power and achievement is still misleading him. He said: "It is interesting to read in that monumental and impressive record, the Webbs' new book on Russia, how the whole Soviet structure is based on a wide and living democratic foundation. Russia is not supposed to be a democratic country after the western pattern, and yet we find the essentials of democracy present in far greater degree among the masses there than anywhere else. The 600,000 towns and villages there have a vast democratic organisation, each with its own soviet, constantly discussing, debating, criticising, helping in the formulation of policy, electing representatives to higher committees. This organisation of citizens covers the entire population over 18 years of age. There is yet another vast organisation of the people as producers, and a third, equally vast, as consumers. And thus scores of millions of men and women are constantly taking part in the discussion of public affairs and actually in the administration of the country. There has been no such practical application of the democratic process in history."

As I have said above, Mr. Nehru's admiration of Russian success has not come to an end. It is taking different and various forms at national cost. Modern States all have to do some sort of planning to keep the economy on an even keel. But that need not necessarily be comprehensive, centralised planning which inevitably leads to the restriction of democratic liberties. Physical controls, rationing, inflation, forced savings, that is, large cuts in real wages, and a relentless subordination of life to dictatorship are required to achieve anything like near-success in that type of planning. The lesson from the history of our contemporaries is that planning should be subject to, and in consonance with, democratic principles. Such planning is practicable as well as desirable.

As against this, planning has proceeded in our country on the assumption that people do not know what is good for them and, therefore, they must be told what to do. It has proceeded on the basis that a few bright persons are omniscient and are capable of directing the destinies of the nation in an infallible manner. We have had many warnings to teach us humility. The Bhakra dam, which was described as the new and real temple for India, can be aptly described as the projection of our folly in thinking that big names are the best things. It must come as a revelation to all of us that, apart from crores of rupees sunk into this mammoth project, the danger of anything going wrong with the dam would be an inundation of indescribable magnitude. The bigger a man builds, the smaller becomes his control over the things he builds. What I deplore is not the building of this particular dam but the megalomania for big projects. These projects have a political corollary—the centralisation of all authority, to the detriment of the future of the nation. Until and unless we develop to a stage when the requisite administrative set-up, technical skill and, above all, conscience are all geared to

the needs of such projects, it is foolhardy to venture on them.

Mechanisation saves bodily labour and ensures more leisure. For these reasons, mechanisation has to be welcomed. But to force mechanisation at a rate inconsistent with the availability of technical skills to deal with breakdowns in the vast rural area is to prescribe remedies worse than the disease. Agriculture is our basic asset for leading to the growth of a viable industrial sector. The machines and their operation should be introduced at a pace consonant with the needs and genius of our people. Changing the structure of ownership and tenures at a time when a food crisis is admitted would be like changing horses in midstream.

The application of misleading statistical standards to our economic performance is wrong. Our economy is still largely a barter economy. In the rural areas a number of transactions are not measured in terms of money. It is a common and good practice in villages to pay farm labour with foodgrains and a small cash sum rather than entirely in cash. Increases in the issue of salaries to Government employees and the expansion of the official set-up falsify calculations of the increase in national income. Apart from this, to emphasise the statistical methods in terms of money is to give a materialistic direction to the general mentality of the people by over-emphasising the money angle. This is a subtle evil which has already done great harm. Money is important, but unselfishness and moral qualities are more important even for economic progress.

The Government resorts to policies which depreciate the value of the currency. It pumps money into circulation in paying the bills for the ambitious projects it has undertaken. The fixed-income groups in all sectors suffer greatly as a result of deficit financing and are perplexed as to the means of livelihood for their future. Savings become meaningless because the value of money depreciates year after year. Without savings, there can be no investment, and no increase in wealth.

The taxation side of planning presents a sad picture. The taxes levied on the wealthy have proved disappointing, which should have been anticipated. Now there is going to be a drive towards taxing the poor through indirect levies on all articles of consumption covered over with a fog of rising prices. It is mathematically true that in a poor country with a very large population all-embracing excises on articles of general consumption can alone bring in significant additions to revenue. But at the same time it would be the worst kind of oppression. It will not take long for the poor to discover that, in paying the price of commodities purchased at the little shop, they are paying indirectly levied tax to the Government which has done nothing for them.

Centralisation is the necessary corollary fo present policies, whatever lip-service may be rendered to the doctrine of decentralisation. Such decentralisation as impinges favourably on electoral plans and programmes is favoured, and not that which really leads to efficiency. The policy of a regulated economy in the production and distribution of food has to be carried to its logical conclusion, as Mr. Ajit Prasad Jain confessed when he resigned from the Central Food and Agriculture Ministry. When Socialists and Communists talk of decentralisation, they mean decentralisation of minor powers in execution. The decision-making authority is always the *elite*, the small core, which arrogates to itself all wisdom and infallibility.

The megalomania that vitiates the present development policies is illustrated by the stupendous folly of the contemplated nuclear power station. What we need is not just big projects, but useful and fruitful projects. There is nothing inherently wrong with bigness, just as there is nothing inherently good in bigness. Big dams are good, but more essential are thousands of small projects which could be and would be executed by the enthusiasm of the local

people because they directly and immediately improve their lives. So also in the setting up of industries, there should be encouragement to industries producing consumer goods, which give content and meaning to the phrase "standard of living" and which can be produced in small and medium-scale industries. Private enterprise should be fostered by every means available and not treated as a dangerous enemy. Industrial enterprise would then spread at various levels in the countryside and reduce the tensions that attach to centralised industrialism.

The federal structure of India is not only not used but is sought to be sabotaged. For instance, although industries are today listed by the Constitution under the State Schedule (excepting strategic industries), those who wish to start industries must all rush to New Delhi for permits and comply with or otherwise negotiate a host of regulations. As a consequence, unemployment stands unchanged. It will be argued that there should be co-ordination and uniformity. But economic development takes place faster when diversity is permitted and the fullest use is made of local physical and social conditions by those who know them.

One of the most-neglected aspects of planning in this country is the gearing up of the administrative machinery and the simplification of procedures. It is no use directing appeals of patriotism to clerks whose personal lives cannot permit room for any thought beyond their day-to-day home troubles. Unless conditions are radically changed to provide incentives, to remove inefficiency and to fix responsibility, economic development in this country will be hampered by the very administrative machinery which is supposed to help it.

The role of the Government should be that of a catalyst in stimulating economic development while individual initiative and enterprise are given the fullest play. The Government can do a great deal by way of providing a network of highways and village roads, in improving waterways and developing small harbours, improving communication and transit facilities, which would all serve to boost the economy. Many important things have been neglected because the Government has forgotten them in its obsession with a "command economy." Wise planning means Government help to foster private enterprise and self-help among individuals. Otherwise, there can be no real progress.

(from the Supplement to "Capital" of 17th December, 1959)

"If it is right that it is only possible to distribute what has first been produced, then the first concern of all social reformers must be with that economic order which is most effective. Only after that can other questions be asked. When in any kind of economic order all go equally hungry, then this is neither a solution of the problem of just distribution, nor of security nor any other social question. Nor is it impressive when efforts are made to render the effects of a bad order more palatable by ethical embroideries and appeals to the common interests of all."

— Walter Eucken

Crisis of Controls

ONE of the vital issues which confronts us today is the question of controls—how far and how much. We have been told from time to time that this country suffers from various crises. Some people, like our revered Vice-President, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, say that our country suffers from "a crisis of character". Those who are responsible for our planned development tell us that we suffer from the crisis of development. At the Export Advisory Council meeting in New Delhi, one of the spokesmen of the Government, pointing out the difficulties in foreign exchange from which the country is suffering, said that we are suffering from a dilemma of development. The worst crisis which we are suffering from today is the Crisis of Controls.

The Government of India has become today control-minded and this control-mindedness is not merely restricted to the Planning Commission or to the Cabinet or to those who are responsible for making the policy decisions. It has permeated the entire administrative structure of the Government, from the Chairman of the Planning Commission, who happens to be our Prime Minister, down to the smallest administrator who is in charge of any control of any sort in any corner of the country.

As far as controls are concerned, for the last ten years, we are living under a planned economy and we are told by the spokesmen of the Government, by the spokesmen of the Planning Commission and by economists who favour the idea of a comprehensive planned economy on the Soviet model that controls are an integral and essential part of a planned economy. When we oppose the imposition of intensive and extensive controls, we are branded as people who are opposed to the basic idea of planning. It has been made amply clear from time to time that the Swatantra Party is not opposed to the basic idea of planning, because, planning is as essential for the future development of a nation as it is to the development of a business, family or even the development of the personality of an individual. Every intelligent person or group of persons, or nation must plan the future and decide what needs to be done and how it is to be done. But the difference arises on the question of the extent and the nature of the controls and regulations that are necessary to implement a plan.

Let us examine the present situation. The Government of Free India came into power on the 15th of August 1947. Before that, almost since 1939 when the Second World War broke out, we have been living constantly under a spell of controls which extended from control over imports and exports and capital issues to the consumption and distribution of every essential commodity which was considered necessary and vital for the successful prosecution of the war by the Allies. We had, food rationing, and control over even such consumer articles like fountain pens. We must view the present situation against the background of the fact that this nation has been living under the spell of controls ever since 1939. After we got our freedom, it was very natural for our people to expect, as they had a right to expect, that they will be able to heave a sigh of relief and be free from the throttling atmosphere of controls. They had a justification and they had precedents before them. All other countries which were more directly involved in the war than we were, for instance, the United Kingdom which had suffered considerable damage to its economy, and countries like West Germany and Japan which suffered ravages during the war, had to impose controls during the war. But as soon as the war was over, they

Murarji J. Vaidya
Chairman, Swatantra Party, Bombay Branch

began to examine the various controls and devised ways and means of gradually removing those controls. However, today ours is the only free and democratic country in the world which is suffering from extensive controls. Therefore, the question arises whether in the light of the experience of other democratic countries in the world we are doing the right thing in continuing and extending the controls in various spheres of the nation's activity.

These controls extend to almost every economic activity in which the common citizen is involved. Let us take the life of the ordinary man in a city like Bombay. The first control is the control on the distribution of milk, which every household requires. Under the pretext of providing the whole of Bombay with wholesome milk at fair prices, we find that a situation has now arisen whereby every housewife has to wait in long queues at the street corner milkbooth in every part of the city to obtain one or two seers of milk which she requires for the family. If she wants even half a seer more, she cannot get it as she can get only what is registered on the card. Formerly, although we were occasionally getting bad milk, it was available in enough quantity. But under the control of the State we are depending upon the tender mercies of the State machinery to be able to get even half a seer more of milk than the registered quantity.

If we want to buy food at reasonable prices, we can get it only on a ration card. Although there is no rationing, we are virtually on rationing because if we want to buy outside the ration card, we have to pay very high prices, probably 50 per cent more. The inflationary policies of the Government have to be thanked for this state of affairs.

Let us take housing. We cannot get any additional accommodation unless we are prepared to pay a fantastic "pugree". There is supposed to be rent control in this enlightened State of Maharashtra. But people are not able to get enough housing accommodation, whether in the cities or in the towns or in the villages because there is control on building materials, and activity. Similarly, control extends to every need and every activity of the common man.

Let us take another class of people, the business people. Beginning with the small shopkeeper right up to the biggest industrialist in the country, every enterpriser is in the grip of controls. There is nothing that a businessman can do without asking for some permit, undergoing some control or requesting some Government officer for something or the other. If a shopkeeper has to deal in a commodity, he must have a permit, he must have it entered in his sales tax permit stating that he is entitled to have such and such a commodity. He cannot deal in more commodities without entering it in his licence. If he wants to import or export anything, he must have a permit. You will be surprised to know that, although the Government has been shouting from house-tops that we must try for more exports in order to balance our foreign exchange budget, there are today hundreds of items of export which are controlled. When I recently attended a meeting of the Export Advisory Council in New Delhi, I asked the Minister for Industries whether he could tell me how many items of export are still controlled, and why, when we want to promote our export there are controls on exports of certain commodities. I pointed out that at the previous meeting of the Council, the Commerce Minister had indicated that there were 375 items under control. Out of the 375 items, 70 had been freed from control now, which means there are still 305 items under control for the export of which we require some permit. To obtain such permit in a Government office one is put to much harassment. How can we have export promotion when we have so many controls over exports and the entire machinery of the Government from top to bottom is control-minded? I wonder whether the manner in which we are living under controls is really in tune with the demo-

cratic system that we have adopted in our country.

Let us take the case of the industrialist. People who have anything to do with industry know to their cost that it is not possible to start any industry without obtaining some permit or other. The Government of India has classified industries with a capital upto Rs. 5 lakhs as small industries, and says that every encouragement will be given to them. For such an industry no licence is necessary. But in order to start an industry, you require accommodation for your factory, permit for purchasing various building materials, licence for importing machinery, and raw materials which are in short supply. Thus, although a small-scale industrialist is free in theory to start an industry, he cannot do it without getting some permit. This situation is worse in the field of bigger units. In a planned economy where we must have more production, and more foreign exchange, and we must create more wealth and improve the standard of living of the people, it is not proper that we should have all these controls which hamper the nation. Therefore, it can justly be said that we are suffering from a "Crisis of Controls". These extensive controls suffocate and stifle the growth of the economy.

People who were formerly importers are very much handicapped. They find that they have to obtain permits for importing everything. On top of it, we have today the State Trading Corporation, which like an octopus, is spreading its tentacles day by day, and extending its activities. People must give up import trade or import through the State Trading Corporation today. In such a situation, more and more people go into industry. But they come up against so many hurdles and difficulties that it is found to be very difficult to start an industry and to run it. Under these circumstances, it is not easy to develop our economy. It is very well to talk of big plans running into hundreds of crores of rupees. It is very well to say that the Third Plan is going to be of the order of Rs. 10,200 crores. But the common man asks: "How does it benefit me because if I want to do anything I am frustrated by controls." It appears that no country — except countries like Russia and China where everything belongs to the State and people have to do what they are told to do — has suffered from such a long spell of controls in the last 20 years as India has.

The question, therefore, arises whether it is desirable or possible to do away with these controls. Our Planning Commission, the Government of India and Parliament should give up this psychology or psychosis of control. Once it is decided as a matter of policy that in future we shall have less and less not more and more controls, we can set in motion the machinery of our planning and of our administration to find out how we can go on dispensing with one control after another and thereby create a situation where people live without fear of the inspectors, permits or for that matter of the Planning Commission, because today nothing can happen without the Planning Commission. The Prime Minister has denied the allegation made by Mr. M. R. Masani in Parliament that the Planning Commission has become a Super-Cabinet. I hope that he will take steps to see that it is not a Super-Cabinet. The fact of the matter is that, because the Planning Commission is presided over by the Prime Minister and some Cabinet Ministers are in the Commission, e.g., the Finance Minister, the Defence Minister, the Minister for Labour and Planning, it is but natural that any decision or recommendation made by the Commission cannot possibly be turned down by the Government. How can one imagine that when the Prime Minister himself is a party to the decision of the Planning Commission, the Cabinet would turn down a decision taken by the former, knowing full well the personality of our Prime Minister? Therefore, in effect, a situation has arisen — although it was not intended — that through the whole range of people from the Planning Commission down to the inspectors, we have this

control-mindedness. Only if we have less and less of controls and depend on the honesty, integrity, initiative, enterprise and ability of the common citizen, we will be able to have a real planned development and a rapid increase in the standard of living of the people. After all, a nation consists of individuals. It does not consist of officers, ministers and Government machinery. The level of the nation can be raised only if everybody is allowed to develop to the maximum extent of his capacity.

West Germany is a nation which was completely ravaged by the war. A distinguished Frenchman has said that the manner in which the control over foreign exchange was removed by Dr. Ludwig Erhard in that country was a miracle. The shortage of goods disappeared within a short time, and people could get the essential goods. It is the miracle of development. The fear that there is a shortage or a control leads to hoarding not merely on the part of the trader or manufacturer, but also on the part of the consumer. This is an economic truism which our planners have to bear in mind. If it is announced that we will have rationing of sugar from next month, every one of us will try to buy as much sugar as possible and keep it in our homes although we do not need it immediately. That is human nature, and economics and human nature cannot be separated. Unless the basic characteristics of human nature are borne in mind, we cannot make a success of any plan or control. Therefore, if this control-mindedness is removed, only then we will be able to create an atmosphere when people will think of developing the nation's economy in a free and full manner. It is only by creating that atmosphere that it will be possible to restore to the people the loss of individual freedom and liberty suffered to a large extent from these controls.

How do controls lead to loss of freedom, it may be asked.

Excellent authorities, not only people of our country, but men of international reputation, can be cited to support this view.

> "Economic control is not merely control of a sector of a human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends."
>
> —F. A. Hayek

> "The control of the production of wealth is the control of human life itself."
>
> —Hilaire Belloc

Therefore, it is obvious that we cannot run away from the fact that once economic controls are imposed on the life of a nation, it leads to a situation where more and more controls become necessary and more and more power is given to those who are in charge of the administration of the controls. This in turn results in all manner of undesirable anti-social activities not merely on the part of the shopkeeper, businessman or the manufacturer but also on the part of the Government servants in charge of these controls and on the part of the common citizen. There is all-round demoralisation.

In the United Kingdom, the National Health Scheme has been operating for several years now. One pays a few shillings every month according to one's income and gets free treatment for any illness, from the common cold to a major operation. Even in that country where the common citizen is known for his sense of civic responsibility and patriotism, a situation has arisen where people are misusing the facilities offered by the scheme, by getting reimbursement under false pretexts and buying other commodities with that money.

The Prime Minister said the other day that there are many anti-social elements in our society, which he described as an acquisitive society. But our society is not merely an acquisitive society, but today it is also a "perquisitive society", because everybody wants perquisites. Let us take the Ministers, who claim that they are followers of Mahatma Gandhi and must live in a simple manner. They get modest sala-

ries and, therefore, they say they must have cars to go about. It is necessary that they should have cars to move about. But as far as these people are concerned, there is no income-tax liability on such perquisites. So far as the public is concerned, house rent allowance, car allowance or entertainment allowance are taxable for income-tax purpose as they are taken as part of their income. We see here the growth of a perquisitive society under the socialist ideology. It appears very likely that at this rate there will be more perquisites for Ministers and Government servants and less and less acquisition for the common man. It is stated that we cannot pay Ministers salaries of Rs. 5,000 in a socialist society. It is said that a Central Minister, after income-tax deduction, gets Rs. 1,700 in his hand. There is no wonder he has to depend on the perquisites. Why not pay them a good salary? We want our Ministers to live well and not depend on the hospitality of well-known industrialists when they visit other cities.

From the growth of this perquisitive society, it is apparent that we are not following in the great footsteps of the Father of the Nation. What we are developing is more of Government control, more of anti-social activities more of corruption. Now it is said that under the Third Five-Year Plan, it will be necessary to have selective controls, not overall controls. These so-called selective controls will only lead to selective corruption.

It is neccessary to create among the public of this country an opinion against this control psychosis. What we need in this country for our planned development is not more of controls, but more of freedom for the individual to develop within the overall perspective of the plan. Within the the four corners of the national plan, there should be freedom for all to carry on their activities so long as they are not anti-social; so long as they are not against the law, they should be allowed to carry on their activities with the fullest of freedom and to the best of their abilities. It is only in this manner that we will be able to develop this country and enjoy the freedoms granted to us under the Constitution to carry on every trade and avocation according to the choice of the individual citizen.

In this context, it is very interesting to see what Mr. G. D. H. Cole, a very well-known economic writer, says in his latest book called *History of Socialist Thought*. He says: "I am neither a communist nor a social democrat, because I regard both as a creed of centralisation and bureaucracy, whereas I feel sure that a socialistic society that is to be true to its egalitarian principles of human development must rest on the widest possible diffusion of power and responsibility so as to enlist the active participation of as many as possible of its citizens in the task of democratic self-government."

That is what we need in this country and we must enlist the active support and the fullest co-operation of each and every citizen of this great nation. It is only in this manner that we can develop this country and promote social justice and not by involving ourselves in a crisis of controls.

"Free Enterprise was born with man and shall survive as long as man survives."

— A. D. Shroff

Indian Planning Reverses Natural Process

ALONE among the four objectives of planning in India—abolition of poverty, liquidation of unemployment, industrialisation and the attainment of a socialist pattern of society—industrialisation has recorded remarkable progress, the achievements under the other heads being rather disappointing. During the past nine years the index of industrial production has risen by 68 per cent., or at an annual rate of 7.6 per cent. This is considerably more than the expansion in any country in Asia, excepting Japan, and one and a half times to twice the rate of expansion in Canada, Norway, Sweden, U.K. and U.S.A.

Though progress was recorded in all categories of production, the expansion of the output of capital goods—machinery, electrical motors, machine tools and automobiles—and of intermediate goods—coal, iron and steel, other metals, cement, heavy chemicals, paints, tanned hides, rubber goods and electricity—has shown outstanding progress. In 1960, the output of capital goods was from 2.9 times (automobiles) to 8.9 times (diesel engines) their output in 1950; the corresponding rise in intermediate products was from 1.6 times (coal) to 21 times (rayon yarn).

Among consumer goods, the output of cotton textiles showed the least progress, its index rising from 111.9 in 1950 to 114.6 in 1960 (Jan.-Oct). The index of production of consumer goods used by the relatively better-to-do sections of the community—sewing machines, electric lamps, electric fans, radio receivers, sugar, vanaspati and cigarettes—increased still higher, the rise relatively to 1950 varying from 1.9 times (vanaspati) to 9.6 times (sewing machines).

Much of this expansion, particularly in the sphere of heavy engineering and heavy chemicals, is generally forced or induced, in defiance of the doctrine of comparative costs, by official policy, including rigorous import restrictions, exchange controls and drastic cuts in imports. Private imports were slashed by 38 per cent. in two years, from Rs. 812 crores in 1956-57 to Rs. 505 crores in 1958-59, at about which level they have remained since. Import licences are generally not issued where comparable domestic output is available in adequate quantities, the prices of the substitutes fabricated at home being regarded a minor matter in the face of the paramount need to "save" foreign exchange. This has placed domestic manufacturers in a number of lines in positions of monopoly or semi-monopoly, enabling extortion of near-ransom prices from consumers for what are generally, striking exceptions here and there apart, shoddy substitutes for superior quality imported goods.

Evidence of near-ransom prices paid by consumers may be seen in the vast gaps between landed costs and market prices of virtually the whole range of imported goods. These gaps, which are reflected in the prices commanded by import licences, vary from 30 per cent. to 500 per cent. or more of the landed costs, depending upon the commodities.

The unsaleability abroad of our sugar surpluses because of the heavy price differential—the price of Indian sugar per ton is about Rs. 700 as against the world price of Rs. 400 per ton—is a sample of industrialisation in a closed market at unconscionably heavy costs. Fertilisers, penicillin and refrigerators are other samples. The landed cost of fertilisers is below the ex-factory price at Sindri. The cost of imported penicillin is 10 nP. per million units, as against the estimated cost of production at the Pimpri factory of Rs. 1.25. The import of refrigerators is severely restricted. The cost of a refrigerator in India is about Rs. 2,250; the cost of a comparable unit in the U.K.

B. R. Shenoy

may be about Rs. 1,000. Noteworthy exceptions excluded, what appertains to the foregoing stray instances may apply to virtually the whole range of industrial production in India.

If so, the phenomenal pace of progress of industrialisation of the country is not a matter very much to be enthused over. The consumer does not stand to benefit from it. What good can ensue to him to get mulcted of Rs. 2,250 and receive but a refrigerator in exchange when, if imports were free—as in the good old pre-Plan days—for the same outlay, he could get not only a much better refrigerator, with fewer break-downs and a longer life-span, but still have about Rs. 1,250 for other needs?

Forced industrialisation has also been detrimental to the national product and, therefore, to our effort to overcome poverty. Under tremendous policy pressures, resources get diverted from sectors where they produce higher output into sectors where real costs are higher and output lower. Such diversion has taken place from agriculture to industry, in particular heavy industry.

During the first Plan and the first three years of the second Plan, it has been estimated that the increase in output from agriculture was of the order of 57 to 69 per cent. of the additional capital invested. On the other hand, in 1946-1953, in five industries—cement, paper, iron and steel and cotton textiles—the additions to output varied from a low of 14 per cent. in paper (iron and steel came close to paper with a percentage of 19) to a high of 36 per cent. in (Ahmedabad) textiles. According to another estimate, in 1956, the average addition to output in 29 industries was 33 per cent. of the additional capital invested.

These figures provide a rough measure of the extravagance and wastages involved in the policy of forced industrialisation. The net result is that, with the intensification of planning in 1955-56, the expansion of Indian national income slowed down to 2.9 per cent. per year. The national product might have gone up at a much higher rate—probably 8 to 10 per cent, per year—if adequate attention had been paid to investment in agriculture and the lighter industries.

Contrary to wide-spread opinion, forced industrialisation has also detracted from progress in the liquidation of unemployment. First, employment being a function of the volume of the national product, the retarded national product has retarded the additions to overall employment. Secondly, it has been estimated that an investment of Rs. one crore would provide employment at current wage rates for 500 persons in large-scale industries producing investment goods, 1,150 persons in large-scale industries producing consumer goods and 4,000 persons in agriculture and the small and household industries. Undue emphasis on industrialisation and on heavy industries has produced the queer result that, despite a more than doubling of the volume of investments, there was vastly more unemployment at the end of the second Plan than at the end of the first.

Indian experience conforms to the lessons of history. Revolution in agriculture has nearly always preceded industrial revolution. Progress in lighter industries has nearly always preceded the development of heavy industries. Growth of agriculture provides a broad-based demand for the output of industries and the growth of lighter industries provides an assured demand for the output of heavy industries. This pattern of economic development, one sector aiding the progress of the other, would make for rapidity of growth without tears, because it would be devoid of colossal wastages. The surest road to the modernisation of the economy is *via* the development of agriculture and the consumer goods industries.

Planning in India is a reversal of this natural process. We are developing heavy industries ahead of light industries and developing both at the neglect of agriculture. In the first Plan, 37 per cent. (Rs. 731 crores) of the public sector outlay (Rs. 1,960 crores) was on agriculture. In

the second, allocations to agriculture fell to 21 per cent. (Rs. 980 crores) of the total outlay, though the latter (Rs. 4,600 crores) rose by 95 per cent. relatively to the first Plan. Third Plan allocations to agriculture are placed at 20 per cent. (Rs. 1,728 crores) of total outlay, though the latter (Rs. 8,700 crores) have risen to over four times the outlay in the first Plan.

This topsy-turvy progress is inherently unstable. Persistence in it might render the Indian economy more and more vulnerable. It is incorrect to suppose that we are engaged in the "grand adventure" of forcing the pace of Indian economic development. What we are forcing is the pace of expansion of the industrial sector. This accounts for but 16 to 19 per cent. of our economic activity. The artificial boom here is more than negated by the drag it is causing on the expansion of the output of agriculture and the lighter industries, which together account for over two-thirds of Indian economic activity and from which about three-fourths of the Indian people draw their living. Viewing the economy as a whole, our policies have produced forced economic stagnation. There is no escape from this stagnation except through a basic policy reorientation to ensure that first things receive first attention.

(from "The Times of India" of June 8, 1961)

"The other day my small daughter said to me, 'Daddy, why do you bother to go to your office to make rupees when Mummy can go to the bank and get all she wants?' This represents as nearly as possible the sum of the knowledge of a great section of our politicians on the question of finance. Our Company would appear to be the bank from which rupees can be extracted on demand and without a thought as to where they have really come from. Unless adequate resources are left for retention in the business for its necessary replacements and improvements it cannot thrive and taxation at such a high level entirely frustrates this."

Chairman's speech at the 28th annual general meeting of the Cochin Malabar Estates Limited.

Concentration of Economic Power—But Where?

IT is common knowledge that the desire to succeed in General Elections and occupy seats of power, including those in the rows reserved for the Opposition in Parliament and State Legislatures, is the cause for the speeches and actions of most politicians which aim at running down the big businessmen. India is a country of have-nots and a democracy with adult franchise. Big business offers a convenient target for winning the affections of the masses. Jealousy is a human weakness and politicians in this country are becoming quite adept at exploiting it in a subtle fashion for their own benefit. The more one thinks of the reasons for reviving the scare of huge industrial monopolies, industrial empires and concentration of vast economic power in the hands of a few businessmen, the more one is inclined to feel that it is an election stunt. A perusal of the full text of the Estimates Committee report on the Development Wing, shows that its suggestion for the prevention of the growth of industrial empires in the private sector is only incidental, its major desire being to see that small and new entrepreneurs are encouraged by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry while issuing licences for establishing new industrial units. No fair-minded person can object to this objective, provided it is sought to be attained without causing a setback to, or a slow-down in the pace of, industrial progress. Since there is nothing new in this suggestion, its reiteration by the Estimates Committee implies that the Government's action in this regard leave much to be desired. The leftists in the Opposition and even some Congressmen openly say that the Government has permitted concentration of economic power in various ways and that a few industrial houses own most of India's industries. Some observers even go so far as to suggest that, for some years to come, no new licences should be given to the first fifteen leading industrial groups for either putting up new industries or expanding the existing ones, asking them to be content with the economic power which they already possess.

It is undoubtedly true that the leading industrial houses have been allowed not only to expand some of their existing industries but also to establish a number of new industries. But they could have been denied these opportunities only at the cost of industrial progress. Again, in the case of several industries, it is more economical to allow the existing units to expand than to permit the establishment of new units. What is, however, ignored by the critic is that a large number of new enterepreneurs has entered the field in the last 10 or 12 years and that an even larger number of enterepreneurs has expanded in size; many small businessmen and industrialists have become medium-sized; and, similarly, several medium-sized businessmen have attained the ranks of big industrialists. In the coming years, this trend is sure to gather further momentum. The task of industrialising India is, indeed, so enormous that big houses such as Tatas, Birlas, Bangurs, Jains, Thapars, Singhanias, Kasturbhais, Mafatlals and Kilachands alone cannot do it. It is not suggested that their capacity to contribute further to India's industrial progress has been exhausted. Far from it. Almost every one of them must be having plans for taking up new industrial ventures under the third Plan. Still, there is bound to be scope for hundreds of new entrepreneurs.

A spirited defence of the Government's industrial policy was put up by Mr. Manubhai Shah, Minister of Industry, in the

Lok Sabha this week where several Members contended that the Government had not succeeded in preventing concentration of economic power. He convincingly showed that this charge was hollow by placing the issue in its proper perspective. The most important point made by him was that one should not allow "industrial bigness" or "industrial empires" to confuse one's thinking. If a particular industrial house has grown into a big one, it does not mean that it has a monopoly in the manufacture of a particular product. As already stated, when the nation grows industrially, everybody grows with it in some way or other. That is progress. The public must realise that the country has launched on a massive programme of industrialisation and that a further growth of this bigness is inevitable. The total investment in the industrial sector by the end of the third Plan will be Rs. 5,500 crores, as against a mere Rs. 800 crores at the beginning of Independence.

Boldly declaring that there were practically no monopolies in India, Mr. Manubhai Shah said that, among consumer industries, there was not a single group which owned more than three or four per cent of national production. He did admit that there were four exceptions to this statement. One was in the manufacture of containers, the Metal Box Company of India; the next was the Associated Cement Companies in cement industry. The third was the Western India Match Company in match industry. And the fourth was Indian Oxygen in the field of industrial gases. But, in all these cases, their dominance in their respective fields is being rapidly reduced by encouraging the entry of other entrepreneurs, small and big. Today, Metal Box accounts for only 20 per cent of national production of containers, thanks to the Government's deliberate policy of licensing new units outside this particular company. Likewise, in cement, the share of A.C.C. in national production has been brought down from 64 per cent in 1951 to 30.4 per cent in 1960. By the end of the third Plan, it would be no more than 20 per cent. The monopoly of W.I.M. Co. has been brought down to 60 per cent of national production, following the coming into existence of a number of cottage units and 19 big or medium-scale units.

The position in regard to industrial gases is being examined and the Government is trying to see that more new entrepreneurs come in and produce these industrial gases. While thus ownership and control of even these four industries are being spread over a larger number of hands, it is a moot point whether from the consumer's point of view this development has been beneficial. It is a well-known fact that the cost of products made by small industrial units is higher than in the case of bigger units. India's capacity to export at competitive prices would also have been better if theoretical considerations of monopoly had not been allowed to inhibit the growth of bigger units. The Government, too, has had to forego a sizable amount of revenue as a result of this policy.

Those who have not been satisfied with what the Government has done so far may draw some consolation from the categorical statement of Mr. Manubhai Shah that the Government "is against any type of monopoly in this country"...it will "tolerate no growth of monopolies at all" and, "if anybody tries to do any mischief by undercutting prices, or tries to dislodge their competitors by dumping goods or indulges in price-racket by controlling the maximum production of the national economy, we shall take measures to guard against him." Again, to those who urge the appointment of a commission to check monopolies and restrict practices as in the U.K., the U.S. and certain other Western countries, Mr. Manubhai Shah's reply is in the negative, and that for a perfectly valid reason. His contention is that, whereas in those countries economic development preceded political and social consciousness, in India the social consciousness has grown, if not over-run, at a much faster rate than econo-

mic development. The House and public opinion have, therefore, been vigilant. They have supported the Government in prescribing adequate safeguards against the growth of monopolies. The Government has enough powers to prevent such a growth and attempts to rig up prices. All this is undoubtedly true. Only, this type of bureaucratic control and regulation is not a democratic substitute for the independent judiciary through which monopolies and cartels are being tackled in the West. But, for an underdeveloped country like India, which is trying to raise its living standards through a forced march, there is little choice. The Press and Parliament have to be vigilant enough to see that bureaucracy does not operate harshly and unrealistically. Since Parliament will be dominated by the majority of the ruling party, the Press, in particular, has to carry the brunt of focussing public opinion on the faults of the Administration often at the risk of incurring the displeasure of the powers-that-be.

The charge that, in the issue of industrial licences, the new entrepreneurs have not had a fair deal was unequivocally refuted by Mr. Manubhai Shah. He said: "Not a single industrial entrepreneur of a new type, whatever be the definition of new, has been refused a licence." On the contrary, the Government was, he averred, encouraging new entrepreneurs to come forward. Some applicants might have been refused on the ground that the country had enough capacity in the industry which he wished to enter. But this restriction applied to old and new entrepreneurs alike. Whenever or wherever there was room for issuing licences, the newcomer was given preference. Elucidating the Government's policy a little more precisely, he observed:

"In all the well-developed industries like cotton textiles, jute textiles, cement, paper, sugar, rayon and heavy chemicals, it is our policy to avoid any of the existing houses. Those who have got sizable investment in these industries get very few licences. As far as possible, we have avoided them; in future, we are going to be more firm on this point. When these well-established industries come up—and their list can be widened—we shall try to see that only new entrepreneurs and those who do not have units in the particular industry are encouraged as compared with others."

It is to be hoped that, in applying the aforesaid principles, the Government will take a realistic attitude. If suitable types of new entrepreneurs are not forthcoming to take up a project, it should not hesitate to let existing industrialists, even if they are big, to go ahead with that project. While it is desirable to broaden the number and range of industrial entrepreneurs, the need for increasing national wealth and employment speedily and economically is equally important, nay, paramount. It is, therefore, gratifying to hear from Mr. Manubhai Shah that the Government is not antagonistic to big industrial houses like Tatas and Birlas and that it feels that these houses have a still bigger role to play. His observations on this particular point are worth quoting:

"...There is a certain amount of inescapable entrepreneurship, better managership, better experience and skill which have also to be deployed in the service of the nation without every time being afraid of a few individuals. After all, what strength have they got? We here have got all the powers of legislation; we have all the powers of investment and finance, with a dominating public sector.... If we do not deploy the skill of Birlas and Tatas in putting up an aluminium plant (for instance), when it is allowed in the private sector, then we are only the poorer for it."

Apparently, what Mr. Manubhai Shah means is that difficult industries, involving large capital outlay and a tremendous amount of organisation, could be left to the big industrial houses. The latter, too, could voluntarily refrain from applying for licences for small and medium-sized industrial projects, as their contribution to the growth of new entrepreneurs. One of the complaints of the small and relatively

new entrepreneurs is that, when big industrial houses compete with them for projects in which they are interested and for which they have the necessary competence, they lose the race, because the foreign collaborator invariably prefers the bigger, well-known houses. There is some force in this argument, for, in view of the acute scarcity of foreign exchange, there are not many new industrial projects which can be established without foreign collaboration. This suggestion may seem to be contrary to our contention in the earlier paragraphs. But really speaking, it is not, for, to the extent the number of entrepreneurs can be increased without seriously upsetting the pace of industrial progress, there is no reason why every effort should not be made in that direction. If, after waiting for a while, the Government finds that there is no response from small or new businessmen for some of the projects that require to be implemented, it can make that fact known to the big industrial houses and allow them to take up those projects. After all, in a democracy, it is necessary for the leaders of the private sector to carry the public with them. If the party in power feels that a particular course of action cannot be helped in order to retain its popularity, what can these leaders do? As they themselves have no following in the public, they have either to educate the political leaders or to help the latter to stay in power by making such concessions that will not cause any material injury to the educational welfare. It is obvious that it will be in their own long-term interests for the big industrial houses to have more entrepreneurs than there are today. They should, therefore, consider it as part of their duty to enable the existing small businessmen to get opportunities to expand their activities and to do whatever they can to attract fresh young blood to entrepreneurship.

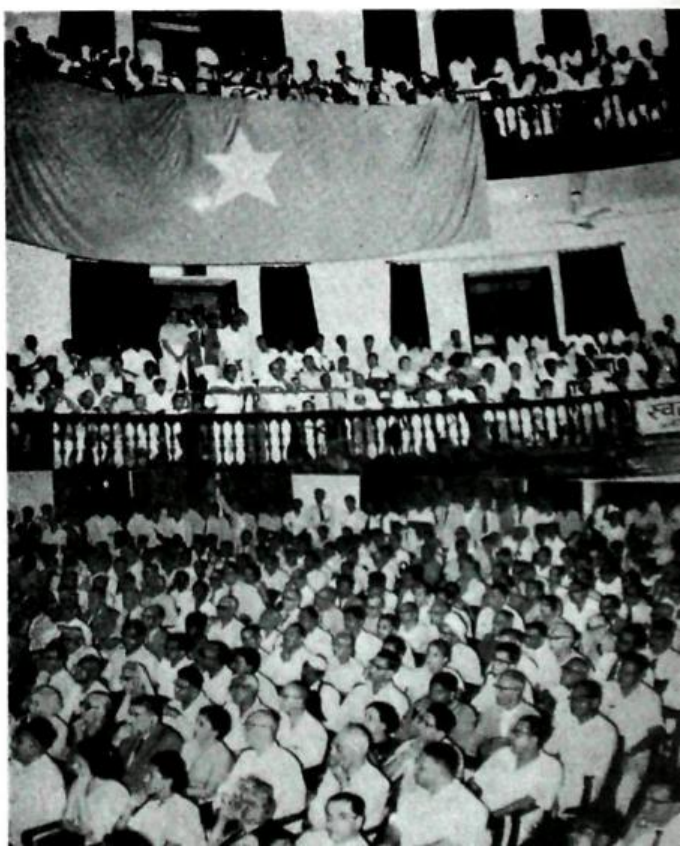
It is, however, an exaggeration to say, as some politicians are doing, that there is heavy concentration of economic power in the hands of a few industrialists in this country. The so-called industrial empires are just pygmies as compared with the industrial concerns in the U.K. or the U.S. Nor can there be any such concentration in future for a variety of reasons. In the first place, more and more industrial concerns are being established outside, and independent of, the big industrial houses. One has only to go through the prospectuses of companies floated in recent months to find the basis for this statement.

Secondly, the Government is actively encouraging the growth of a large variety of small-scale industries equipped with power-driven modern machinery. In the last two years, as many as 48,000 new small-scale and medium industries have come up and these are exclusive of units that fall under handicrafts, *khadi* and other village industries. During this period, the number of large-scale industrial units, it may be noted, were only 2,000.

Thirdly, the public sector is very rapidly expanding in the industrial field and can, if it so desires, exercise an effective influence over the private sector for the larger benefit of the public. According to figures given by Mr. Manubhai Shah in Parliament this week, in the first Plan, the public sector investment in industries was only Rs. 60 crores; in the second Plan, it is Rs. 720 crores, a twelve-fold increase; and in the third Plan, it will be Rs. 1,550 crores to Rs. 1,650 crores, if not more. The corresponding figures for the private sector are Rs. 330 crores, Rs. 850 crores and Rs. 1,200 crores to Rs. 1,300 crores, respectively. These figures are exclusive of the investments in power projects, which have registered a phenomenal increase in the public sector. From Rs. 260 crores in the first Plan, the public sector outlay on power has gone up to Rs. 460 crores in the second Plan and will be Rs. 1,040 crores in the third Plan. As against this, investments by the private sector in power have actually shrunk. In the third Plan, such will be only Rs. 50 crores, as against Rs. 65 crores in the second Plan, though a shade higher as compared with Rs. 42 crores in the first



Patiala, Punjab – March 1960



C. J. Hall, Bombay – August 1961



Munshi, Mody, Rajaji – Hyderabad, December 1959

The Central Organising Committee in Session – Bombay, August 1960



Plan. Mr. Manubhai Shah could, therefore, well claim that "the basic instruments of production and the tools of economy are all in the hands of the community, so that we can work as guards and sentinels of the public good and for the good of the community."

And, fourthly, the Government has in its possession enormous powers for regulating the private sector from its birth to death. Prices, profits, production, movement, and distribution of goods are all under Government control. Changes in management, as well as remuneration of management, are under Government control. On top of all this, there is high incidence of taxation with a large redistributive element. In the face of all this, it is absurd to say that there is concentration of economic power in the hands of a few industrial houses. On the contrary, it would be no exaggeration to say that, if there is heavy concentration of power anywhere, it is in the hands of a few politicians. The saving grace here is that these few are dedicated leaders, truly faithful to the cause of democracy and to a united India. But these leaders are mortals and their number is steadily declining. What will happen after them? Will their successors use this concentration of power wisely and for the weal of the common people?

(Editorial in "Commerce" dated April 15, 1961)

"To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal State, therefore, there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realised in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that that government is best which governs the least."

— Mahatma Gandhi

Need for Introspection on Agricultural Policy

OUR National Government has already imported, since the dawn of Independence, over 5 crore tons of foodgrains alone worth Rs. 2,400 crores. Apart from the fact that for a predominantly agricultural country it is not only insulting to its self-respect and prestige to depend upon other for food (what prestige after all an agricultural country can expect in the eyes of the world if it has to prostrate before others for its very morsel of food) this heavy drain must also weigh heavily on our "exchequer" it should be no great consolation that grain is got by a loan or has to be paid for in rupees or a portion of it might be written off, if Indian can behave well with its creditors.

Political independence, in the absence of economic independence, is only a mirage, if not a mockery, and cannot last long. But economic independence in a predominantly agricultural country like India is largely linked up with agricultural development not only to be self-sufficient in food but also to provide raw material for its growing industries and export of agricultural produce to earn foreign exchange.

Per acre yield or per animal or per man production in India is about the lowest in the world – milk yield per cow being only 5 per cent of that of some countries, sugarcane yield 20 per cent of that of Hawaiian Island, rice about 17 per cent of that in Japan or Italy.

This low yield becomes all the more disgusting in view of the fact that (a) per capita holding of land in India is only three-quarters of an acre per person, and accordingly, human labour is available in abundance and (b) in so far as soil fertility, climate, rainfall, artificial irrigation etc. are concerned, India is situated far more favourably than a host of other countries which made phenomenal progress in agriculture. On the part of our Government, there has been too much of a tendency (like a poor workman quarrelling with his tools) to attribute its failures to natural causes – sometimes to excess and sometimes to inadequate rainfall or untimely rainfall or floods, drought, etc., without realising that these are natural phenomena in any vast country like India and not that nature, all of a sudden, has become hostile to India or Congress Government since the dawn of independence. Nor do our farmers lag behind their counterparts in other countries in the matter of hard work or intelligence. Even the Ford Foundation Team, invited by our National Government for advice, had stated that "the best in Indian Agriculture compares favourably with the best in the world" which means that the Indian farmer, given the necessary facilities or incentive and independence, stands second to none. This is fully exemplified by Punjabi farmers in California who have shown wonderful performance in agriculture. All these factors are sharp reminders to those, who care to know the truth, that the fault lies neither in our peasantry nor in natural resources but entirely in the defective agricultural policy or planing, being initiated and executed by those who either do not understand the subject fully or are actuated more by political consideration than that of increased production or other larger interests of the country.

Government promises of self-sufficiency in food made previously have so far been falsified. The country was expected to be self-sufficient in food in 1947, as a result of the Grow More Schemes, later on, self-sufficiency was promised by the end of the First Five-Year Plan, then it was again promised at the end of the Second Plan period and now it is promised at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan which, however, is likely to be as certainly falsified as

Sardar Lal Singh

on three previous occasions, unless agricultural policy undergoes basic changes.

To attribute failure in self-sufficiency to the growing population of India is another clumsy attempt as the increase is not much greater than that of other countries. Any country that cannot bring about annual increase of even 2 per cent in food by hundred and one methods available – scientific method of cultivation, improved seed new fertilizers, new insecticide, new hormones artificial irrigation, of waste lands, etc. hardly deserves respect from any quarter.

Failure to attain self-sufficiency becomes all the more painful when it is realised that colossal funds have already been spent for the purpose – about Rs. 920 crores on agriculture during the first two plan periods and about a thousand crores being provided in the Third Plan. In addition to this, Rs. 1,300 crores were provided for irrigation & power projects, of which about half has already been spent and the remaining is expected to be spent soon.

The much advertised land reforms should have two objectives, namely, (i) *equitable treatment* (as a matter of social justice) between all parties concerned with land – land owner, tenant and farm worker, i.e., preventing exploitation of tenant, and (ii) *increased production* from the land (in the larger interest of the country).

(i) The first objective can be achieved by fixation of reasonable rent of land and preventing ejectment of tenants without due cause. This away the sting and makes tenancy a harmless institution. If tenant and land owner come to mutual agreement, then the Government need not even interfere. The tenants can be helped to become owners of land if they so like, by the Government giving them loans for the purchase of land – loan to be repaid by easy instalments as done in several democratic countries.

(ii) The second objective, i.e., increased production, can be achieved by modernizing agriculture. This is possible by drawing to agricultural profession the best of talents and ample capital and encouraging private enterprise and above all by making agriculture as lucrative, dignified and as paying as any other industry. It is criminal to allow farming to remain as a mere made of existence and still worse to make it a monopoly of illiterate, ignorant and poverty-striken class of people (as present the Government seems determined to do) by forcing men of capital, intelligence and enterprise to get out of this profession, because of fixation of ceiling at ridiculously low level (30 acres per family with an estimated income of Rs. 55/- per person per month) thereby robbing all incentives in agricultural profession. To expect modernization in a profession (as must be the foremost obective of any sensible Government in the matter of agriculture) but to keep the profession as the sole monopoly of illiterate and poor class of people (as our Government seems determined to do) are two contradictory terms like expecting fire and water to exist together. Modernization and ignorance go ill-together.

In order that not only agriculture may make the greatest progress in the shortest period but also that colossal expenditure incurred on agricultural development does not largely go into the drain as has been the unfortunate experience since Independence, the agricultural policy must be dictated by, and its execution entrusted to, those who understand the subject in all its aspects–agriculturists by birth, training and profession and not mere politicians with their eyes on "Vote-culture" rather than agriculture as at present. It is a well-known fact that U.S.A. is known to have made phenomenal progress in agriculture, and this is largely attributed to the fact that there is un-written law to entrust Agricultural Portfolio there to only Agricultural Experts–in fact, a perusal of the list of persons occupying the post of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries in U.S.A. (equivalent to our Minis-

ters, Deputy Ministers, etc.) for last half a century would hardly reveal the name of anyone who was not an authority on the subject. This is in sharp contrast to the position in India, where agricultural policy is dictated at the highest level (whether in the Planning Commission or in the Food & Agriculture Ministry) largely by these who are least conversant with the subject and whose chief claim for the position lies in their importance in political field rather than any knowledge of agriculture. It is a notorious fact that both in the Planning Commission and the Food and Agriculture Ministry there is hardly anyone with agricultural knowledge at top level, and even in the Secretariat of the Ministry of Food & Agriculture, the agriculturists are conspicuous by their absence—most of the Sections being filled by non-agriculturists who have little knowledge of practical agriculture and possess little sympathy with agriculturists as a class.

In short, no progress in Indian Agriculture can ever be dreamed of unless the present deplorable state of affairs is brought to an end, i.e., formulation of agricultural policy and its execution, at the highest level, must be in the hands of those conversant with the subject. Even if party system of Government is to continue in India, the problems of Agricultural Development (on which the whole economic existence of this country depends) must at any rate be taken out of party politics, so that it becomes the joint responsibility of all—neither opposition members to exploit the failure and nor members of ruling party to be anxious to minimize, whitewash, conceal or justify failures out of false notion of party prestige as has been the case so far.

"When I was in London a few months ago all Labour-Socialist politicians I met resented being called 'Socialists'. 'We are a Labour Party, not a Socialist Party', they would argue. I pointed out that some ten years or so ago they were very proud of the name 'Socialist', and one of the most popular Labour publications at that time was called 'The Socialist Road for Britain'. 'Well' Labour spokesmen would admit, 'times change, and we have to change with the times."

— Michael Padev in his article
"The Socialists Find Nobody Likes Them"

The Tentacles of Doctrinaire Economics

INFLATION makes a mockery of the savings of the people. It is the thrifty and provident people who save for a rainy day and incidentally help the industries of their own countries. Deficit financing however, makes saving the neverfailing voice of fools. Inflation eats into the insurance monies, provident funds and pensions of the people. Inflation strikes at the very root of the process of capital formation. The paper money which the Government puts into circulation by way of deficit financing sends the prices of all commodities sky-high. It is a form of taxation which hits every section of the people, especially those who are least able to bear the burden. Governments that resort to deficit financing are compelled to resort to ever-increasing doses of inflation, unless they pull themselves up before it is too late. Unbridled inflation results in national bankruptcy.

The snow-balling effect of inflation hits productivity business in its vitals till it dies. The death or languishing of productive activities entails great hardship on people. Merciless and unrealistic taxation for ideological reasons has the same effect on national production. It kills incentive and efficiency as a result of which the economic life of the community stagnates. The attempt to destroy poverty with deficit financing and uneconomic multiple taxation is like fighting a giant with a straw.

The Socialistic pattern of society has brought into existence a new privileged class. Most of the Ministers on the top echelon of bureaucracy are living on the fat of the land. Apart from their salaries they have numerous tax-free amenities and perquisites. In many cases their free quarters are lavishly furnished at the cost of the taxpayer. They go about in luxurious State cars. Their requirements of domestic service are looked after in one way or another. The huge army of the legislators at the Centre and in the States makes its demands in the shape of salaries, free quarters, halting allowance, daily allowance, travelling allowance and other perquisites.

The bureaucracy at all levels keeps on expanding at a terrific rate. Posts continue to be created and are often filled by people with the right pull. Work that should normally be done by one person is not completed in time even by three. In every case the taxpayer has to foot the bill for the official extravagances and inefficiency. The salaries and perquisites paid to the superfluous staff find their way into the market and push up the prices.

The labour policies of the Government are also materially responsible for the soaring prices. The labourer is entitled to a just wage and all reasonable amenities. But when labour unions vie with each other to push up wages, regardless of the effects of their activities on trade and industry and the nation as a whole, they let loose forces which prove disastrous to the society. Government's policies often permit the unions to hold society to ransome. Strikes and go-slow tactics hit production and cause scarcities in the market. The labour tribunals have given some awards which have been described as fantastic by a former Finance Minister. The unions' appetite grows with what it feeds on. Government's economic and financial policies give an impetus to inflation, and labour demands its pound of flesh in the shape of increased wages. The result is that it is the whole society that suffers.

When the Government's policies hit at the main-springs of production, the price spiral keeps on rising and the society groans under the heavy economic burdens. The blame for the mess is sought to be shifted on to the shoulders of the hoard-

Phiroze J. Shroff

ers, black-marketeers and speculators. It is, however, forgotten that these categories of anti-social people thrive in our economy which is chronically suffering from scarcities of consumer goods. But the question is, who is responsible for creation of a favourable atmosphere for the hoarders and blackmarketeers? Searching of hearts is necessary in high quarters for putting the blame squarely where it belongs. Fair-price shops, rationing and controls are poor palliatives against the rising prices, apart from the fact that they give rise to several malpractices in their own right.

The only effective way to check the rise in prices is production and still more production. We cannot consume more than what we actually produce, leaving out from our calculation the charitable doles which other nations may throw at us. We are a very poor nation because our production is pitiable. A nation with a per capita production of about Rs 22 per month cannot expect to enjoy the standard of living sustained by other economically advanced nations. We have great resources of material and man-power; but we are not going about the right way to increase production and raise our standard of life. Our top-leadership is motivated by ideological considerations rather than by the realities of life and human nature.

The Government should encourage industrialists by all means in their power to effect improvements and economies and produce better and cheaper goods for the benefit of the consumer. Enough resources should be left with firms to keep abreast of the times and effect technological improvements as and when required. Attempts on the part of labour to hinder rationalization on the pretext that it causes unemployment should be given short shrift. It should be impressed on labour that what matters is not a high wage but a real wage and that the latter is the outcome of increased production all along the line.

Private foreign capital should be given all reasonable opportunities to develop our country's resources and produce quality goods at economic prices. Threats of nationalization and an oppressive taxation policy scare away private foreign capital much to our economic detriment. The high standards of living enjoyed by Canada, Australia and New Zealand is due in no small measure to the judicious and well regulated import of foreign capital by those countries. Companies and individuals should be freed from cart-loads of paper-work in the shape of filling in and filing forms. They should be allowed to do their legitimate work which is to produce reasonably-priced goods for a developing market. If they fail to satisfy the market in point of quality and price they will automatically be forced out of the market to their own undoing.

There is a living economic laboratory in West Germany and East Germany. A critical appraisal of the policies pursued and the results achieved in these two segments of the same nation will convince any unbiased person which policies lead on to progress and plenty and which to set-backs and scarcities. Will the powers that be free themselves from the tentacles of doctrinaire economics and pursue the well-tried and effective economic policies, which have brought plenty and prosperity wherever they have been tried?

Decline of the Congress owing to the Absence of a Rival Party

OUR present troubles are traceable finally to three causes: (1) the long-continued domination of a single party in government: (2) its imitationist and *a priori* ideology; and (3) its politician-ridden and distracted administration. The diagnosis indicates these remedies: (1) the citizen's use of intelligence and conscience both in choosing his representative and in guiding and correcting him; (2) a closer correlation between the Government's plans and the facts of the people's life—facts both physical and psychological; and (3) non-interference by politicians with the public services in the performance of their duties under the law.

Power without the fear of an alternative claimant for it becomes reckless without and sick within. That is what has happened to the Congress. It is not Gandhianism that is crippling ministries in Andhra and Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. It is the absence of an anti-body produced by the salutary fear of a rival that is fostering viruses in the body of the Congress.

Election-eve patching-up is not organic unity. The old vision of the Congress is gone and the expected new sense of responsibility has not come. This condition will remain so long as the Congress sees no danger to its position.

Of even sorrier consequence than factions in the Congress is the policy upon which a Chief Minister has to form his Cabinet. A ministership is the price he has to pay to buy peace and security for himself. There are four or five kinds of party elements to be appeased. First, there is the aggressive and vociferous clique-leader who is less of a nuisance inside than outside. Next there are polling booth tycoons, with the vote potential of particular communities in their pockets. Thirdly the Ministry must bear a veneer of non-communalism. (In a South Indian State, places must be found in the cabinet for a Brahmin or two and also for a Muslim and a Christian). Fourthly, there must be regional representation. Fifthly, the Chief Minister has to fortify himself by taking in one or two who are supposed to have a pull with the High Command. Where, amidst all this, is the place assigned to pure moral and intellectual worth? The process of buying support, when practised in private affairs, is called "bribing."

On communalism and casteism, we hear much scorn and indignation poured from public platforms. But is it not pertinent to ask where more than a half of our Ministers and Chief Ministers would have been if the communal ticket had not been an operative force? It is indeed on this very factor that the Congress banks in choosing its candidates for election. How hollow, then, are the anti-communalist declamations so frequently heard!

The existence of communalism is a fact, and a most distressing fact it is. The best way to deal with it, however, is not to pretend that it can be abolished by vehemence of verbiage, but to set our face persistently against the evil element in it. That evil is the falsification of relevant values. Communalism is bad not because it stands up for the members of a backward community, but because it wants preference for them over their superiors in ability. It wants no gradation of superior and inferior so far as its members are concerned. It wants its men chosen because they are its men. If on the other hand it sought special treatment consistently with merit and worth, it may not be considered so great an evil. The first thing, therefore, is to limit the concessions permissible to particular communities, and the next thing is to insist on the strict observance of standards in the selection for

D. V. Gundappa

office. Such measures involve the risk of loss of popularity; and why should the Congress not run that risk, especially as there is not in view the greater risk of defeat by a competitor?

Socialism is in theory the antithesis of monopolism; but in practice it is nothing but the transference of monopolism from money to office. A party-controlled bureaucrat is installed where a controllable capitalist sat. The Congress, denouncing monopolism in economics, has made a monopolist of itself in politics. The socialistic pattern has added a second string to its monopolistic bow. The result has not been good to the common man.

When the Government stood outside the management of industry and trade, it could, acting as an appellate authority, serve the public interest in two ways: (1) It could insist upon quality in the service rendered by the private firm or company owning the business, and it could also control prices charged above a datum line. (2) In the event of a difference between the management and the workers about wage rates or terms of employment, the Government could step in to expedite settlement. By becoming the factory owner itself, the Government has deprived itself of the higher capacity to safeguard the interests of the general customer, the public at large.

The Plans have reversed the order prescribed by the once-avowed rule of "first things first." Medium-sized projects should have taken precedence over mammoth undertakings. No one objects to planning. But the essence of its usefulness is in the order of priorities. All things are desirable. But our resources and capacities being limited and our needs being of various degrees of urgency, the Government should have drawn up a more rational order of priorities.

The grandiose projects await critical evaluation by experts. Meanwhile they have added to the tax burden, to inflation and to the skyward rise of prices of the necessaries of life. A conspicuous part of Government's spending is on stunts. The Government creates a number of propagandists for itself by the distribution of cushy jobs and prizes. Every awardee is an apologist for the Plans.

If schemes are ill-ordered or ill-conceived, their execution is even worse. Nobody has his heart in the work. It is all playing at administration. Appointments, promotions, transfers, admissions to colleges, distribution of scholarships, bus permits and trade licences, text-book patronage—these are the raw material of statesmanship in the States!

With Ministers completely engrossed in their own personal lot, the Administration becomes the care of the Secretaries and the Heads of Departments. Why should they worry? Antagonising the Ministers is not worthwhile. The current arrangements for the training of civil servants are also of a nominal type. It is all a make-believe world. And as though that were not enough, there comes our legislator or party boss to tell the civil servant what he should do and what he should not do. To ignore him is to imperil your future. Administration at all levels is thus rendered apathetic and listless. At most levels the Administration is inefficient; at many levels it is corrupt and demoralised.

The remedy is either to persuade the Congress to make a thorough revision of its policies or to bring into power a party pledged to keeping closer to the country's mind, to consolidation rather than to unsettling innovation, to suiting programmes to actually felt needs and available means in talent and money, and above all to conserving and encouraging the springs of individual initiative. Spontaneity is freedom; and a government's highest excellence is in fostering and facilitating the spontaneous self-development of the people.

(Reproduced from The Times of India, May 18, 1961)

Shall They Go Unpunished?

IN view of the wide publicity given to the fact that the Jagannath Das Committee had a solitary case of alleged corruption in high places before it, and that, even in that case, the conclusion was that it was not a case of corruption, it is necessary to examine the serious consequences of such a situation. It is well to recapitulate that the whole episode started with Mr. Deshmukh's bold statement that he was aware of corruption and nepotism in high places and that he was prepared to place all the facts before a properly constituted and impartial committee appointed to investigate these allegations. The country knows how Pandit Nehru set his face firmly against the suggestion of Mr. Deshmukh and how, subsequently, the Congress President set up the one-man Jagannath Das Committee to enquire into these allegations of corruption in high places. It is now announced, with a fanfare of trumpets, that this committee had only a solitary case placed before it and that even that case did not involve corruption or nepotism. The public is expected to accept this as irrefutable proof that there is no corruption *whatever* in high places. I have underlined "Whatever" because, at one stage, the P.M. and the Congress stalwarts conceded that there was some corruption in high places, but that its prevalance was not so widespread as was sought to be made out. Now, as a result of the experience of the Jagannath Das Committee, they have gone back even on this qualified admission, and the public is asked to believe that there is absolutely no corruption or nepotism in high places.

The conditions that the P. M. imposed for ordering an enquiry were (1) a *prima facie* case should be made out, (2) The P. M. would then decide whether the case was worth investigating, and (3) it was then to be examined by the *party*. Note the stipulation that even when the first two hurdles were crossed, the matter was to be treated only as a party affair and not as a public scandal requiring public enquiry. Even the most ill-informed citizen should be aware that, even with irrefutable facts, a private citizen cannot make out even a *prima facie* case without the powers that the police possess to examine documents and to search premises. The stand taken by the P.M. therefore amounted to obstructing the natural process of justice and giving shelter to the corrupt. Why should persons in high places be immune from the ordinary processes of administrative procedure and due process of law? Are members belonging to the party in power above the law of the land and subject only to party discipline? Why should not a police investigation, with all the powers and privileges of the police, be taken up when a responsible person makes allegations of corruption.

The public have also been misled as to the findings of the Jagannath Das Committee. The allegation is reported to have been that the son of a person occupying an important and influencial position was appointed by a private firm to a post far above what his qualifications merited. The committee's investigations *established* this fact, but the powers that be brushed it aside on the ground that such appointments are nothing unusual and do not involve corruption. If it was the view of the authorities that, even if the facts alleged in the complaint were established as correct, they did not involve corruption what was the need for the investigation at all? One suspects that they hoped that the allegations would be proved to be wrong on facts. When they were proved correct, the new philosophy was brought into play. A case of heads I win, tails you loose! We have heard of the prosecutor being judge, and in this unhappy country we have reached the stage of the DEFENDANT being judge! No wonder Mr. Deshmukh

refused to place any more cases before the committee.

It is now for the public to ponder over the implications and consequences of such an attitude of the government, as exemplified by the P.M., and by the party in power, and to consider ways and means of bringing to book corrupt persons however highly placed they might be. May be that such persons are very few, perhaps not more than a couple or a dozen at the most. Even if it is only one person why should he be shielded from the consequences of his acts just because he happens to be an important or influential person? It appears to be bad policy even from the point of view of the party in power. One is reminded of the episode, more than two decades ago, when a person of the Princely order was involved in an affair of the heart during his tour of the U.K., and the government of the day sought to save his prestige by referring to him as 'Mr. A' in the proceedings of the trial court. Unfortunately, this device had the effect of throwing suspicion on every prince who happened to be in London about that time, and the latter raised a hue and cry that, in the interest of their honour, the identity of the prince shall be revealed. Similar should be the predicament of the scores of clean Congressmen when the handful of corrupt persons among them is shielded and suspicion sticks to almost every person in high place. Apart from the point of view of the ruling party, the situation is fraught with great danger to the country, for, it is such unresponsive and defiant attitude of the Government and a sense of frustration in the minds of the long suffering citizens that sow the seeds of discontent and revolution.

It is clear that the party in power proposes to treat the episode of corruption in high places as closed, and it is the purpose of this article to warn the public that, if they aquiesce in such a move they would have dug the grave of democracy and decency in public life. The public have not yet become helpless. The forms of democracy are still there, and we have had free elections (though not so clean). We have no reason to suspect that the next election will not be equally free. The voter has only to make it clear that he is not satisfied with the manner in which this episode has been handled and he will infuse a new sense of responsibility in the ruling party. Unless this is done, the corrupt will become bolder and expand their activities and others will follow their example. Should their tribe increase?

What is the remedy? After all that the P.M. has said and done (Mr. Deshmukh has been sacked before his time) it is too late to set the forces of law and order against these offenders against society as the police will not feel free to act. Furthermore, when there is a fear that the party now in power may remain in the saddle for the next term also, the services, including the police, are bound to so order their thought and action that neither offend the ruling party. Therefore, the only remedy is for the public to get ready to vote another party to power. The public should, by now, have realised what a grievous mistake they made in returning the party in power in such overwhelming majority that they are in a position to make the constitution itself a plaything of the party. It is this brute majority that is responsible for most of the ills that this unhappy country is subject to. If the public give clear indications that they will not treat the "Corruption in high places" as a closed episode there is, even now, a chance that the government of the day will respond to public opinion and order normal and effective investigation of these complaints. But will the public do itself this much justice?

Agricultural and Agrarian Reform in India

AGRICULTURAL production is the key to the future prosperity of India. Political independence without economic independence is only a mockery. The salvation of our country lies in increasing our agricultural production. For without agrarian prosperity, our growing industries cannot hope to find enough consumers for their product.

In the last ten years, there has been little increase in the "per acre yield" of our land, and a negligible increase in the total production of the country. Rs. 1,400 crores were to be spent during the First and Second Plans' period, of which Rs. 770 crores have already been spent. In 1949-50 India produced 57.9 million tons of food as against 73.5 million tons in 1958-59—an increase of 2.7% per annum. However, even this figure is misleading, as only a year before, in 1957-58, the food production was only 62 million tons, and the figure of 73 million tons for 1958-59 may be the result of an exceptionally favourable year. If we were to discount the year 1958-59, the average annual increase for the nine years, 1949-50 to 1957-58, would be only ½%.

This annual increase of ½%, or even 2.7%, is indeed disappointing, when compared to the annual increase in other countries.

ANNUAL INCREASE IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS*

India	½% (or even 2.7%)
France	10.4%
Japan	13.3%
Sudan	16%
Yugoslavia	16%
Turkey	17%

* World Food and Agricultural Organisation Publication "World Food Production" Volume X, 1958.

This miserably low increase in our food production is all the more disappointing, considering what steps the Government claims to have taken.

1) 180 lakhs acres newly brought under irrigation.
2) 37 lakhs of acres of waste land reclaimed.
3) Increase in nitrogenous fertilizer (ammonium sulphate) from 2.75 lakhs tons in 1950 to 11.84 lakhs tons in 1959.
4) Green manuring 2,500 lakhs acres.
5) Bringing ⅓rd of the total cropped area under the "Watch and Ward" Scheme.
6) Numerous other scheme such as "Grow More Food", "National Extension", "Block Development Scheme", 4,000 seed farms and compost scheme, and all the efforts of the Community Development Ministry costing about Rs. 900 crores.

On the basis of the efforts and expenditure mentioned above, the country has a right to ask why the anticipated increase in 'per acre yield' and food production has not come about. The Third Five-Year Plan has promised to increase food production by 40% (i.e. 105 million tons), but on the basis of past performance the target is highly questionable.

In spite of spending crores of rupees on the agricultural economy, and in spite of giving innumerable assurances, we have had to import during the last 12 years, 35 million tons of foodgrain costing Rs. 1,700 crores, with a further contract to import another 17 million tons at an additional cost of Rs. 660 crores. Apart from the utter humility for an agricultural country to beg for food abroad, the expenditure on food imports is seriously jeopardizing the economy and will ultimately lead the country into a financial disaster.

The main reason for the failure in our agriculture can be traced to the agrarian policy so far followed by the Ruling Party, which has been initiated by theorists and

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politicians without any agricultural background. It has thwarted modernisation of agriculture. The imposition of ridiculously low ceilings on land holdings has left no incentive to men of intelligence, with capital and enterprise and an inclination to go into farming as a business proposition. These farmers are slowly withdrawing their investment. It is evident that no Government can hope to finance the entire agricultural economy and it is a shame that it should dry up incentive and further reduce private investment likely to be made on the farms.

Making distinctions between the agriculturist and non-agriculturist is creating a bitter class hatred. In the case of non-agriculturist, there are no ceilings of income or possession of property even if it should run into crores; but in the case of agriculturist, it is proposed to introduce a ceiling of 30 acres, worth only a few thousands of rupees, yielding an income of about Rs. 300/- per family only. There is an invidious distinction even with regard to the compensation payable for expropriated lands. The lands of the agriculturists taken away by the Government are paid a nominal compensation. This is an inequitable practice, demonstrating a whimsical application of the constitutional amendment which has by-passed the due process of law and made compensation non-justiciable.

The present trend in agriculture will deal a death blow to the agriculturist, as it will make it impossible for him, at any level of the agricultural economy, to compete with the non-agriculturist, in the matter of public service, election to the legislatures, and the education of his children. These measures will reduce the agriculturist as a class to an inferior position when compared to his urban counterpart. The greatest tragedy is the inability of those Congressmen who are agriculturists to protest against inequities in the Congress Agricultural Policy for fear of incurring the wrath of their non-agriculturist bosses.

It requires not too much imagination to foresee, that if the present policies of the Government regarding land ceilings are imposed, human nature being as it is, the agriculturist will have a right to ask, and will carry through sheer weight of numbers, their demand for similar ceilings in the non-agriculturist sector. If the Congress Party feels it must impose land ceilings, it should do so with some reference and relation to the income and facilities enjoyed by the non-agriculturists in India. In Egypt where the tenant problem was most acute, a ceiling for an individual farm was fixed at 250 acres, allowing the agriculturist to dispose off his surplus land to smaller cultivators. Even in Communist countries like East Germany and Poland, farms of less than 225 acres were not disturbed. It should be the endeavour of any good government to encourage men of intelligence and means to invest their money and apply their intelligence to agricultural production.

Sound economic thinking has been given up for political gains. Illogical and meaningless slogans like "Land to the Labourers" are invented to appease rural discontent—much as if the position of a tiny bit of land could ever improve the economic lot of the landless, as revealed by the findings of such inquiries as the Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab. These inquiries, "Economics of Farming", have also revealed where the income of a peasant farmer is actually less than that of a labourer.

It has never been considered necessary by any democratic country that everyone must possess land. In the United States only 11% of the population cultivate the land and in Australia, where the land *per capita* is 75 times that of India, only 14% of the population is engaged in agriculture.

The slogan of "Land Hunger" is also misleading, as it is just plain hunger which needs to be satisfied not by land, but by providing employment to the people. Millions of existing farmers and landless

labourers would readily give up farming if they could get jobs even as peons or watchmen in urban and semi-urban areas. The failure of the Government lies in not providing employment and not in not providing land.

Instead of decreasing the human pressure on land which every right thinking person considers necessary, the Ruling Party is bent upon increasing the pressure and compelling millions of people to remain tied to their lands.

According to its own statistics* the government has made little effort to reclaim the 5.69 crores of acres of cultivable waste land, at present lying idle. In addition, there are 8.56 crores of acres classified as barren or uncultivable land, a part of which could be reclaimed with necessary efforts. Besides this there are 3.12 crores of acres of fallow land, a substantial part of which could be brought under permanent cultivation. Another 12.80 crores of land have been shown as forests. In many States like Andhra and Mysore, these are only forests in name, for there are miles and miles at a stretch which do not contain fuel or timber worth more than Rs. 5/- to Rs. 10/- per acre.

There is no shortage of land and the paramount need of today is not distribution of land, but of its proper cultivation. What India needs today is not land but the wherewithal for proper cultivation. Many progressive farmers in Mysore, possessing the necessary finance, have created new lands by cutting down and levelling hillocks. The Punjabi farmers, driven from Pakistan, after the partition of India, have out of necessity, reclaimed lakhs of acres of land lying waste not only in East Punjab but also in Terai areas of U.P., which for centuries have been the abode of snakes, elephants and tigers. A great deal more could have been done, and is possible if the threat of land reforms is withdrawn and substituted with a programme of land improvement and land reclamation.

Foreign aid would come more readily to our assistance, if we were to ask their help and guidance and assistance for large reclamation schemes, instead of begging for foodgrains year after year. Reclamation of waste lands would solve our food problems. In spite of repeated suggestions made over a number of years, our Ruling Party has only ridiculed these suggestions. In fact, a couple of years back when a deputation of the All-India Agriculturists' Federation, waited on a Cabinet Minister with a suggestion for the reclamation of waste land, he bluntly replied "Where is the waste land to be reclaimed?". This is only to illustrate the ignorance of the persons in whose hands rest the destiny of our nation.

Not enough land would be available to settle even a small portion of the landless labourers. Will this solve the food problem? No. Will this improve the "yield per acre"? No. It will merely create chaos, anarchy and bad blood between different sections of the rural population and enhance the class hatred between the agriculturists and non-agriculturists. It would also deal a death blow to those farmers of intelligence and means who are capable of making sound investment in our agricultural industry.

There could be no possible benefit that could accrue to our nation by present land "reforms" except perhaps that it might give the Ruling Party a few more votes from the landless labourers who have been given a small piece of land free of charge or at a very nominal price. It would create in the Indian Economy a permanent class of farmers dwelling on the brink of starvation. The same class of people would some day leave these lands or entrust them to indifferent hands, should urban conditions and employment prospects improve in the country. It will also create a very large class of permanently handicapped and poverty-stricken people incapable of holding their own against a more advanced and economically better-off urban population.

* Statistics of re-organized States.

The Long Arm of the Bureaucracy

IT is fascinating to observe how versatile, indeed how multi-purpose are the weapons that fill the armoury of a democracy. There is an advantage available to a democratic system of Government which is denied to any other ruling caucus, in that a democracy can erect a mascot or a totem pole in the centre of its dust-raising arena and call it the "Common Man's Welfare". The totem pole has this difference from its authentic Red Indian counterpart, in that it has many pegs—and on these pegs a democratic administration hangs legislative enactments, after the manner of a laundryman's line in such rapid succession that neither the people for whose good it is intended nor the judiciary who are called upon to interpret them from time to time nor even the rank and file of officers who are asked to administer them, are able to keep track of these enactments or "the rules framed thereunder".

There is no field in human affairs which Government think cannot be traversed by legislation, no department of economic activity that does not need to be "regulated", no field of genuine endeavour in respect of which Government should not assume power of interference. All this is being done ostensibly to protect the "common man from exploitation by unscrupulous people". In the process these legislative enactments and rules framed thereunder, have been steadily concentrating power, which means and includes the power of veto in the hands of Central Government Officials, to an extent and in a manner that has begun to cause the deepest anxiety to those engaged in economic activity in the country. I will discuss here only one sector of legislative effort which is topical and is richly illustrative of the tendency to tie ourselves into complicated legislative knots, namely Public Company formation.

It is not my thesis that Public Companies should function without regulation or legislative control and drift like a ship without pilot or rudder in tempestuous waters. Nobody wants chaos, least of all those engaged in economic activity, but it is too late in the day to persuade even the unsophisticated that the alternative to over-Government is anarchy. It seems important to state obvious things to obviate indignant and well-worn remonstrances from those who have succeeded in concentrating economic power in the stately "Bhavans" of New Delhi.

Capital Issue Control started in the years of World War Two as a war-time measure to check mushrooming of Company floatations—taking advantage of the then prevailing inflationary and boom conditions. However, in the years of India's incipient freedom, we converted these emergency ordinance into legislative enactments—a new way no doubt of turning swords into plough-shares. We took time and trouble to draw up a Companies Act that has become the most voluminous of our statutes and certainly bears evidence of a herculean effort to make the law comprehensive. The Act imparts to the Company management community, the eerie feeling of treading perpetually on grapes. Managerial groups naturally seek such security as they could afford, by appointing law officers as part of their permanent staff, where they do not pay large retainers to law firms to keep them out of harm's way. Often one Company assistant is kept seesawing between the Company's office and that of the lawyers all the time, carrying files. Companies are in large measure resigned to the few "Thou shalts" and the innumerable "Thou shalt nots" of Company Law.

Capital Issue Control has been steadily augmenting the field of their regulation and this is presumed to be in response to parliamentary clamour. It has been assum-

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ed that curtailment of freedom of economic activity by a systematic pyramiding of regulations would import a new discipline into Company affairs and protect the investor. The Capital Issue Control has recently been exercising the power to decide (a) How much of the capital shall be equity and how much preference (b) What ceiling rate of dividend preference shares shall carry (c) Whether additional share issues should be at par or at a premium and if the latter how much premium (d) the tenure of managing agency for which Company Law has fixed a ceiling period (e) What the scale of remuneration should be for Managing Agents and their minimum remuneration and the remuneration of Managing Directors (f) sitting fee of Directors where they have failed to draw it at the rate fixed in the Articles of Association, out of consideration for the Company in its early years of unprofitable working.

They have latterly been placing a ceiling on brokerage payable in respect of new issues, without so much as a reference to Stock Exchanges, which are today statutory bodies and the Finance Ministry is represented on their Managing Committees. The economics or the lack of economics involved in such arbitrary fixations do not apparently seem relevant to those who fix them.

The Finance Ministry are now reported to be in the process of assuming powers (a) to permit or veto firm allotments and to subject them to a stipulation of non-negotiability over a period and (b) to fix a ceiling of a two months' period between closure of list and posting of allotment letters.

The success of isolated capital issues made in the last few months has had an infelicitous psychological impact on Finance Ministry Officials and the larger needs of industrial development of the country, which pre-supposes large mobilization of savings towards equity capital of Public Companies seem to have receded into the background. A negative approach to the entire problem probably based on subjective personal prejudices against certain tall poppies of the industrial world has influenced ruling and regulatory fervour in recent months. The Capital Issue market does not oblige Governments or enterpreneurs by being in its best form when capital is required. It is as capricious as the typhoons of the China Sea and at least two successive Union Finance Ministers of proved acumen went round the country, finding out how capital formation could be revived and found that popular enthusiasm for new capital issues could not be coaxed back to its once exalted tempo, by verbal assurances which they gave in their public utterances.

All regulatory fervour in this context is based on facile assumptions as to financial weather and it will be unwisdom for Government to impose greater strain on our enterpreneur community than it is already confronting, starting from the stage of industrial licensing. The taxation pattern of today is not exactly an overwhelming incentive to enterpreneurial effort—but to make public industrial Company promotion one long obstacle-race is to cork off the springs of enthusiasm and constructive economic effort.

To the Ten Commandments of Jesus Christ we have been adding these 13 years, thousands of obscurely worded commandments through legislation. We appear, moreover, to have acquired a vested interest in augmenting that large policing force which is required for even tardy enforcement of these laws. Is it not time to think of creating those positive wealth-creating units, which will pay the taxes that alone can sustain this ever swelling law enforcement force?

Grow More Votes

A QUAINT and hoary ritual is performed in some of our rural areas as a cure for calamities. Whenever cholera or famine strikes a village, the inhabitants go to the temple, lift the image of the village goddess off its pedestal, carry it, with beat of tom-tom and blare of trumpet, to a lonely spot outside the village limits and leave it there—for a few nights. The ceremony over, the simple folk return to their homes, feeling satisfied that all is well.

The resignation of the Union Minister for Food in August last, like the resignations of Finance and Food Ministers before him, is reminiscent of that village ceremony. Judged by results, it would seem that the recurring ritual in New Delhi is as effective as the one performed in the village. Nevertheless, the faith persists that dislodgement of the Food or Finance Minister will rid the country of famine or financial bungling; and so long as it persists, one may expect more scapegoats to be found, whenever signs of misery or restlessness among the people get too dangerous to be ignored.

The debate in the Lok Sabha that culminated in Mr. A. P. Jain's resignation served to focus public attention on a paradoxical situation that has caused grave concern. The paradox is that even after a bumper harvest in this vast agricultural country, foodgrains are scarce as ever and prices continue to soar. "How can this happen", people anxiously ask, "when we have a Government of our own, that came to power on the pledge that it would bring relief to the impoverished and semi-starved millions—a Government that has ruled with unbridled power continuously for twelve years?" Did not our beloved Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, point, over seven years ago, to the shame of our importing hundreds of crores of rupees worth of foodgrains from foreign lands? Did he not declare his Government's determination to see that India becomes self-sufficient in food and that not a grain of food would be imported 'even if we starve'? Why is it then that the Nehru Government has spent over a thousand and one hundred crores of rupees of precious foreign exchange on food imports since we became an independent nation, and is still importing a hundred fifty crores of rupees worth of foodgrains yearly?

The answer, simply, is—Politics.

Invoking an outdated, undefined and almost mystic concept of their own which they have named the Socialist Pattern of Society—which I call the Juggernaut of Avadi—our ruling politicians have bestowed upon themselves a degree of power unknown to Moghul Emperors and Maharajas. Politics fills the air, and overflows the newspapers. Politics overshadows administration, economics, industry, agriculture, education, and haunts the daily lives and pursuits of the people—who see the rise of a New Class of political panjandrums, engaged in throwing their weight about.

This unhealthy domination of politics is a relic of our nation's successful struggle for independence—which was a political struggle waged mainly by politicians. Had it been an armed fight there would have been a preponderance—as in certain countries now—of military men. It is like the stones and sheds and odd debris that one sees cluttering up the sites of newly-built dams and bridges—till some observant and painstaking administrator removes them and tidies up the place.

There are sober intervals, now and then, when even politicians, elevated to Ministerships and in trouble with their portfolios, say that this or that subject should be kept out of politics. But such intervals are brief. The thirst for power returns, and the force of habit takes charge.

Now, if there is one subject that, far from being kept out of politics, has been bedevilled by it in recent years, it is land. Knowing that eighty per cent of the votes

that keep them in power come from the villages, the ruling politicans have sought to lure the rural votes with seductive claptrap and hollow promises such as "Land belongs to the People", "Land to the Landless". Land has been made an election battleground with the result that instead of being the bountiful mother that gives food, security and contentment, it has been turned into a desolate minefield that people are scared to approach.

From time immemorial, land has been held as *sthira* – stable, permanent, immoveable property, real estate. Documents of transfer of land in our country recite in solemn and sonorous terms the eight happinesses (*Ashta bhoga thejas swamyum*) that an owner of land is entitled to enjoy so long as the sun and the moon last (*Achandrarka.*)

How *sthira* is land now? How real is real estate?

The wheels of the Avadi Juggernaut have rolled on. Ideological and sacrosanct, disdainful of such earthly things as brakes and steering, this Socialistic Juggernaut contrived by the ruling party has exacted much sacrifice in its thundering course from Avadi to Nagpur. As its pace onwards from Nagpur is set faster, the toll will be more grievous. The *mantras* and incantations of its high-priests suggest that among the coming casualties will be the sanctity of contract, and the right to property. Land has already become the least *sthira,* the least secure of properties. Title to land is being reduced to a scrap of paper that flutters about in each political breeze.

It is well-known that over seventy per cent of our people live by agriculture; that agriculture accounts for the bulk of our national income. It is the country's biggest industry and occupation. Is it treated and allowed to be run as a great vital industry should be?

It is common knowledge, too, that finance is the lifestream of industry – like Ganga and Kaveri that enrich and make fertile the region they flow on. If the stream dries up or is blocked, crops wither away and the land is bleak and famine-stricken. Have the policies and measures of our present rulers promoted the flow of finance to the great and vital industry called agriculture?

Take one example. For centuries, and even till a decade or two ago, investment in land was recognised as the traditional and safe form of investment. A lawyer in Madras, a merchant in Bombay, or a doctor in Delhi inherited or invested his savings in land. In return for the investment, and the added rupees he gave from his earnings for a new well, or a pair of bullocks, he got a share of the produce raised on his land. Today, he is called an absentee landlord – an expression that Congress oratory and electioneering eloquence have equated to a term of abuse. A man may – still, thank Heaven! – hold shares in Steel Works in Bihar or a Sugar Company in Uttar Pradesh or a Chemical factory in Calcutta and receive a dividend on his investment without being castigated as an absentee steel-owner or an absentee sugar-or chemical-lord. He may own houses in Agra or Allahabad and let them to tenants and not be arraigned an absentee house-owner. But the hapless owner of land finds the scales weighed increasingly against him, and his return getting more and more precarious. He has no heart to spend more on his land. On the contrary, he is driven to get rid of it, in a market that is shrinking – with the result that land values have declined and are, in many cases, farcical. Meanwhile, the tiller on the field does not get the money he used to be given for the farming and family needs. The land is neglected. Production goes down, and there is shortage of food.

We do not have to go so far, or send costly deputations to foreign lands to learn how bountiful and prosperous agriculture can be if only it is allowed to be handled as an industry. We have but to take a look at the achievement of the growers of coffee and tea in our own country. That the land is called a plantation does not alter the

fact that is is land, and what is practised on it is agriculture. – which means, cultivation of land.

Over the last ten years production of coffee in our country has been increased by 110 per cent, and of tea by 77 per cent. Not only have the producers of these crops prospered; they have also provided housing, water supply, dispensaries, creches, canteens to the families employed on their fields. In addition, they have earned for the Government no small part of the foreign exchange that has been spent by it on imports of rice and wheat.

Is there no lesson to be learnt from this?

Gandhiji strove to teach his people to get rid of the curse of untouchability. Should the people await the advent of a new Mahatma to rid the present rulers of the curse of unteachability?

Each successive year in office and authority, far from teaching patience and humility, making them more mature and more understanding finds them more intolerant, less willing to learn, angrier in their "lecturing" and denunciation of any one that dares to question or criticise their ways– be he a senior revered leader of proved wisdom and experience or an eminent and honoured judge. The language of the "lecture" bears a strange resemblance to the vocabulary of the recent "liberators" of Tibet. Even the independent Press has not escaped cheap gibes and unworthy flings, despite the respectful – almost adulatory – support it has given, by and large, to Prime Minister Nehru and his Government.

And, at the crack of a whip in New Delhi, numerous imitation Mahatmas and marionette Nehrus – whose fear of losing their jobs grows as their vested interest in power deepens, – sally forth, east and west and south and north, at the taxpayers' expense, to repeat the "lecture" in voices often less coherent and more raucous. It is like the recorded music from loudspeakers that assaults our ears from teashops on the roadside as we go through a small-town bazaar. The volume is high, the sound is often cracked or tinny, but the music is the same, and the record – his master's voice.

It is not as if all the men in power today do not know or cannot understand the unreality and error of their party's plans and methods. It is evident, for instance, that the Union Food Minister, who lately resigned, did understand, and was honest enough to confess he could not do much about it. It is clear, too, that his bold and dynamic successor does know and proposes to do something about it, though some people feel that Mr. S. K. Patil's refreshing voice has already been subjected, perhaps, to a certain amount of jamming. Signs of restlessness, and even of rebellion, have been visible even among the serried ranks, – particularly since Nagpur. One of the most prominent and dynamic Congress hierarchs, who was a Chief Minister, openly told his High Command that they were following Karl Marx instead of Karamchand Gandhi. It is well known that not a few of the most respected and far-seeing leaders in the Congress Party felt obliged to point to the folly and sophistry of many of the High Command's ways and dictates, and to warn the top brass of the dangers and disillusionments the country was being led to. It is known, too, that all the response they got was to be told to quit.

Many people consider this turn of events a blessing, and good omen, for had the advice and warnings been heeded, the new Opposition Party would not have been born nor so spontaneously and widely acclaimed.

Much protestation is now being heard from the Congress High Command and its propagandists that Joint Co-operative Farming will be voluntary. Assertions and reassertions are made that there will be no compulsion. All this is doubtless intended to allay the countrywide anxiety caused by the Nagpur resolution on this subject. For it did not take a long time for people to discover that the nice word 'co-operation' was only a smoke-screen, and to realise that the proposed step could only

lead, as it had done in the countries from which the inspiration for it was drawn, to collective farms and collective dining halls. To many thinking men and women it seemed a strange irony that the very men that came to power by virtue of Gandhiji's weapon of non-violent non-co-operation should have forged a weapon that was literally the reverse, – for the Resolution launched at Nagpur could truly be described as violent co-operation.

"Where," people ask, "is to be found the dividing line at which voluntariness ends and compulsion begins?" "Are not subscriptions to the loans frequently floated by the Central and State Governments, and to various Funds promoted with the blessing of Union Ministers, purely voluntary? And yet, have not those that have been recipients of demi-official letters or calls from Collectors or other officials in connection with the loans and appeals soon learnt the meaning of the word 'voluntary' according to the current official dictionary?"

Anatole France said at one time that the difference between justice and injustice was the thickness of a court-fee stamp. If he had lived here today he might have said that the difference between "voluntary" and "compulsory" in the present context is the thickness of a Minister's letter head – or a bureaucrat's visiting card.

The truth is that, since the untimely passing away of Gandhiji, the Congress Party has diverted its thinking and activity to an inglorious attempt to forestall its only serious political rival, and doing what the Communist Party would have done if it had come to power. The only difference is that the operation is painless and performed under the chloroform of mass hypnosis.

If the recent protestations and assertions as to the "purely voluntary" nature of Joint Co-operative Farms, and the clumsily-staged retreat from State Trading in Foodgrains are meant to take the wind out of the sails of the newly-launched Swatantra Party, the entire nation has cause to offer prayer and thanksgiving that, at long last, wisdom has been vouchsafed to our rulers by the blessings of the One whom no less a person than the Prime Minister recognised as the Senior Partner of the new Party.

"It is humbug to argue that a nationalised concern is necessarily more efficient than either an old-time East End sweat-shop or a great modern combine such as Unilever."

— Mr. F. Beswick,
British Labour M.P.

Causes of Communalism

THE current obsession of the Congress is Communalism, which the leaders introduce in the speeches they make on any subject. There may be two explanations, first that the Congress is preparing the country for its action banning parties with communal titles. Though the Committee appointed has reported in favour of this, there may be second thoughts that the measure will be ineffective because parties can change their names and alter offending provisions, without changing their purpose. The second explanation, which is probably the more important one, is that the Congress is trying to win back the vote of many communities, which it has lost from the impact of its policies and procedures.

It is very distressing that in spite of its record of tolerance, India is today the only country in which communalism is a major factor. This is not due to religion which since Independence has been retreating before other interests. Similarly, caste as such, has been weakening due to new viabilities in occupations and locations. Loyalties to language, territory, tribe, occupation are apparent but they arise from two causes, economic and political.

Economics are important not only by themselves but also because of their dependence on politics. Economically, there has been regression not only as indicated by the latest figures of national income, which if moderated to the latest census figures would be even lower, but by the admission the Government have made that their planned expenditure has benefited only small sections, particularly those in urban areas. Poverty throws back individuals to the herd for protection, giving common interests a strength by themselves unrelated to all other interests. If Government policy has been concentrated on the single aim of giving everyone the opportunity to develop his economic potentials, no one would have had either the time or the necessity for communal alignments, as a measure of self-defence against crushing forces.

The entire politics of the Congress have encouraged communalism because they have suborned economics to serve them. Through the maintenance and intensification of controls, the Congress created a class of monopolists, bound to support it at the expense of the general population, in return for obtaining the highest prices for the lowest qualities in the open market and any prices in the black market. Secondly, by becoming owner of one third of the corporate sector in industry and all the land in the country, Government left no economic independence to the natural leaders of the people. Thirdly, it exploited favouritism, in respect of labour by pampering the organised sector of less than 2 per cent of the total of workers, in respect of cultivators by lavishing the benefits of community projects and co-operation on the higher ranks, in respect of the literates by employing those most inconvenient in its own services, in respect of different interests, such as those of caste, language, religion, by favouring those likely to serve it best, irrespective of their other qualifications. This mutilation of values has been possible, on the one hand because of the absolute power of the Congress, and on the other because of the ignorance and helplessness of the masses. Power has been used by equating politics with profit. Not only the legislators but even the third rate Congress workers, who were considered by the Congress President to be better than top ranking leaders of other parties, find politics the most paying profession for their qualifications. They are ready to pay for it by securing the support of the majority in their constituency by promise of promoting its interest. The Congress, forced to adopt candidates, according to the majority communal inter-

J. M. Lobo Prabhu, I.C.S. (Retd.)

est in the constituency, has to thank itself that it has enthroned communalism.

The Congress can end the basic causes of communalism, first by reducing the share of Government in employment, industry and trade for which different classes compete on the basis of their political power. If Government confined itself to its own business of administration, even though its power may be reduced, it would cease to be faced by people organised to obtain their share of preferment. Secondly, whatever Government has to dispense should be on the basis of merit and not of democracy. This would stop individuals from organising the political strength of their groups to obtain what they do not deserve. Government may assure equality of opportunity but further viability should be on merit, irrespective of caste, class or territorial reasons. If, for instance, Harijans were assured full employment, at least on minimum wages, they would not care to organise themselves, as sixty millions would be satisfied with their basic necessities instead of a few thousands being gratified with jobs which may be beyond them.

Thirdly, the Government should show maturity by restraint in both what it says and does. It has been calculated that the Indian Prime Minister makes more speeches than all other Prime Ministers together. He speaks on every subject, the resulting confusion encouraging the claims of different classes. Similarly schemes like the linguistic division of the country, community and social welfare projects, panchyatraj, excite the cupidity of those who have no right or qualification. If the Government could concentrate on the single task of developing the resources of the country by helping those who help themselves, people would not organise themselves into classes to get their share of patronage of the Government. The policy of self development, to which the Swatantra Party is dedicated can end communalism in this natural way.

"What is socialism but pure and simple State-compulsion? In the result the individual dies in the one as in the other. Indeed it is an illusion that the two are different and that one is an alternative to the other. That it is possible to establish 'Socialism' without the violence that accompanied communism but through democratic process does not make it different. Whether the individual is violently made to die, or accepts death without resistance, the resulting death is the same. The individual ceases to exist whether it is murder or suicide."

— Shri C. Rajagopalachari

Gandhi and Socialism

IN September 1934 Gandhiji issued a lengthy statement resigning from the Congress. In that statement he referred, among other things, to the growth of a little group of active and vigorous Socialists in the Congress and said that he did not wish to suppress the spread of their ideas, distasteful though some of them were to him, but that his differences with the group were so fundamental that if they gained ascendancy within the Congress, he could not remain within it. In the succeeding annual session of the Congress at Bombay in October of that year, he resigned his membership of the Congress and never rejoined it afterwards. The Socialistic creed was based on compulsion and materialism. He was against them. It wanted to abolish private property. He was not against private property nor even against huge wealth. He was also opposed to State interference with the life of the citizen. He regarded economic egalitarianism as an impossibility. He wrote: "I cannot picture to myself a time when no man would be richer than another. Even in the most perfect world, we shall fail to avoid inequalities." His view of property was contained in what is known as the doctrine of trusteeship, which he defined in *Young India* as follows: "When an individual had more than his proportionate share (of property), he became a trustee for the portion for God's people. *A millionaire may have his millions,* but he will hold them for the people. The art of amassing riches becomes a degrading and despicable art if it is not accompanied by the nobler art of how to spend wealth usefully."

Gandhiji's idea of true Socialism is contained in a statement which he once made to Mr. John Gunther: "I purchase a mill. Then I give people good wages. This is Socialism." To him Socialism had its original meaning of comradeship and not its present meaning of class conflict. Of course, persons who had no faith in the human instincts of brotherly feeling and sympathy ridiculed his trust theory. Our Prime Minister too has written in his autobiography: "Is it reasonable to believe in the theory of trusteeship? Are the best of us so perfect as to be trusted in this way?" But Gandhiji was unshaken. 'I adhere to my doctrine of trusteeship in spite of the ridicule that has been poured on it. It is true that it is difficult to reach. But so is non-violence difficult to attain." He said that there were numerous instances of rich and poor people living in perfect friendship and held up the example of Sri G. D. Birla. He added: "We have to multiply such instances." His most favourite Upanishad was the Isa Upanishad with its opening injunction *thena thyaktena bhunjita* (enjoy by renunciation). He said in so many words: "Real Socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors." He wanted Indians to stick to their national *dharma* and as far as possible to live lives of discipline and self-control. His philosophy of a good life may be said to have been summed up by the 'three *das*' of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, *damyata, datta,* and *dayadhvam,* (restraint, liberality and compassion).

The qualities were to be self-imposed self-cultivated and not enforced by compulsion from outside. He was for the maximum amount of freedom for the individual and the minimum amount of government interference in his affairs. He wrote: "No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. Just as a man will not grow horn or tail, so he will not exist as a man if he has no mind of his own." He added: "Democracy is not a state in which people are like sheep." At the same time, he fully recognisd that man is a social animal and lived in society and that unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast in the jungle, that a golden mean must be attempted between individual

R. V. Krishna Aiyar

freedom and social security but that even this should be done by a process of self-discipline and not by government control. "A dictatorship", he said, "can exact obedience. It can implant the habit of robot compliance. It can by fear convert man into a cringing kowtowing pigmy. None of this is discipline. If the individual ceases to count, what is left of society?" The real remedy against the evils of capitalism is not the substitution of State capitalism for private capitalism, not a change of control from one set of materialistic exploiters to another, but the cultivation and emergence of a new ethical outlook, a resuscitation of our ancient eternal virtues, and an integrated development of human personality and of the divinity in man. Gandhiji insisted that "man is not mere body but mind and soul." The socialist mind of our Prime Minister was suspicious even of Gandhiji's khadi movement and hand-spinning and weaving. He knew that they were inconsistent with his Communistic ideas of nationalisation of all instruments of production and distribution and perpetuated individual property. He has written in his autobiography: "The khadi movement—hand-spinning and hand-weaving—which is Gandhiji's special favourite is *an intensification of individualism in production* and *is thus a throwback to the* pre-industrial age. As a solution of any vital present-day problem, it cannot be taken seriously and it *produces a mentality which may become an obstruction to growth in the right direction.* It may be helpful for some time to come, so long as the State itself does not undertake the rightful solution of agrarian and industrial problems on a country-wide scale." If, therefore, the Prime Minister now appears to be in favour of small industries, small land holdings and decentralisation, it is only as a necessary half-way house, and as a step to nationalisation 'on a countrywide scale' at a later stage.

In this connection it may be stated that in following this cautious policy, the Prime Minister and the Government are merely following the Communistic technique which has been prescribed long ago by the founders of modern Communism and which has been followed by all modern Communistic countries. In our country, barring a few landowners here and there, agriculture has remained predominently a peasant economy in which the greater part of production is carried on by small peasant proprietors.

Recognising the necessity of the working classes forming an alliance with the mass of the working peasantry in the fight against capitalists and landlords, Engels answered the question thus: "When we are in possession of State power, we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants... Our task in relation to the small peasants consists...in effecting a transition from his private enterprise and private possession to cooperative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of special assistance for the purpose." From cooperative property and cooperative possession, the transition to the higher stage of Communism, viz. public ownership, is an easy and natural step.

The question of vital importance for our country now is not in what stage we now stand but in what direction we are moving. It must be obvious to every right thinking man that our country is being led to inevitable disaster. No time should be lost in arresting our motion and changing its direction. During the last years of Gandhiji's life, he became so discontented with the policies and actions of the Congress government and the persons responsible for such policies and actions that he wanted to start, to use his own words, "another vehicle which would push the government and when necessary to carry the government load." He already saw that freedom *for* India had not brought freedom *in* India.

(from "Swarajya" of Oct. 31, 1959)

Partyless Democracy

DEMOCRACY today stands at the cross-roads of History. It is being threatened now and again by Communism and Military dictatorship. The Second World War brought forth the evil forces of Nazism and Fascism and Democracy together with Communism came to the rescue of the frustrated nations. The globe has rounded the sun many times after the termination of World War II, and now we find a struggle between Democracy and Communism. Today's world has been divided into two distinct poles and we find the two camps playing a game of see-saw between themselves for ascendancy, power and influence.

During the Second World War, a feeling of nationalism grew up in the minds of the peoples of the dependent countries. There was a cry for freedom from the yoke of foreign rule. The ruling powers realised that bullets and bayonets could no longer suppress the voice of the people and gradually they left their colonies and dominions. Several independent nations were born and the governments were formed on the basis of democracy. Peoples' representatives took charge of the destiny of their nations.

But soon changes and ravages overtook them. Though Iran hailed Massadique as her hero, he was soon overthrown and huddled into the prison. Nasser of Egypt finished with the Crown and put aside Democracy. Kassem of Iraque faced bullets and sabotage and has still no roots in the masses. Revolt of Turkey is a story only of the other day. On the East, Korea and Indo-China present tales of strife and chaos; Laos is still in the midst of sword and fire. Burma inaugurated her freedom with the blood of her hero Aung San. Ceylon on the south saw her Prime Minister fall dead to an assasin's bullet only two years ago. And Pakistan not only witnessed her Liaquat Ali and Dr. Khan Saheb being murdered, but the toppling of many a Prime Minister and the collapse of Democracy itself, on whose corpse General Ayub is brandishing his sword now.

India is being regarded as the bastion and saviour of Democracy in the East. There are countries who are ranged on the side of America and England, the leaders of Democracy, against the Communist powers. But their Governments speak and act only in the name of their peoples though the peoples' voices are not echoed through them. This is India where only the Parliament representing the people is Sovereign. But did the Indian Nation also not inaugurate her Freedom with the blood of the Father of the Nation? The Punjab holocaust and the Bengal blood-bath can be explained in the context of communalism let loose by the Muslim League and Pakistan. But were the Andhra upheaval, the Bombay breakdown, the Assam holocaust, the Jabalpore flame and the Punjab repression only natural phenomena? The Country is torn by strife and riven with factions today. Fissiperous tendencies are ever rampant and national unity stands frustrated in jeopardy.

Our Society today is in chaos. Economic institutions are being uprooted, time-honoured social customs are being overturned, new vested interests are springing up, new venues of power and position are opening, values are changing. The whole social order has been thrown into a melting pot. Ministers view themselves in the perspective of kings and princes of olden days. Their life-pattern changes. Membership of Parliament and Legislatures is an open craving now with the political workers while their ideals are forgotten pastimes. Interference with Administration by the Congress bosses is a growing menace to the healthy growth and development of the State.

On the basic ground of this mental climate, thoughts and urges of Society are

Kamakhya Narain Singh

taking strange shapes. Unlike the politicians in England and America, where they enter politics to contribute their mite to the preservation and growth of their national glory and not to seek glory only for themselves, here in India and elsewhere in the East politics is becoming a gainful profession. Once a person is successful in an Election he pursues his path and as an ardent careerist he tries to create a structure around him to bolster up himself. He spares nothing to build a permanent political career for himself. When position of such people totters or when their dreams seem to recede, they create issues and catch upon some problem issuing out of social friction and try to build a movement around it. The whole show gradually takes a Party character and ripens into a Provincial or All India affair. People and Government are exercised seriously and it ends in confusion, social turmoil and some honour to the leaders. Many of our social maladies can be traced to this phenomenon.

This evil is taking so wide roots in our Democracy that the General Elections are turning out to be mere shams. If the present trend works unabated and uncontrolled, then even the middle class will not be able to face the Elections. Strange slogans are raised, bitterness is let loose and tension generated. People are divided by caste, creed, locality, religion and even sex. The poison is spreading so swiftly that the Panchayat Elections are disrupting the rural life. Power is sought to be decentralised through Panchayats. But the prospects of the posts of 'Mukhia' and 'Sarpanch' upset all standards and cloud all relations and the villages, which are disobliging, are turned into enemy camps. Corruption, greed and lust spread their evil tentacles even to our villages which were considered to be cradles of democracy in the ancient times.

With this election fever, when it shoots up to the Assembly and Parliamentary level, all bounds give way. Ironically enough India was never so united as in her dark days of British domination and was never so divided as in her present Congress regime. When the candidates' selection is made by the Parties, they keep before themselves the charts and figures of communities and castes. Election prospects are measured by this yardstick. Men of status plan their course of action in this perspective. Prime Minister Nehru has raised the cry of National Integration. This is merely an Election slogan. The Congress leaders dare not give tickets to those whose caste or community are not in majority. The P.S.P. and even the Communists are following in their footsteps. Even Independent candidates do not lag behind in this race and make the social maladies their sheet-anchor.

To cap the crisis the Congress has now begun to launch the entire State resources and money bags at their beck and call into the Election campaign. The recent Orissa drama is an alarm to which the Nation must wake up. Shri Bijoyanand Patnaik rode to success not on the popularity of the Congress but he overwhelmed the Gantantra, a Party of 'Princes' with 140 brand new Jeeps and about 40 lakhs of rupees and is today being acclaimed a hero. Chances of common men challenging the Congress will thus disappear. The country is on the one hand heading towards a one-Party Government and ultimately Party dictatorship, and on the other Society is seething with internal dissension and strife. Thanks to the gifts of the Congress Raj, the Bastion and Saviour of Democracy in the East is visibly shaken.

Shri Jai Prakash Narain has of late been focussing the Nation's attention on the evils of a Government on Party system. His arguments are even laughed away. But is not Democracy being reduced to a mockery today? To that is added the Planning Commission, which has usurped the functions of the Parliament. The growing Statism of the Congress Government is already developing fast into totalitarianism. The bright side of Party system has been thus shadowed and the evils have been let

loose. The ideal of a Partyless Government, is, therefore, not merely an idle talk.

If democracy is to survive and flourish in India, the evils of the Party system must go. As arguments are advanced, and that too not unjustly that the ideal of a Partyless Democracy is far to realise, a system must be evolved wherein the evils of the Party system may be reduced to the minimum.

The Swatantra Party alone has offered scope to its members for behaving on Non-Party lines in all spheres of national life outside the purview of its ideology. The Swatantra ideology is thus closest to the ideal of a Partyless Democracy. Now China is spreading her blood-red claws across the borders of her neighbours in Asia and Russia has threatened the entire West and Democracy itself with extinction. Civilisation is dangerously poised today on the precipice of crisis. Democracy must move on new lines shedding its evils to be able to face the tasks ahead. We can ill afford to shut our eyes and dream of a pleasant future when stark realities strike at our Society and shake it to the very roots. We have had sufficient experience of a Party rule since the dawning of Independence in this Sub-Continent. In India we have the epitome of the whole world. Let India show the way to the entire world which is groping in the darkness now for saving Democracy from extinction as threatened by the evil forces of Communism on the one hand and Military Dictatorship on the other. Parties beget factions which bring out a fissiperous chaos. The interest of the Party alone feature in its entire activities and the so-called motto of service to the people is forgotton soon after the results of the Elections are out. The interest of the country, the service of the nation and the welfare of the Society – all these ideals recede to the background while the partisan spirit is fostered, promoted and nurtured with all carefulness. Slogans are forgotten and ideals are soon forsaken with the advent of the Party in the political field. Once established there, its entire organisation is mobilized for retention of power and gradual expansion by any means. Careerist politicans mould Party programmes. Cadres are recruited with the sole goal of grabbing power by hook or crook for the Party. Interest of the Party comes first and foremost to the gross detriment of national interests and in consequence the people are the worst sufferers. This is what we are constrained to notice now in the rule of the Party in our democracy since independence. We have had high hopes in the past. Our great martyrs did not sacrifice their precious lives for this sort of Party rule.

In this overwhelming sphere of darkness, which is enveloping the mental horizons of all Political thinkers today, the ideal of Partyless Democracy is like the harbinger of the rays of the sun in the misty twilights of the early dawn. The Swatantra Party with its Non-Party ideal and non-partisan outlook will usher in the political arena new rays of hope and trust to safeguard the future of Democracy in the service of humanity.

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सरकारी तानाशाही से जनता के धर्म, धन, धन्धों और धरती की तथा व्यक्ति और जनता की स्वतन्त्रता एवं देश के संविधान की रक्षा करने के लिए स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की स्थापना अनिवार्य हो गई

भारत एक महान देश है । उसकी जनता महान है । हमारा विश्वास है कि उसका भविष्य भी महान है । इस महानता के पूर्ण और प्रभावी विकास के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि देश की सरकार ऐसी हो जो जनता की श्रेष्ठतम प्रवृत्तियों को प्रेरित कर सके ।

आज स्वदेश के स्वाधिन होने के १२ वर्ष बाद भी जनसाधारण के जीवन में कोई विशेष उन्नति नहीं हुई । हमारी जनता के लिये अब भी पर्याप्त अनाज की, मकानों की और कपडों की कमी है । अत्यधिक लोग गरीब है, कीमतें बढती चली जा रही हैं, शहरों में जगह नहीं है, गंदी बस्तियों की भरमार है, लोग सडकों के किनारे पडे रहते हैं । मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों की स्थिति जितनी नाजुक आज है उतनी पहले कभी नहीं थी । लोगों में निराशा की भावना आम हो चली है ।

पिछले बारह साल से राष्ट्रीय चरित्र का बराबर ह्रास होता है क्योंकि लोगों के कष्ट सहिष्णुता साहस और अध्यवसाय आदि गुणों की कद्र नहीं होती और इन गुणों पर उन राजनीतिओं के गुर्टों के हुक्मों को प्रधानता दी जाती है जो जनमत की परवाह न करते हुये अत्यधिक अधिकारों का उपभोग कर रहे हैं और भारत की राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस की पुरानी सेवाओं की कमाई खा रहे हैं ।

जो लोग स्वदेश में स्वराज्य की उत्कट इच्छा रखते हैं वे बडे दुःख के साथ देश में बढते हुये कुशासन, कुनबापरवरी और भ्रष्टाचार को तथा सत्तारूढों की चालबाजियो एवं साजिशों को, जनता की शिकायतों की तरफ उनकी लापरवाही को विचारहीन सामाजिक कानूनों द्वारा सामाजिक बन्धनों के विनाश को और उस धार्मिक भावना की उपेक्षा को देख रहे हैं जिससे निःस्वार्थ सेवा के लिए स्फूर्ति मिलती है और देख रहे है देश के अनेक भागों में शान्ति और व्यवस्था की कमी को । इसके साथ-साथ वे लोग जो सामान्य प्रशासन में शान शौकतव फिजूलखर्ची से काम लेकर आम लोगों की नैतिक दृढता को ढीला करते हैं, उनके मुंह से रात दिन त्याग, तप और निःस्वार्थ सेवा के उपदेश सुनकर उनका मखील उडाते हैं । राष्ट्र के नैतिक बल की इस कमी के साथ-साथ हाल ही में हमारी मातृभूमि के कुछ भाग पर विदेशियों के कब्जे के सामने सर झुकाने से जो राष्ट्रीय अपमान हुआ है वह अलग है ।

शासक दल (कांग्रेस) के बहुत से लोग यह जानते है कि उनकी सरकार की मूल नीतियां विफल हुई हैं । उन नीतियो में परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है लेकिन वे मिथ्या भक्ति, अपनी पदलोलुपता तथा वीर पूजा की भावना के कारण अपनी भावना को व्यक्त करने में

असमर्थ है। जो पार्टियां आर्थिक सामाजिक नीति के क्षेत्र में सरकारवाद (समाजवाद) के विभिन्न कार्य क्रमों से चिपकी हुई हैं वे थोडे से हेर फेर के साथ यहीं राग अलापती हैं और इसलिये वास्तव में वे शासक पार्टी की पिछलग्गू हो गई हैं।

अब समय आ गया है कि भारत अर्थात हमारा देश इस दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति की चुनौती का सामना करे। इसी संदर्भ में स्वतन्त्र पार्टी देश की जीवन पद्धति और शासन का सुस्पष्ट विकल्प कार्यक्रम देने के लिये आगे आई है।

२ समान आकांक्षायें

कुछ ध्येय और आकांक्षायें ऐसी हैं जिन्हें हम सब लोग जो भारतीय जनतन्त्र के संविधान को तथा पार्लिया-मेन्टरी जनतन्त्र की प्रकियाओं को श्रद्धापूर्वक स्वीकार करते हैं, समान रूप से मानते हैं। सहमति के इस क्षेत्र में खेती तथा उद्योग धन्धो की पैदावार में वृद्धि द्वारा जनता के लिये अधिक पूर्ण और अधिक सम्पन्न जीवन का उद्देश्य सम्मिलित हैं। इसमें इस बढे हुए उत्पादन के लाभों का न्याययुक्त बटवारा भी सम्मिलित है। सहमति की एक और बात यह है कि मूल मानवीय स्वाधीनता को सुरक्षित रखते हुए शीघ्र से शीघ्र देश की जनता का जीवन समुन्नत हो। इससे सार्वजनिक अधिकारियों और आर्थिक संस्थाओं द्वारा एक हद तक आयोजन की आवश्यकता भी सन्निहित है। बशर्ते उससे पार्लियामेन्टरी जनतन्त्र में और वैयक्तिक स्वाधीनता की आम धारणा में सन्निहित अधिकारों में कमी न हो।

इस बात में भी सहमति हे कि सब लोगों को धर्म जाति धंधों तथा राजनैतिक पार्टी के भेदभाव के विना समान (बराबर) अवसर मिले। इस के साथ हो जिन लोगों को विभिन्न अडचनों में काम करना पडता है, उनकी रक्षा और सहायता की जानी चाहिये जिससे वे शीघ्रतापूर्वक अपनी दशा की बहतर अवस्था में उन्नति कर सकेंगे, जैसे हरिजनों आदिवासियों और दुसरी पिछडी जातियों की।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी दूसरी किसी भी पार्टी की तरह इन आकांक्षाओं से प्रेरित और इन ध्येयों की पूर्त्ति के लिये वचनबद्ध है। इस समय पदासीन पार्टी से हमारा मतभेद इन माने हुए ध्येयों की पूर्ति के लिए जिन साधनों से काम लिया जाता है, उनके बारे में हैं।

३ प्रचलित सांचा (Pattern)

शासक पार्टी की नीतियों और घोषणाओं के आधार पर निर्णय किया जाय तो उसका आधारभूत दर्शन यह मौलिक विश्वास है कि राज्य या सरकार आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक प्रगति का मुख्य यन्त्र है और यह कि इसके फलस्वरूप आधारभूत उद्योग धंधों का स्वामित्व सरकार के हाथ में होना चाहिये तथा आर्थिक लाभ के प्रधान बिन्दु भी राज्य के कब्जे में होने चाहिये। अर्थ व्यवस्था का सरकारी क्षेत्र निरन्तर बढता रहना चहिए। जिससे कि अन्त में स्वतन्त्र क्षेत्र नगन्य परिमाण में रह जाय। किसानों को जैसे हो वैसे इस इस बात के लिये राजी किया जाना चाहिए कि वे अपने को बडी-बडी सहकारी समितियों या सामूहिक फार्मों में विलीन करदें। पूंजी की लागत का अधिकांश भाग बडे-बडे उद्योग धंधों में लगाया जाना चाहिये और जब तक यह प्रक्रिया चलती रहे तब तक उपभोक्ताओं को उनके आवश्यकीय उपभोगों से वंचित किया जाना चाहिये और इन उद्देश्यों को प्राप्त करने के लिए पार्लियामेंन्ट को सत्ताधारी पार्टी के आधीन रहना चाहिए तथा स्वयं पार्टी को उन फैसलों के गतहत रहना चाहिए जो योजना आयोग के सदस्यों का एक गुट तय करे तथा इस गुट को पार्टी के शक्तिशाली चौधरियों से संचलित होना चाहिए।

यद्यसि यह सही है कि शासक पार्टी के बहुत से सदस्य इस दर्शन से सहमत नहीं है, फिर भी यह तथ्य रहता है कि यह लोग या तो अपना विरोध व्यक्त ही नहीं करते या उनका विरोध प्रभावहीन होता है और जिन ध्येयों को वास्तव में पूरा किया जा रहा है वे वही है जिनकी रूप रेखा ऊपर दी गई है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी को स्थापना इसी वस्तु स्थिति के कारण अनिवार्य हो गई।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी शासक पार्टी की उपर्युक्त रीति या विधि को अस्वीकार करती है क्योंकि वह अधिनायकवादी योजना की पद्धति से ली गई है। यह विधि हमारे देश की जनता की राष्ट्रीय प्रतिभा के तथा जिन आकांक्षाओं

को वे प्राण पण से चाहते हैं उनके अनुकूल नहीं है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का विश्वास है कि अधिनायकवादी आयोजन और जनतन्त्रीय तरीके एक दूसरे के प्रतिकूल है तथा जीवन के स्वतन्त्र मार्ग को तिलांजलि देना एक ऐसे ध्येय की पूर्ति के लिए सामाजिक व मनोवैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से गलत साधनों को अख्तियार करना है जिसके पूरे होने में बहुत सन्देह है।

प्रत्येक विकासशील अर्थव्यवस्था को यह बुनियादी चुनाव करना है कि वह अपना विकास फौजी (जंगी) ढंग से करेगी या स्वतन्त्र ढंग से। इस चुनाव को न तो टाला ही जा सकता व मुल्तवी ही किया जा सकता है। सामूहिक अर्थ व्यवस्था राजनैतिक जनतन्त्र के साथ-साथ अधिक दिनों तक नहीं रह सकती।

अधिनायकवादी अर्थ व्यवस्थायें अपनी लागत की पूंजी बढाने के लिये समस्तोड टैक्सों और उन बचतों पर निर्भर करती है जो लोगों के जीवन की दैनिक आवश्यकताओं को बेरहमी के साथ कम कर देने से हीं हो सकती है। स्वतंत्र अर्थ व्यवस्था में राज्य कच्चे माल और बनाई हुइ चीजों पर वितरण और उपभोग पर अपनी ईच्छा लादने अर्थात मनमानी घर जानी करने के लिये पूर्ण नियन्त्रणा नहीं हडपता। जंगी-[सैनिक नियंत्रण वाली] अर्थ व्यवस्था में मशीनों और साज सज्जा में खराबियां पैदा होती हैं और व्यक्तियों में भी मानवीय प्रतिष्ठा विरहित जोर जबरदस्ती की हालत में लम्बे अरसे तक काम करने में अनिच्छा पैदा होती है। [इस अर्थ व्यवस्था में] निरन्तर देखरेख के शीर्ष स्थानीय खर्च मितव्ययिता के विपरीत होते हैं और उसने पैदावार का खर्च बहुत बढ जाता है। इसके अतिरिक्त चुंकि अधिनायकवादी पैदावार, उपभोक्ताओं की मांग ध्यान नहीं रखती, इसलिये उसका माल भी हेटा होता है इस तरह राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन में जो वृद्धी हो जाती है वह किसी भी दशा में जनता के जीवन स्तर को उन्नति नहीं करती।

भारत में जहां शासक पार्टी ने एक तरफ तो स्वतन्त्र बाजार वाली अर्थ व्यवस्था के विरुद्ध कसम सी खाली है और दूसरी तरफ वह स्वयंपूर्ण तानाशाही के योग्य नहीं हैं। उसके इन दो स्तूलों के बीच में गिर पढने का भी खतरा है। साधनों के बटवारे [अवगुंठन] के बारे में सरकार का पूर्ण [पर्याप्त] नियंत्रण नहीं इसीलिये बचत के ऊपर भी उसका नियन्त्रण नहीं के बराबर है फिर भी वह सोवियत ढंग के आयोजन को अपना ध्येय बनाये हुए है। स्वयम उसकी अपनी गोलमाल [गडबड घोटाला वाला] विचारसारिणी से उत्पन्न दुविधा में जकडी हुई होने पर भी सरकार ने देश में और विदेशों में व्यापक कर्ज लेने की नीति से अपना क़ाम लेना शुरू कर दिया है, और वह तरफ से लाचार होकर अपने नोट छापने वाले प्रेसों का दुरूपयोग कर रही है। तथाकथित समाजवादी नीतियों पर चलने की कोशिश में सरकार को कन्ट्रोल बढाने के साथ-साथ अनुत्पादक व्यय भी बढाना पड रहा है। अन्धाधुन्द कर्ज लेने की धुन में सरकार ने देश का भविष्य रहन रख दिया है उसने उद्योग व्यवसाय के कारबारों को अपने हाथ में ले लिया है इस उद्देश से कि उनसे अपनी आमदनी बढाये और ऐसा करते हुए उसने न तो जनता के जीवन व्यय की तज्जनत वृद्धि की ही कुछ परवाह की और न इस बात की ही कि वह उन व्यवसायों को कुशलतापूर्वक और मितव्ययता के साथ चलाने में असमर्थ है।

इन बातों का नतीजा यह हुआ कि खेती और उद्योग धन्धों (दोनों) में (१) बचत (२) पूंजी लगाने और (३) उत्पादन तीनों में बाधा पड रही है खेतो के लिये ऋण की प्राप्यता को हानि पहुंची है। जो उत्साही और मितव्ययी किसान हैं वे अपनी जमींन में रुपया लगाने की ओर से निरुत्साहित हुये है। उसके विपरीत अधिकतम जोत सीमा निर्धारण कानूनों से बचने के लिये बडी जोतों को छोटे-छोटे टुकडो में बांटने के लिये मजबूर हुये है जिसके फलस्वरूप खेती की पैदावार बढने के बजाय घटी है।

उद्योग धन्धों को व्यापक सरकारी हस्तक्षेप और विनमय के अधीन कर दिया है। अगर सरकार की ऐसी नीतियों के बावजूद भी औद्योगिक पैदावार थोडी बहुत बढी है तो उसका कारण यह है कि भारतीय जनता की उत्पादक शक्तियां प्राणवान हैं जहां आयातों पर प्रतिबन्ध हो तथा अधिकतर व्यापार (बाजार) रक्षित हो वहां पैदा हुआ हर एक माल मुनाफे के साथ बिक जायगा। फिर चाहें उससे उपभोक्ताओं के हितों को और देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को कितनी बी हानि क्यों न पहुंचे? पिछले तीन सालों से प्रति व्यक्ति आमदनीं के आंकडे वस्तुतः गति-शून्यता की तस्बीर सामने रखते है।

सरकार की नितियों के सामाजिक प्रभाव भी इतने ही दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण हुए है। कीमतें बढ जाने से (महंगी) की वजह से, किसानों, मजदूरों और जिन लोगों की आमदनियां बंधी हुई है उन पर बुरा असर पडा हैं। राष्ट्रीय आय के बंटवारे में मुद्रा स्फीति से अनिवार्यतः हानिकर और समाज विरोधी परिवर्तन पैदा होता है। कन्ट्रोलों के परिणाम स्वरूप सामाजिक अन्याय पैदा होता है। खासकर विनिमय सम्बन्धी कन्ट्रोलों और आयात सम्बधी उक्त प्रतिबन्धो से जिनके परिणाम स्वरूप छिपी हुई इजारेदारी कायम हुई है तथा जिसको यथार्थ ही अव्यवस्था का निकृष्टतम रूप कहकर पुकारा गया है।

कन्ट्रोलों के फलस्वरूप किमतों में जो खाइयां (फर्क) पैदा होती हैं उसके फायदे अधिकतम आमदनी वाले लोगों के वर्ग को, राजनीति में प्रभावशाली व्यक्तियों को धूर्त अधिकारियों को और उन लोगों को जो आयात के लायसेंस निकलवाकर लाने में रिश्वत लेते हैं लायसेंसों का व्यापार करने वालों को तथा कन्ट्रोलों का माल निषिद्ध (वर्जित) क्षेत्रों में चोरो से भेजने वालों को ही मिलते हैं। इनको रोकने की कोशिश में प्रशासन तथा पुलिस के खर्च में सरकार का धन बेकार बहता हैं तथा अत्यधिक टेक्सों से आमदनी के कम होते जाने का सिद्धांत अपना काम करने लगता है।

वित्त, सिक्का (प्रचलन), आयात प्रतिबंध, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय, भुगतान और कन्ट्रोलों के क्षेत्र में सरकार की गलत कार्यवाहियों से राष्ट्रीय आय के वितरण का ऐसा सांचा पैदा हुआ है कि जो स्वदेश के स्वाधीन होने के पहले से भी बदतर है।

गतिहीन आमदनी, कीमतों की बढती और अत्यधिक टैक्सों के सम्मिलित दबावों का कचूमर निकालने वाला घातक प्रभाव उन मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों पर विशेष तोर पर हुआ है जिनकी आमदनियां बंधी हुई हैं। जो मध्यमवर्ग देश की रीढ होते हैं वे ही इन प्रक्रियाओं के शिकार है।

सरकार के हाथों में आर्थिक और राजनैतिक सत्ता का केन्द्रीयभूत होना बराबर बढ रहा है यह केन्द्रीयकरण और सबबातों से कहीं अधिक खतरनाक है, सरकार का अत्याचार जो साकल्प अत्याचार है स्वाधीनता के लिये सबसे अधिक बडा खतरा है।

साथ ही साथ राष्ट्र के नैतिक मानदंड गिरते जा रहे हैं। कन्ट्रोलों से बाजारों में चीजों की कमी हो जाति है उससे भ्रष्टाचार उत्पन्न होता है कानून के प्रति सम्मान कम होता जारहा है। भारत में सरकारी निगमों और व्यवसायों का रिकॉर्ड इस बात का सबूत है कि राष्ट्रीयकरण की नीति विफल हुई है और इस बात का भी कि सरकार व्यवसाय चलाने और उद्योग धंधों (कारखानों) को चलाने के आयोग्य है। कुछ अपवादों को छोडकर इन सब व्यवसायों में साधनों का विनाशकारी उपयोग हुआ हैं। शीघ्र निर्णय करने और खतरे उठाने में अनिच्छा प्रकट हुई हैं। लाल फीतेशाही, खर्च की तरफ से लापरवाही और काम में जकडन सामने आई हैं।

इन सब नीतियो का सम्मिलित प्रभाव यह हुआ हैं कि लोगों में अनिश्चितता की भावना सर्वव्यापी हो गई हैं। उसके परिणामस्वरूप खेतों (फार्मों) दूकानों और कारखानों सब में प्रेरणा शक्ति (पहल करने की शक्ति) सुख गई हैं। जीवन के और कई क्षेत्रो में भी सरकारवाद का खतरा हैं। शिक्षा सम्बन्धी मामलो में कठोर शिक्षा संहिताओ से स्वतन्त्र प्रयोगो का गला घुट रहा हैं। पाठ्य पुस्तको का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो रहा हैं जिससे विचार नियन्त्रणा का पुट आ गया हैं। विश्वविद्यालय शिक्षा सम्बन्धी स्वतन्त्रता खोती जा रही हैं।

धर्मनिरपेक्षता के नाम पर और सहायता अनुदान देने से इन्कारी द्वारा शिक्षा संस्थाओ को मौलिक अधिकारो के बावजूद धार्मिक शिक्षा देने मे निरुत्साहित किया जा रहा हैं। धार्मिक संस्थाओ को दिये जाने वाले दान पर टैक्स लगता हैं, धार्मिकमठो को सरकारी टुकडखोर बनाने की कोशिशें हो रही हैं। ट्रस्टो की निधियो या धार्मिक ट्रस्टो से संम्बधी रखने वाली निधिओ को बचानेके नाम पर उनको सरकार के नियंत्रणा व संचालन में सौंपा जा रहा हैं।

जिस आल इन्डिया रेडियो पर सरकार का एकाधिपत्य हैं उसके और फिल्मो (सिनेमाओ) की सरकारी सेनसरशिप के फलस्वरूप राजनैतिक या अन्य प्रकार भी वे ही वार्तायें ही पाती हैं और वे ही विचार व्यक्त किए जा सकते हैं जो सरकार की मर्जी के मुताबिक हों। सिनेमाओं में सरकारी संचालन में जो तसबीरे दिखाई

जातीं हैं वे जनता का ध्यान मिनिस्टरों कीं ओर केन्द्रित करती हैं तथा जनता में वीरपूजा का भावना पैंदा करती हैं। सरकारी संरक्षणा या भय द्वारा समाचार पत्रों को प्रभावित करने का प्रयत्न किया जाता हैं। यद्यपि हमारे समाचारपत्रों के लिये यह गर्व की बात हैं कि उन्होंने अभी तक सराहनीह दृढता के साथ अपनी स्वाधीनता को बचाये रखा हैं।

इस तरह सरकारवाद प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से उन सब क्रियाओं व कार्यवाहियों को हडपने की कोशिश कर रहा हैं जो स्वतन्त्र समाज में केवल जनता से ही संबंध रखती हैं।

४ हमारा मार्ग

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का विश्वास मारतीय जनता में उसकी बुद्धि उसकी प्रेरणा, शक्ति तथा उसके अध्यवसाय में हैं। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को ईश्वर ने जो सामर्थ्य दी हैं उसमें उसे विश्वास हैं। उसका विश्वास हैं। कि इन गुणों से काम लेकर तथा जनता के आकांक्षाओं से उनका मेल मिलाकर काम करने से ही अधिक पूर्ण और अधिक सम्पन्न जीवन अधिक शीघ्रता से प्राप्त किया जा सकता हैं। और बिना उन तनावो तथा बोझो के प्राप्त किया जा सकता हैं जो दूसरी पद्धतियों में सन्निहित रहते हैं। समाज के भले के लिए वैयक्तिक नागरिकोंकी प्रेरणा शक्ति, उनके उदात्त स्वार्थ और आत्म अभिव्यक्ति के लिए उनकी प्रेरणा को सक्रिय किया जाना चाहिए। जो काम लोग अपने लिए स्वयं कर सकते है उनके लिए वे काम करके उन्हें हम स्थाई लाभ नही पहुंचा सकते हैं। पार्टी का विश्वास हैं कि स्वतन्त्र समाज में वे नैतिक और भौतिक मूल्य जो अच्छे जीवन के आधार हैं स्वयं ही जनता द्वारा पैदा किए जा सकते हैं।

पैदावार में वृद्धि लगातार जारी रहने वाले वैयक्तिक उद्योग के और जहां व्यक्ति जितना खाते हैं उससे जादा कमाते हैं वहां उनकी बचतों से अतिरिक्त पूंजी से ही होती है। यह प्रक्रिया इस बात पर निर्भर है कि व्यक्ति को अपना वह धन्धा करने के लिए प्रेरित किया जाय जिसकी प्रेरणा उसे अपनी विशेष योग्यता (प्रवृत्ति) और स्वार्थ से मिलती है।

स्वतंत्र पार्टी अपने काम के खुद मालिक नागरिको को समाज का सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण सदस्य समझती है इसलिए अपने खेतों के मालिक किसानों, कारीगरों, दुकानदारों और डाक्टरों, वकील आदि अधिकारों तथा उनको स्वतंत्राओ की रक्षा के लिए स्वतंत्र पार्टी अपनी पूरी शक्ति से काम करेगी।

अभी तक ऐसी कोई प्रणाली नहीं निकली है जो किसी राष्ट्र को उसकी स्वाधीनता की भावना को हानी पहुचाए बिना अपनी भौतिक अवस्थाओं को उन्नत करने का इतना पूर्ण अवसर देती है जितना उसे स्वतंत्र समाज के कानून देते है। जहां पैदावार के ढांचे का निर्णय उपभोक्ता करते है जहां श्रमिको को अपना काम चुनने का अधिकार है तथा उन्हें अपने काम से असन्तुष्ट होने पर काम करने से इन्कार करने का भी अधिकार तथा पूंजी लगाने वाले को इस बात का अधिकार है कि चाहे तो अपनी पूंजी का उपभोग करले और चाहे तो उसे बचावे और बचाने पर यह भी तय कर सके कि उस बचत की पुंजी को कहां लगावे? और उत्पादक को यह अधिकार हो कि वह कौनसा धंधा या पेशा करे। जीवन की इस पद्धति की गारंटी नागरिकों को संविधान में उन मौलिक अधिकारो में दी गई थी। जिनमें तीन मानवीय स्वतंत्रायें शामिल है। यानीं एक अपना धंधा या पेशा चुनने की स्वाधिनता, दूसरे कानूनों के नियमों के भीतर उसे बिना किसी प्रतिबंध के करते रहने की और तीसरे अन्तिम अपनी आमदानी को खर्च कर डालने या बचाने तथा कुछ खर्च करने तथा कुछ बचाने की स्वतंत्रता।

एक मानवीय विशेषता सम्पति (स्वामित्व) की भावना है। इस भावना से निसृत प्रतिस्पर्द्धा पर उद्योग को प्राकृतिक पुरुस्कारों और काहिली की कुदसजाओं पर और उस महान प्रेरणा पर जो इस आश्वासन के साथ रहती है कि नागरिक का अपने परिश्रम के फलों को भोगने की पूरी गारंटी है, हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था अवश्यतः आधारित होनी चाहिये।

पार्टी निवधि व्यापार के नाम से पुकारी जाने वाली नीति के पक्ष में नहीं है। वह उन स्वतंत्र प्रयत्नों के पक्ष में है जिनका नियम न ऐसे सरकारी कामों से हो जो समाजद्रोही कार्यवाहियों को रोकने और दंडित करने तथा समाज के कमजोर लेकिन उपयोगी तत्वों की रक्षा के लिए आवश्यक हो। सरकार का यह काम सज्जीवन है कि वह ऐसे वातावरण की सृष्टि करकें उसें कायम रखे जिसमें

जनताकी प्रतिभा अपने को फलप्रद कर सके। इस ध्येय की पूर्ति के लिये पार्टी व्यक्ति की अधिक से अधिक स्वतंत्रता के और सरकार के कमसे कम हस्तक्षेप के पक्ष में है।

सरकार का काम है कि वह लोगों में नैतिक दायित्वों की भावना को पाले पोसे और उनके जीवनों का प्रबन्ध अपने हाथ में लिए बिना व्यक्तियों को दूसरों की सेवा करने से जो गर्व, सन्तोष और पूर्णत्व का अनुभव होता है उसे प्रोत्साहित करे। यही बातें हमें हमारी सामाजिक और धार्मिक परम्पराओं से विरासतों में मिली है। सरकार का काम व्यवसाय करना नहीं है, प्रत्युत शासन करना है।

भौतिक गति शास्त्र के क्षेत्र में धरातलों की भिन्नताओ से जितनी शक्ति उत्पन्न होती है उतनी ही शक्ति इन्हीं भिन्नताओं से नैतिक और आर्थिक क्षेत्रों में भी उत्पन्न होती है। हम निम्न धरातल पर अपनी दशा को समुन्नत करने की प्रेरणा को सुदृढ करना होगा तथा उच्च धरातल पर एकता के भावों को तथा अपनी सम्पत्ति का उपभोग दूसरे के साथ करने के भावों को प्रोत्साहित करना चाहिये। यह दोनों प्रेरणाएं स्वस्थ समाज की विशेषता है लेकिन स्वतंत्र इच्छा के परिणामस्वरूप जहां ऊपर की और नीचे की तरफ निरन्तर हलचल होती रहनी चाहिये वहां इन धरातलो का समतल करने के लिए किए गए सरकारी दबावों से एक तरफ लोगों की अध्यवसाय की भावना और दूसरी तरफ करुणा (दया) की भावना मुरझा जाती है। इसीलिये महात्मा गांधी ने ट्रस्टीशिप के जिस सिद्धान्त को प्रतिपादित किया है स्वतंत्र पार्टी उसी को मानती है। वह स्वतंत्र व्यवसाय की उस पद्धति के पक्ष में है जो प्रतिबंधित होने के साथ-साथ सामाजिक दायित्वों की भावना से अधिक सम्पन्न और सुदृढ भी हो। स्वतंत्र पार्टी जहां अधिनायकवादी कार्यक्रमों पर आधारित तथा केन्द्रीय ऊपर से और भारी और केन्द्रीकृत आयोजन के प्रचलित ढाचे को एक दम अस्वीकार करती है वहां वह स्वयं आयोजन के विरुद्ध नहीं है। लेकिन आयोजन, संविधान में जिस स्वतंत्रता की गारन्टी की गई है उसकी चिन्ता को शिथिल किये बिना उस संविधान की सीमाओं के भीतर ही होनी चाहिये। सबसे अधिक आयोजन कहां रुकना, बंद होना चाहिये, इस बात का ज्ञान होना चाहिये।

पार्टी जीवन के उस शुद्ध भौतिकवादी दर्शन के प्रभुत्व के विरुद्ध है जो मानव जीवन के तत्वों या गुणो की उपेक्षा करके केवल आर्थिक स्तर की शर्त का ही ध्यान रखती है। पार्टी का विश्वास है कि जहां भौतिक उन्नति की प्राप्ति के लिए हर एक कदम उठाना चाहिये, वहां अधिक नहीं तो उतना ही ध्यान उन आध्यात्मिक मूल्यों की विकसित करने के लिए भी आवश्यक है जो कि हमारी जनता को जीवन शक्ति के श्रोत है, जो आध्यात्मिक मुल्य हमारी संस्कृति और परम्परा के अंग है। उन्हें पालपोस कर बलवान बनानें के लिए पार्टी जो कुछ कर सकती है वह सब करेगी। अपने बुनियादी सिद्धांतों पर चलते हुए स्वतंत्र पार्टी दातव्य, संस्थाओं और परोपकारी संस्थाओं तथा सम्पति के द्वारा किसी भी सम्प्रदाय या सम्प्रदायों के लाभ के लिए स्थापित की गई निधियों में कोई भेदभाव नहीं करेगी बल्कि कम विशेषाधिकार सम्पन्नों के भले लिए दान देने की भावना को प्रोत्साहित करेगी। चाहे दान सब लोगों के लिए या किसी खास सम्प्रदाय या किसी विशेष उद्देश्य के लिए दिया गया हो। पार्टी को विश्वास है कि या तो सर्वस्व दान करो या कुछ भी न दो। पर जोर देने से अन्ततोगत्वा सभी कम विशेषाधिकार वाले लोगों का उतना काम नहीं चलेगा जितना लोगों की स्वतंत्र इच्छा से, इस तरह के दोनों से चलेगा।

५ जनसाधारण की आवश्यकतायें

स्वतंत्र पार्टी की राय है कि किसी भी सरकार का सबसे पहला कर्तव्य यह है कि वह जन-साधारण की, खाने की, कपडों की, रहने की और पानी सम्बन्धी आवश्यकताओं को पर्याप्त मात्रा में पूरा करे।

स्वतंत्र पार्टी की राय है कि अन्न और कच्चे माल की स्वयं पर्याप्तता हमारे जैसे देश की अर्थव्यवस्था की सबसे पहली शर्त है। चुंकि खाना जन-साधारण के बजट (आय व्यय) का मुख्य अंग हैं इसलिए सरकार को अन्न की पैदावर बढाने की चिन्ता सबसे पहले करनी चाहिए। इस प्रारम्भिक कर्तव्य का पालन करने में शासक दल पूर्णतया विफल हुआ है। लम्बी अवधि के काम पूरे करने की दिखावटी कोशिशों की वेदीपर अन्न की स्वयं पर्याप्तता की बलि दे दी गई है। किसानों के लिए लाजिमी, जरूरी

चीजों का जैसे उर्वरक खाद, बीज और पानी को पर्याप्त मात्रामें उपलब्ध नहीं किया गया है।

हमारे देश में कपडे की प्रति व्यक्ति खपत १९३८-३९ में १६.९६ गज थी। वह १९५५ में घटकर १६.२ गज रह गई और १९५६ में और भी गिर कर १५.८ गई। सूती मिलों और करघे उद्योगों की पैदावार बढाने के लिए जरूरी कदम उतने जोरसे नहीं उठाए गए जितने कि उनको जरूरत थी।

हमारे देश की राष्ट्रीय रोजगारी और कपडे की पूर्ति में जिस करघा उद्योग का अर्थपूर्ण और बडा स्थान है उसको पर्याप्त और कारगर संरक्षण जैसा कि मिलना चाहिए था, नहीं मिला। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की नीति समाज के कमजोर लेकिन उत्पादक अंगो की रक्षा करने की है। इस निती के पालनार्थ वह करघा उद्योग की कारगर रूप से रक्षा करने के लिए तथा सूती मिलों का उत्पादन बढाने के लिए तमाम जरूरी कदम उठायेगी।

सरकार परेशानकुन प्रतिबन्ध लगाने की जिस निति पर चल रही है उससे शहरी तथा देहाती दोनों क्षेत्रों में मकान बनाने के काम की साधारण वृद्धि अविरुद्ध हो गई है। स्वतंत्र पार्टी देहाती तथा शहरों के मुफ्फसिल रकबो में मकान बनाने की बडी-बडी योजनायें चालू करेगी। शासक पार्टी पानी का पर्याप्त प्रबंध करने में असफल रही है। सिंचाई के जिन छोटे-छोटे कामों से देहातों में पीने के पानी का, सफाई के और खेती की सिचाई के लिए पानी का काफी प्रबन्ध हो सकता था उनके सिचाई के बडे-बडे बाँध बनाने की नीति के अधीन कर दिया है। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रारम्भ में शहरी आबादी के बहुत कम अनुपात को संरक्षित जल पूर्ति का लाभ मिलता था लेकिन अब तो दो योजनाओं के बावजूद भी वहां पानी की पर्याप्त पूर्ति के लिये बहुत ही कम काम हुआ है। देहातों की हालत और भी बुरी है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इस स्थिति को ठीक करने का प्रयत्न करेगी।

६ कृषि

अन्न की पैदावार बढाने की प्रमुख आवश्यकता सबसे बहतर तरीके से उन अपने खेतों के तथा अपने काम के खुद मालिकी किसानों के जरिये पूरी हो सकती है जिसका भूमि से अधिक पैदा करने में अपना स्वार्थ है और जो अधिक से अधिक पैदा करने के लिए सुसज्जित हैं। जमीन का कटाव और पानी के भर जाने को [गर्की को] रोकने के लिए स्वतन्त्र पार्टी तमाम जरूरी कदम उठावेगी। इसी तरह भूमि के अत्यावश्यक केन्द्रित तत्वों को उनके ऱ्हास तथा लाखों एकड जंगल के विनाश के फलस्वरूप बाढों के प्रकोपों की वृद्धि रोकने के लिये भी पार्टी सब जरूरी कदम उठावेगी। इसके लिए पूंजी लगाने और आधुनिक तकनीको से काम लेने की जरूरत है।

जन-संख्या की वृद्धि से उत्पन्न होनेवाली समस्या सामूहिक खेती से हल नहीं हो सकती। हमारे देश के किसान खेती के काम में पूर्णतया योग्य हैं। यद्यपि दुर्भाग्य से भारत के खेतों का औसत आकार बहुत छोटा है फिर भी वह जापान के फार्मों के बराबर छोटे नहीं है और जापान के खेतों में प्रति एकड चावल की पैदावार संसार भर में सबसे ज्यादा है। इसीलिए प्राथमिकता समस्या खेतों के आकार की नहीं है, बल्कि किसानों को सघन खेती करने के लिए जरूरी सुविधायें और सहायता प्रदान करने की है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी किसानों को पानी, खाद (उर्वरक) बीज और औजारों की शक्ल में जिन चीजों की जरूरत है उन सब की मदद देने के पक्ष में है।

इसके साथ-साथ किसानों की पैदावार बढाने के लिए भौतिक और मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रलोभन देना लाजिमी है। खास तोर पर किसानों के लिए सस्ती ब्याज पर कर्ज मिलने और खेतो की पैदावर की ऐसी लाभप्रद तथा स्थिर कीमत दिलाने का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए जो इन चीजों की कीमतों के समकछ हो। जो किसानों को खरीदनी पडती है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी को गांव की जनता के इस असन्तोष का ध्यान है कि उनकी जरूरतों की तरफ काफी ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। वह उन सब बाधाओं [अडचनों] को हटाने की कोशिश करेगी जो किसानों के (किसानों की उन्नति के) मार्ग को अवरुद्ध करती है।

कीमतों की तरह टैक्सों के क्षेत्र में भी स्वतन्त्र पार्टी किसानों के साथ न्यायपूर्ण व्यवहार करने और किये जाने के पक्ष में है। आज तो भारत के अप्रत्यक्ष करों का अधिकांश [भारी भाग] किसानों को ही भुगतना पडता है। उन्हें अपने खेत से फायदा न हो तबभी मालगुजारी देनी पडती है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी मालगुजारी प्रणाली के ऐसे सुधार

के तथा सिचाई से सम्बन्ध रखनेवाले विभिन्न कानूनों के सुधारों के पक्ष में है जिससे किसानों पर इन टैक्सों का बोझ कम किया जा सके। तथा विभिन्न प्रदेशों में प्रचलित अवस्थाओं में सुचित हेरफेर किया जा सके। इन हेरफेरों में मालगुजारी के एक हिस्से को मनुष्य के काबू से बाहर शक्तियों के कारण फसलों के मारे जाने पर बीमा की योजना के लिए सुरक्षित रखना भी शामिल है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी बढ़तरी टैक्सों सरचार्जों की शक्ल में किसानों पर नए टैक्स लगाए जाने के भी खिलाफ है।

जो शासक पार्टी खाद्य समस्या को हल करने में खास तौर पर विफल हुई वह वास्तविक समस्याओं से जनता का ध्यान बन्टाने के उद्देश्य से नागपुर कांग्रेस के जिन प्रस्तावों को बंगलौर कांग्रेस में पुष्ट किया गया है उनमें सन्निहित मार्क्सवादी नीतियों का प्रचार करने की कोशिश कर रही है। खेती की पैदावार बढाने की समस्या स्वामित्व बदलने से हल नहीं हो सकती। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का विश्वास है कि अगर नागपुर कांग्रेस की नीतियों से काम लिया गया तो पैदावार उलटी घटेगी और अपने खेतों के खुद मालिक किसान बेजरीन (भूमिहीन) गुलाम हो जायेंगे, जो सामूहिक फार्मों पर उसी तरह खेती के मजदूर की तरह काम करेंगे जैसे कम्युनिस्ट देशों में करते है। पार्टी का विश्वास है कि सहकारी आन्दोलन अपने उद्देश्य को उसी हद तक पूरा कर सकता है जिस हद तक वह स्वेच्छापूर्ण और गैर सरकारी हो। इसलिये पार्टी सहकारी समितियों की सरकारी नियंत्रण और राजनीतिक शोषण के मौजूदा रवैये से मुक्त करने के लिये काम करेगी। राजनीतिक सत्ता का विकेन्द्रीयकरण तभी वास्तविक हो सकता है जब सहकारी समितियों और गांवपंचायतों जैसी संस्थाओं को सरकारी नियंत्रण और राजनैतिक प्रभावों से स्वतंत्र कर दिया जाय। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी किसानों के लिए उपभोक्ता सहकारी समितिओं सहकारी बेंकों और औद्योगिक सहकारी समितियों तथा बहुधंदी सहकारी समितियों में विश्वास रखती है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की राय है कि नागपुर कांग्रेस के प्रस्ताव में "शामिल सहकारी खेती" वाक्य का प्रयोग लोगों को बहकाने के लिए किया गया है। नागपुर कांग्रेस के प्रस्ताव के अनुसार सब खेत एक फार्म में मिला दिये जायेंगे जो किसानों की सन्निहित स्वामित्व की भावना के विरुद्ध है। हमारे किसानों के लिए यह सम्भव नहीं होगा कि वे पारिवारिक प्रथा को छोड दें और शामिलात फार्मों को जनतन्त्रीय तथा सहकारी तरीके से चला सके। एक बार जहां किसानों ने खेतों पर अपना निजी स्वामित्व, अपना कब्जा और फार्म का सँभाल अपने हाथ से खो दिया वहीं वह स्वतन्त्र और स्वाभिमानी किसान वर्ग, जो जनतन्त्र का रक्षक है, खतम हो जयगा। और देहाती क्षेत्रों में आर्थिक, सामाजिक तथा राजनैतिक जीवन पर नौकरशाही का दम घोंटने वाला कब्जा हो जायगा। उक्त प्रस्ताव में सम्पत्ति के जिस तथा कथित अधिकार का उल्लेख किया गया हैं वह अर्थहीन हो जायगा। वह उस कागज के टुकडे से ज्यादा कीमत का नहीं रहेगा जिस पर यह छपा है। वास्तव में नागपुर कांग्रेस के प्रस्ताव से पुराने जमीदारों की ज़गह सबसे बडे एक जमीदार को यानी सरकार को मिल जायगी।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का निश्चित मत है कि शासक पार्टी का यह दावा कि शामिल सहकारी खेती स्वेच्छापूर्वक हो सकती है अव्यावहारिक है। संसार के इतिहास में इस बात का एक भी उदाहरण नहीं मिलता की अपनी जमिनों के मालिक किसानों ने वे जमीनें स्वेच्छा से दूसरों को दे दी हो। प्रधान मन्त्री महोदय ने लोकसभा में जो यह आश्वासन दिया था कि शामिल सहकारी खेती के सम्बन्ध में कोई कानून नहीं पेश किया जायगा वह कांग्रेस पार्टी की सरकारों द्वारा कई प्रदेशों में इस बात का जो प्राविधान किया गया उनसे भंग किया जा चुका है। लोकसभा में प्रधान मन्त्री का यह वक्तव्य कि उन्हें उन किसानों के साथ भेदभाव करने में कोई ऐतराज न होगा जो अपने खेत सहकारी फार्म में शामिल करने को राजी न हों और न उन्हें ऐसे किसानों के खेतों को पानी देने से इनकार करने को छोड कर बाकी सब प्रशासकीय कानूनी और आर्थिक दबाव डालनेसे भी कोई झिझकन होगी, इस बात को साबित करता है कि इनके इन कोरे वादों पर कि वे किसानों को मजबूर नहीं करेंगे कोई भरोसा नहीं किया जा सकता। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी भारत के किसानों को इस खतरे से आगाह करती है जो उनको भूमि से उस स्वामित्व और कब्जे का है जो आदिकाल से उनको उनके पूर्वजो से मिला है या जिनको उन्होंने अपनी कठिन कमाई की बचतों से खरीदा है। इस मामले में स्वतन्त्र पार्टी भारत के किसानों के साथ हैं और शामिल सहकारी खेती के धोखे भरे नारे के अन्दर उनसे उनके खेत छीनने की जो कोशिश की जा रही है उससे उनकी रक्षा करेगी।

पार्टी को इस बात का खेद है कि वास्तव में बहुतों के स्वामित्व के अन्दर तथा नौकरशाही के प्रबन्ध में सामूहिक खेती की प्रथा चालू करने के लिये सहकारिता के भाव का दुरुपयोग किया जा रहा है क्योंकि उससे लोगों में बुद्धि-भेद पैदा होता है और सच्ची सहकारिता के सिद्धान्तों के प्रसार में बाधा पड जाती है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का इरादा है कि वह लोगों को यह बतादे, उन्हें इस बात की शिक्षा दे, कि सच्ची सहकारिता और सरकारिता और सरकार द्वारा संचालित तथा नियन्त्रित उन कामों में क्या अन्तर है जो लोगों के सामने सहकारिता के नाम से पेश किये जा रहे हैं। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी भूमि की जोतों की अधिकतम सीमा निर्धारित करने की योजना को नामन्जूर करती है, क्योंकि उससे इस बात का भी खतरा है कि चूंकि वह कुशल खेती के लिये हानिकर सिद्ध होगी और औद्योगिक तथा शहरी केन्द्रों की ओर अनाज के आने की प्रक्रिया को बढावेगीं। जोतों की अधिकतम सीमा निर्धारित करने से अधिकतर भूमिहीनों को भूमि नहीं मिल सकती। इसके विपरीत विरासत के कानूनों का ध्यान रखे बिना जो हास्यास्पद छोटी जोतें प्रस्तावित की जा रही है उनसे गांवों के लोग हमेशा के लिए लकडहारे और पनिहारे होकर रह जायेंगे। जोतों की अधिकतम सीमा निर्धारण की नीति एक ऐसी चाल है जिसका असली उद्देश्य किसानों की सामर्थ्य और राजनैतिक शक्ति को कमजोर करना है। इस चाल से शीघ्र ही अनुत्पादक फार्मों की समस्या ऐसा जोर पकडेगी जिससे जबरदस्ती सामूहिक खेती जारी करने के लिये जमीन तैयार हो जाय।

नागपुर में गल्ले के व्यापार पर सरकार का इजारा कायम करने की जो कोशिश की गई थी वह तो पहले ही नाकामयाब हो चुकी, अगर अब भी इस पर जोर दिया गया तो उनसे उन लाखों दूकानदारो और व्यापारियों पर ही एक और आक्रमण की सृष्टि नहीं करेगी जो देश भर में गोदाम रखने में और अन्य के वितरण के व्यवसाय में लगे हुए हैं बल्कि करोडों किसानों के लिए भी गल्ले के व्यापार पर सरकार के इजारे के माने यह होंगे की किसान को अपने गल्ले की कीमत के भावताव में चुनाव करने की स्वतंत्रता जाती रहेगी और उसे सरकारी इजारेदारी द्वारा तय हुई मनमानी कीमत को मंजूर करने के लिये मजबूर होना पडेगा, जिसे वह राजनैतिक धौंस देकर केवल अपने ही हितों का ध्यान करके मुकरिर करेगी।

शामिल सहकारी खेती से गल्ले के व्यापार पर सरकारी इजारेदारी से और जोत की अधिकतम सीमा निर्धारित होने से गांवों में बेकारी बढेगी। आवश्यकता तो इस बात की है कि जमीन पर आबादी का जो दबाव बढता चला जा रहा है उसे काबू में रखने के लिये गांवों में जो लोग बेकार या अर्ध बेकार है उनको दूसरे कमाऊ धन्धो में लगाया जाय, ऐसे रोजगार छोटे और बडे उन उद्योगों से ही मिल सकते है जो देश भर में फैले हुये हों और जो लोगों की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने लिए माल बनाते हों।

७ उद्योग और व्यापार

मौजूदा सरकार के विचारों और योजनाओं में बहुत बडे-बडे काम खोलने की जो धुन सवार है उसके विरुद्ध स्वतंत्र पार्टी महात्माजी के साथ इस बात से सहमत है कि औद्योगीकरण की प्रक्रिया का एक बडा भाग देहातों में सर्वत्र फैले हुये उद्योगों के विकेन्द्रीकृत वितरण का होगा। जहां एक हद तक शहरीकरण और संगठित उद्योग का होना लाजिमी है वहां भारत के उन गांवों में उद्योग खोलने का काम भी उतना ही महत्वपूर्ण है जहां वे विद्युत शक्ति की सहायता से अधिकाधिक चालू हो सकते हों। पार्टी छोटे और अपने काम के खुद मालिक कारीगरों, और व्यापारियों की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा करने की पक्षपातिनी है, वह उद्योगों के विकेन्द्रीकृत वितरण का प्रयत्न करेगी, इसीलिये स्वतंत्र पार्टी राष्ट्रीय साधनों का विकास करने और रोजगार देने के उद्देश्य से सर्वतोमुखी शीघ्र उद्योगीकरण के कार्यक्रम के पक्ष में है, पार्टी उन पूजी कमानें वाले उद्योगों, खपत का माल बनाने वाले संगठित उद्योगों और ग्राम उद्योगों के संतुलित विकास के पक्षमें है जिनसे खेती की पैदावारों के माल तैयार करने में अतिरिक्त धन्धे और रोजगार मिले।

प्राप्य साधनों के मुताबिक भारी और आधारभूत उद्योगों के विकास का विरोध न करते हुए स्वतंत्र पार्टी खपत का माल तैयार करने वाले घरेलू, संगठित और हलके उद्योगो की उपेक्षा करके भारी उद्योगो को झूठी

और मनमानी प्राथमिकता दी गई है उसको नामंजुर करती है।

पार्टी का विश्वास है कि उत्पादकों रुपया लगाने वालों मजदूरों और उपभोक्ताओं के स्वतंत्र चुनाव के उसका समुचित स्थान और महत्व अवश्यमेव मिलना चाहिए। पार्टी प्रतिस्पर्धात्मक अवस्था में अधिक पैदावार और विस्तार की जो प्रेरणायें सन्निहित है उनमें विश्वास करती है उन पर्याप्त संरक्षणों के साथ जो विवेक विरुद्ध मुनाफाखोरी कीमतो और विभाज्यो के विरुद्ध मजदूरो की रक्षा के लिए आवश्यक हो, उन अवस्थाओ में जहां या तो प्रतिस्पर्द्धा हो ही नहीं या जहा प्रतिस्पर्द्धा इतनी काफी न हो कि उससे उपर्युक्त संरक्षण मिल सके।

जहां पार्टी उस मिश्रित अर्थ व्यवस्था में विश्वास करती है जिसमें सरकारी और स्वतंत्र व्यवसाय जनता के लाभार्थ साथ-साथ काम करते हो, वहां वह इस बात के पक्ष में है कि सरकारी व्यवसायो का क्षेत्र उन भारी उद्योगो तक ही सीमित रहे जो उस क्षेत्र में निजी व्यवसायो की पूर्ति के लिए आवश्यक हो तथा ऐसी राष्ट्रीय सेवाओ तक जैसे रेलवे है या उन नए व्यवसायो को शुरू करने तक जिनकी स्थापना निजी पूंजी और प्रेरणा के लिए कठिन हो। पार्टी इस बात के विरुद्ध है कि सरकार व्यापार के क्षेत्र में घुसे और स्वतंत्र वितरण में विघ्न डाले और उन कन्ट्रोलो को तथा सरकारी प्रबन्ध और एकाधिपत्य को जारी करे जिनसे कार्यदक्षता में कमी होती है, फिजूल खर्जी होती है तथा निरन्तर बढती रहने वाली सरकारी कर्मचारियो की फौज का भष्टाचार बढता है। जहां कहीं सरकार उद्योग या व्यवसाय के क्षेत्र में प्रवेश करे तो स्वतंत्र पार्टी की राय है कि उसको वहां एकाधिपत्य का अधिकार न दिया जाय बल्कि वह बराबरी की शर्तों पर प्रतिस्पर्द्धा का सामना करते हुए मुनाफा करके दिखावे।

सरकार जिन उद्योगों की मालिक बन बैठी हैं उसे पार्टी केवल संक्रातिकालीन ओर सीमित (अल्पकालीन) कार्य समझेगी, जब जरूरी हो तब पार्टी उसका स्वामित्व सरकार के हाथ से ले लेने में नहीं झिझकेगी।

खास तौर पर ऐसे बहुतसे सरकारी व्यवसायों की बन्द करके जो न तो लाजमी ही है। न लाभप्रद टेक्सों और कर्जों को कम करना पार्टी अपना ध्येय समझेगी, इसका एक नतिजा यह भी होगा कि मौजूदा कीमतें सरकारी कर्जों और, और काम व्यवस्था से बढी हुई है, उनमें भी कमी होगी। जिस हद तक निजी व्यवसाय सरकारी व्यवसायो की जगह लेते जायेंगे उस हद तक वित्तीय भार जन साधारण के ऊपर से हटाकर जो उसे नहीं हटा सकता समुचित ढंग से उन अव्यवसाई धनिको पर हस्तान्तरित कर दिया जायगा जो उस भार को उठाने को राजी है।

पार्टी को ईस बात की खुशी है कि अगस्त १९५६ में पार्टी की स्थापना के बाद जो चन्द महीने गुजरे है उन्हो में देश में और संसार भर में विचारों को प्रवर्तिया पार्टी द्वारा दूसरी अगस्त को बम्बई के प्रारम्भिक सम्मेलन में स्वीकार किये गये सिद्धांतो के वक्तव्य में जो नीतियां लिपिबद्ध की गई है उनका समर्थन करती है। पिछले अक्टूबर में ब्रिटन के आम चुनावो के नतीजे और इस आम भावना से कि राष्ट्रीयकरण के नारे की वजह के समाजवादियों की हार हुई, जापान में जनतन्त्रीय तत्त्वो के समाजवादी पार्टी अलग हो जाने से और जर्मनी की सामाजिक जनतन्त्रीय पार्टी द्वारा नवम्बर १९५६ के विशेष सम्मेलन में सरकारी समाजवाद का परित्याग कर देने से उस संसार व्यापी प्रवृत्ति के कुछ सबुत मिलते है जो कि केन्द्रीकृत नोकरशाही सरकारी पूंजीवाद के विरुद्ध और स्वतंत्र बाजार को कानूनों की प्रमुखता को फिर से स्वीकार किये जाने के पक्षमें है। विशेष तौर पर पार्टी को इस बात पर गर्व है कि जर्मनी के नए समाजवादी घोषणापत्रों में स्वतंत्र पार्टी के अपने विचारों की आगे लिखी प्रतिध्वनि मिलती है "सामाजिक जनतन्त्रीय आर्थिक नीति की लाजिमी शर्त यह है कि १. उपभोक्ताओं की अपनी चीजों और सेवाओं को चुनने की स्वतंत्रता हो २. मजदूरो को अपने काम करने की जगह चुनने की स्वतंत्रता हो और ३. मालिकों को अपनी प्रेरणानुसार काम करने की स्वतंत्रता हो और ४. स्वतंत्र प्रतिस्पर्द्धा हो। स्वतंत्र समाज की एक महत्वपूर्ण विशेषता यह हैं कि मजदूर संघों और मालिकों की समितियों की सामूहिक सौदा करने की अर्थव्यवस्था के अधिनायकवादी नियंत्रण से स्वतंत्रता नष्ट हो जाती है। इसलिए जहा-जहां वास्तव में स्वतंत्र प्रतिस्पर्द्धा हो वहां सामाजिक जनतंत्रीय पार्टी स्वतंत्र बाजार के पक्ष में है, जहां बाजारो पर व्यक्तियों या समूहों का प्रभुत्व

हो वहां हर हालत में आर्थिक क्षेत्र में स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा के लिए सब प्रकार के कदम उठाए जान चाहिये। प्रतिस्पर्द्धा जितनी अधिक से अधिक संभव हो और आयोजन अधिक स अधिक केवल उतना जितना आवश्यक हो।

८ मजदूर

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इस बात पर जोर देगी कि राष्ट्रीय नीतियों के तय करने में श्रमिक वर्ग की भी आवाज हो। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी खेतों कारखानों व दफ्तरों के मजदूरों की आर्थिक उन्नति के लिए उनकी सामाजिक बहतरी और उनके सांस्कृतिक समुत्थान के प्रयत्न करेगी। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी मजदूरों की शिक्षा के ऐसे कार्यक्रम की ओर विशेष ध्यान देगी जिससे उनका दृष्टीकोण व्यापक हो। उनमें अपने उत्तरदायित्वों की चेतना हो तथा उन्हें अपने अधिकारों का ज्ञान हो और जिससे उनको यह महसूस करने में मदद मिले कि उनकी दिलचस्पी सिर्फ अपने वेतन और मजदूरी तक ही सीमिति नहीं हैं बल्कि समाज के भले के सब कामों में हैं। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी यह मानती है कि मजदुरों को अपना संगठन करने का अधिकार है जिससे वे इन संगठनों द्वारा अपने जीवन और काम के हालात को बहतर कर करा सके। मजबूत और उत्तरदायी मजदूर संघ जनतंत्रीय औद्योगिक व्यवस्था के अविच्छिन्न अंग है। मजदूरों को इस काम के लिये प्रोत्साहित किया जाना चाहिये। इसमें उनकी मदद की जानी चाहिये कि वे अपनी यूनियनें कायम करें और उनके जरिये सामूहिक रूप से अपने मालिकों से अपने काम की शर्तों और अवस्थाओं के बारे में सौदा कर सकें। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी मजदूर संघों की मौजूदा स्थिति से संतुष्ट नहीं है क्योंकि उनमें से अधिकतर बाहरवालों के प्रबन्ध में हैं। बहुत सी राजनैतिक पार्टीयों के साथ की कठपुतलियां हैं। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी सचाई से यह चाहती है कि मजदूर संघों का विकास मजदूरों के स्वतन्त्र संगठनों के रूप में, मजदूरों द्वारा नियन्त्रित और मजदूरों के प्रबन्ध में काम करने वाले संगठनों के रूप में हो क्योंकि स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इस बात के विरुद्ध है कि मजदूर संघों पर राजनैतिक पार्टियों का प्रभुत्व रहे। इस लिए मजदूर संघों को अपने हाथ में लेने के लिए पार्टियों में जो होड मची हुई है उससे स्वतन्त्र पार्टी शामिल नहीं होगी लेकिन अपने सदस्यों द्वारा सब संभव तरीकों से उनकी मदद करने को हरवक्त तैयार रहेगी।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इस बात के पक्ष में है कि औद्योगिक कारबारों में मजदूरो तथा प्रबन्धक वर्ग में परस्पर परामर्श हो और उनमें घनिष्ट संपर्क रहे। पार्टी का विश्वास है कि इस मामले में महत्वपूर्ण बात कोई खास व्यवस्था नहीं बल्कि आपसी विश्वास और सहयोग है। जिस चीज के विकास की आवश्यकता हैं वह यह हैं कि मजदूरों और मालिकों में साझेदारी की भावना हो।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इस बात पर जोर देगी कि मजदूरों और मालिकों के झगडे उनमें आपस में ही तय हो जाय और वह इस बात की भी कोशिश करेगी कि बाहरी हस्तक्षेप नहीं करना चाहिये। लेकिन उसे समझोते और बीच-बिचाव के लिए ऐसी व्यवस्था विकसित करके तैयार रखनी चाहिये कि जिससे मजदूर या मालिक झगडे में जरूरी समझें, तो मदद ले सके। सरकार जहां जरूरी हो वहां ऐसी जांच अदालतें भी मुकर्रर करें जो झगडों के तथ्यों तथा गुणावगुणों की जांच करे जिससें सुविज्ञ जनमत झगडा करने वाले फरीकों का अपना असर डाल सके। सामूहिक सौदे में हडताल करने का अधिकार शामिल हैं अगर बातचीत से कोई बात तय न हो तो मजदूरों और मालिकों दोनों फरीकों को इस बात की स्वतन्त्रता होनी चाहिये कि कानून के अन्दर जो कार्य आवश्यक व वांछनीय समझें उसे कर सके। स्वतन्त्रसमाज में मजदूरों को मालिकों के यहां ऐसी शर्तों पर और ऐसी अवस्थाओं में काम करने के लिए मजबूर नहीं किया जा सकता जो उन्हें मंजूर न हो। मजदूरों को व्यक्तिगत और सामूहिक दोनों रूप से मजदूरी न करने से इनकार करने का हक जरूर मिलना चाहिये। फिर भी समाज के व्यापक हितों में यह वांछनीय हैं कि जहां तक सम्भव हो वहां तक मजदूरों द्वारा हडतालों का और मालिकों द्वारा तालेबन्दी का किया जाना कम से कम हो। यह उद्देश्य झगडों को तय करने के लिए सामूहिक समझौते और स्वेच्छापूर्ण पंच फैसले की पद्धति को स्वीकार करने से पूरा हो सकता है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इस बात की कोशिश करेगी कि मजदूर और मालिक जान्ते की इन कार्यवाहियों को मन्जूर करें। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इस बात के पक्ष में हैं कि दिन भर के अच्छे काम के लिए अच्छी मजदूरी मिले;

मजदुरी और काम दोनों का हिसाब सही-सही होना चाहिए और इस बात की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये कि यदि किसी उद्योग में पैदावार बढे उसमें समृद्धि हो तो उसके साथ-साथ मजदुरों की मजदुरी भी बढे। इसके साथ ही मजदूरों के लिए यह बात भी निश्चित होनी चाहिए कि उनके काम करने के हालात महफूज स्वच्छतापूर्ण और आनन्ददायक हों और बीमारी बेकारी और वृद्धावस्था के लिए सामाजिक सुरक्षा की पर्याप्त मात्रा में व्यवस्था हो। मजदुरों के मकानों की आवश्यकता को पूरा करने की तरफ भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये।

देशके सामने एक बुनियादी सवाल बेकारी का हैं। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी रोजगार के नए-नए जरिये खोलने की तरफ खासतौर पर ध्यान देगी। पार्टी इस बात की कोशिश करेगी कि जो हृष्टपुष्ट भले-चंगे लोग तलाश में बेकार फिरते हों उन सबको काम मिले। सडक मिले। सडक बनाने से सरकारी कार्यों में जंगल लगानें और इमारतों तथा जलभंडार बनाने के कामों के साथ साथ और मकान बनाने तथा छोटे उद्योगों की उन्नति के कार्यों में भी जिनको उस हद तक सरकारी मदद मिलेगी जिस हद तक बेकार लोगों को काम में लगानें के लिए जरूरी हो। पार्टी जहां काम की जल्दी न हो और मशीन के बजाय मनुष्य की मेहनत से काम हो सकता हो वहां लाजिमी तौर पर मशीनों से काम लेने के पक्ष मे नहीं हैं।

खेतो के मजदूरो की जो खेदजनक हालत है उसकी पार्टी को विशेष चिन्ता है। पार्टी उनके हालात सुधारने की कोशिश करेगी। पार्टी का यह भी विश्वास है कि खेती के लायक जो जमीन अभी तक सरकार के कब्जे में विकास की प्रतिक्षा कर रही है वह शामिल सरकारी खेती के लिए सुरक्षित नहीं रहनी चाहिये बल्की वह जितने खेती के मजदूरों के काम लायक जोतों में दी जानी चाहिये, जिससे वे अपने खेतों और अपने काम के खुद मालिक बनेंगे। भूमिहीन मजदूरों की समस्या कई हालत में बेकारो की समस्या का एक पहलू है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी काम के नये नये जरीये खोलने में मदद देने की कोशिश करेगी।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी जिन आर्थिक नीतियों के पक्ष में है जैसे प्राप्त साधनों के बडे भाग को खेती और उन हलके उद्योग धन्धों में लगाने के पक्ष में हैं जिनमें विस्तार का विशालक्षेत्र विद्यमान है उनसे भारत की राष्ट्रीय आय अधिक तेज गति से बढेगा, पैदावार के अधिक से अधिक बढने पर गरीबी और बेकारी दोनों ही एक साथ काबू में आ जायंगी। पार्टी का विश्वास हैं कि जिन आर्थिक नीतियों को उसने प्रतिपादित किया है वे स्वीकार करली जाय तथा जोर के साथ उन पर चला जाय तो उनसे जितनी समृद्धि होगी और जितने रोजगार मिलेंगे उतने दूसरी किन्ही नीतियों से नहीं मिल सकते। अन्तिम विश्लेषण में मजदूरो का भला और उनकी उन्नति समस्त समाज की उन्नति और समृद्धि पर निर्भर हैं।

९ संविधान और कानून का राज्य

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का निश्चित मत है कि पक्की और सच्ची समृद्धिसमाज की नींव संविधान के जन्मदाताओं द्वारा भलीभांति और सच्चे तौर पर रखदी गई थी। पार्टी नागरिको को वे मौलिक अधिकार उसी शक्ल में दिलाने के लिए काम करेगी जिस शक्ल मूल रूप से पहले स्वीकार किए गये। संविधान में उनकी गारंटी की गई थी और जिनको शासक पार्टी ने बाद में अपने अधिनायकवादी दृष्टिकोण की सुविधा के लिए कम कर दिया।

विधान निर्मात्री सभा ने सरकार के स्वरूप का निर्माण करते हुये यह साफ कर दिया था कि स्वाधीन भारत स्वराज्य की पर्याप्त मात्रा वाले राज्यों की यूनियन होगा। इस स्पष्ट इरादे के विपरीत शासक पार्टीने केन्द्र के हाथों में धीरे धीरे अधिनायकवादी अधिकार हासिल कर लिया हैं, जिनमें अब राज्यों के पास स्थानीय संस्थाओं के अधिकारों से कुछ भी अधिक अधिकार नहीं रह गए क्योंकि राज्य लगभग सब चीजों के लिए केन्द्र के मुखापेक्षा हैं। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी इसको दुरुस्त करने की कोशिश करेगी और राज्यों के लिए संविधान में जितनी स्वराज्य की मात्रा की व्यवस्था की गई थी उतनी उनकी फिर दिलादेगी। हमारे जैसे विशाल देश में राष्ट्रीय सामंजस्य में विघ्न डाले बिना सत्ता का ऐसा विकेन्द्रीकरण जो क्षेत्रों को स्वराज्य का विस्तृत अवसर दे। देश का पथ-प्रदर्शक सिद्धांत होना चाहिए। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी संविधान के अनुकूल सार्वजनिक जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में संघवाद और विकेन्द्रीकरण के सिद्धान्तो पर और उनके अमल पर जोर देगी तथा उनका प्रसार करेगी।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की राय है कि शासक पार्टी ने अधिक विशेष रूप से देहाती क्षेत्रों में जहां तक गरीबों का सम्बन्ध है वहां तक सम्पत्ति सम्बन्धी अधिकारों को नष्ट करने या कुचलने के लिए अपने अधिकारों का अनुचित उपयोग किया है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी अधिकार के इस दुरुपयोग को भी दुरुस्त करेगी। खास तोर पर सम्पति के पक्षपात और भेदभाव पूर्ण अपहरण के बारे में तथा मुआविजा तय करने और दिये जाने के बारे में।

मौजूदा शासन में सत्ताधारी राजनैतिक नेताओं द्वारा न्यायालयों में और प्रशासकीय प्रक्रियाओं में हस्तक्षेप करने की प्रवृति से कानून के राज को खोखला किया जा रहा है। साधारण अदालती प्रक्रिया में यह हस्तक्षेप या तो मुकद्दमा वापिस लेने की शक्ल लेता है या अपराधियों को लजा मिल जाने के बाद पार्टी या गुट के दबाव से सजा रद्द करने-कराने की शकल लेता है। कानून के राज में राजनैतिक नेताओं और सत्तारूढ पार्टियों को हस्तक्षेप नहीं करना चाहिये।

समाजवादी समाज के ढांचे को उस धारणासे भी जिसके तत्व और माने सत्तारूढ पार्टियों की सुविधानुसार समय-समय पर बदलते रहते हैं। न्यायालयों पर पतनकारी असर पडता है क्योंकि वे कभी कभी सरकार के अन्यथा न्याय विरूद्ध कार्यों को जनकल्याणकारी उद्देश्य के अनुकूल मान लेने को राजी हो जाते हैं।

पार्टी कानूनी राज्य और स्वतन्त्र न्यायालयों के पक्ष में है। वह कानून के राज को व्यापक रखने के लिये न्यायालयों को पुनरीक्षण के जो अधिकार लाजिमी तोर पर होने चाहिये उनको फिर से दिलाने के लिये काम करेगी। और पार्टी आज कल कानूनों में अदालतों के उनके अधिकारों से बंचित करने और प्रशासकीय अधिकारों को बढाने तथा उन्हें अदालतों के स्वविवेक के विशाल अधिकार देने की जो प्रवृत्ति है उसकी निन्दा करती है।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी राष्ट्रीय योजना आयोग को रद्द करके जनता के प्रभु स्वामित्व को फिर से कायम करेगी। क्योकि आयोजना आयोग की प्रवृति एक उत्तरदायित्व रहित सरकार से भी बडी सरकार कायम करने की है। वह मन्त्रिमन्डल के सदस्यों की एवं यूनियन तथा प्रादेशिक सरकारों के सदस्यों को राष्ट्रीय योजना आयोग द्वारा संविधान के विरुद्ध की जाने वाली दखलन्दाजी से मुक्त करेगी।

पार्टी का विश्वास है कि राष्ट्र के मामलों का आयोजन करने व वार्षिक कार्यक्रम पेश करने का उपयुक्त संगठन लोकसभा तथा जनता के सामने जिम्मेदार मन्त्रिमन्डल हैं। और यह भी कि जहां सरकार जब चाहे तब विशेषज्ञों की सलाह ले सकती है, वहां दूसरी कोई ऐसी संस्था नहीं होनी चाहिये जो राष्ट्र के जीवन से सम्बन्ध रखने वाली नीतियों के निर्णयों को प्रभावित कर सके।

१० सार्वजनिक प्रशासन

देश को आज जिस स्वच्छ और अच्छे शासन की सबसे अधिक प्राणप्रद आवश्यकता है उसकी व्यवस्था करने के लिये पार्टी काम करेगी। पार्टी सार्वजनिक सेवाओं में कार्यक्षमता और ईमानदारी के पक्ष में है। उसका विश्वास है कि भारत की सार्वजनिक सेवायें भी उतनी ही अच्छी हो सकती हैं जितनी दूसरे देशों में हैं। अगर प्रशासन, प्रशासकों की वफादारी और कडी महनत के बाद भी कार्यक्षम नहीं है तो उसका कारण यही हैं कि शासक पार्टी के सदस्यो तथा प्रादेशिक और यूनियन सरकार के मिनिस्टरों द्वारा उनके नित्यप्रति के काम में अनुचित और राजनीति से प्रेरित हस्तक्षेप अत्यन्त समतापूर्वक ढंग से किया जा रहा है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी अधिकारियों द्वारा उनके कर्त्तव्यों के उचित और न्याययुक्त पालन में किसी भी प्रकार का राजनैतिक दबाव दिये जाने के विरुद्ध है।

पार्टी का विश्वास है कि सरकारी नोकरियों की भर्ती पर ऐसे प्रतिबंध होने चाहिये जिनसे उनकी तादाद बेतहाशा न बढने पावे, तथा उनका स्तर ऊंचा हो। यह बात स्वयं सरकारी नौकरों के हित में है। कांग्रेस सरकार द्वारा जो साठ लाख सरकारी नोकरों की एक फौज अन्धाधुन्ध भर्ती करली गई है उसका नतीजा यह हुआ है कि अफसरों का मूल्य घट गया है जिससे उनकी हैसियत कम हुई है, और सार्वजनिक खर्चा बढ गया है।

पार्टी नोकरशाही मशीन में उन बडे-छोटे अफसरों की संख्या बढाये जाते रहने के विरुद्ध है जिनसे वे काम करने को कहा जाता है जो निजी एजेन्सियों और नागरिकों द्वारा सर्वोत्तम ढंग से किया जा सकता है और जिसके

परिणाम स्वरूप राष्ट्रीय साधन का अनुत्पादक अपव्यय होता है। पार्टी जनता को राष्ट्र के बापू की इस युक्ति की याद दिलाना चाहती है कि वही सरकार सबसे अच्छी है जो सबसे कम शासन करती है।

पार्टी की राय है की जहां प्रशासन की क्षमता आवश्यकीय है वहां उसकी ईमानदारी स्वराज्य का मुख्य सार है इसलिये पार्टी एक ऐसा सर्वोच्य अधिकारी नियत करेगी जो प्रशासकीय कार्यों से अधिक व्यक्तियों के साथ ऐसा अन्याय हो जो किसी तरह दूर नहीं किया जा सकता हो तो नागरीक उस अन्याय को दूर कराने के लिए उस अधिकारी के यहां अपील कर सकें। जहां पार्टी की सरकारें हों वहां ऐसे एक अधिकारी की जरूरत है—स्केण्डेनेविया के देशों में इनकी नजीर मौजूद है जहां ओमबड्समेन एक गैर पार्टी वाला लोकसभा द्वारा चुना हुआ अधिकारी होता है जिसे मामलों में जांच करने तथा सरकारी कागजात देखने के व्यापक अधिकार होते हैं। वह अफसर बहुत ऊंची हैसियत का होता है और जो कोई नागरीक किसी मामले में न्याय करना चाहता हे उसकी शिकायत पर अपना काम शुरू कर देता है।

११ शिक्षा

पार्टी का विश्वास है की हर एक नागरिक को यह बुनियादी अधिकार है कि अधिकारियों के आदेशों से मुक्त (अबाधित) स्वतन्त्र वातावरण में अपने बच्चों को अपनी इच्छानुसार शिक्षा दिलाये। पार्टी ऐसी शिक्षा की पूरी सुविधा दिलाने के लिये काम करेगीं जिसमें उदाहरणार्थ ऐसे भेदभाव न हों कि जहां विभिन्न धर्मों द्वारा धार्मिक शिक्षा दी जाती हो वहां अनुदान देने से इन्कार कर दिया जाय या अन्य प्रतिबन्ध तथा अडचनें लगादी जाय।

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी निजी स्कूलों को प्रोत्साहित करेगीं क्यों कि उससे न केवल सरकारी खर्च ही घटेगा बल्कि अपना स्तर (मापदंड) बढाने की भी प्रतिस्पर्धा होगी। शिक्षित युवकों से सम्बन्ध रखने वाली बेकारीं का हल यह नही है कि उन्हें किसी सरकारी दपतर में काम वालीं क्लर्की क नीरस और लाभप्रद जीवन में जोत दिया जाय बल्कि यह है कि इस बात की सुनिश्चित व्यवस्था कीं जाय कि उसे ऐसीं अच्छीं शिक्षा मिले जिससे उसे किसी उद्योग व्यापार या पेशे में लग जाने में सहुलियत मिले और इन सब में आज जितने लोग खप सकते हैं उससे कहीं ज्यादा खप जायेंगे अगर सरकार उन्हें बढने और फलने फूलने दे।

पार्टी कीं इस बात का ज्ञान और भान है कि कालेजों और विश्वविद्यालयों के युवकों और युवतियों को देश कीं राज नीति में बहुत दिलचस्पी है, खास तौर पर स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के कार्यक्रम में पार्टी की राय है कि स्वाधीन भारतमें जहां विद्यार्थियों को ग्रेजुएट होने से पहिले हीं राजनैतिक विचार को विभिन्न प्रवृतियों का कुछ ज्ञान प्राप्त करना चाहिए, वहां कालेज में पढते हुए उनको किसी भीं राजनैतिक पार्टी के भले के लिए राजनीति में सक्रिय भाग नहीं लेना चाहिए। दूसरी पार्टीयां कुछ भीं कर रहीं हों स्वतन्त्र पार्टी की राय है कि विद्यार्थियों को देश कीं राजनैतिक पार्टीयों से सम्बन्धित गुटों में बांधने के कार्य को प्रोत्साहन नहीं देना चाहिए, यद्यपि विद्यार्थियों को अपने कालेज के यूनियनों में अपने विचार व्यक्त करने और उन पर बहस करने कीं स्वतन्त्रता होनीं चाहिए। जो विद्यार्थी नियत उमर से ज्यादा के हैं वे स्वतन्त्र पार्टी के सदस्य होने के पात्र हैं और वे सदस्य बनना चाहें तो स्वतन्त्र पार्टी उनका स्वागत करेगीं। आर्थिक और राजनैतिक समस्याओं को समझने के लिए विद्यार्थी अध्ययन केन्द्र बना सकते हैं परन्तु अनुशासन के हित में स्वतन्त्र पार्टी कीं राय है कि पार्टी को कालेजों और विश्व विद्यालयों के भीतर राजनैतिक गुटों के बनाये जाने में प्रोत्साहन नहीं देना चाहिये।

१२ राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा

जबकी भारत के अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सम्बन्धो के विविध पहलुओं के बारे में पार्टी को अपनी नीति अभी निर्धारित करनी है, तब कम्युनिस्ट चीन द्वारा हमारे देश पर आक्रमण करने से तथा एक विदेशी शक्ति द्वारा भारतीय भूमि के हजारों वर्गमील भूमि भाग पर कब्जा करने से राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा के क्षेत्र में एक संकट की सृष्टि हुई है। स्वतन्त्र पार्टी का आग्रह है कि कम से कम अब से तो भारत पर चीनी कम्युनिस्ट आक्रमण के सम्बन्ध से दृढ और सजग नीति से काम लिया जाना चाहिए। जब की हमारी भौमिक अखंडता को भंग कर दिया गया है और एक कम्युनिस्ट शक्ति द्वारा हमारी भूमि पर कब्जा कर लिया गया है तब

तटस्थता की नीति के कोई माने नहीं रहते। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि हमारी नीति का निरीक्षण हो और राष्ट्रीय स्थिति की वास्तविकता से उसका अधिक घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध स्थपित किया जाय। पार्टी की राय है यह (सङ्कट का) समय घरेलू नीति के सम्बन्ध में विचार धारा सम्बन्धी साहसिक काम करने का नहीं है। स्वदेश की सुरक्षा और उसके बचाव का पक्का प्रबन्ध करने के सिलसिले में उपाय होने चाहिए। पाकिस्तान से हमारे जो झगडे अभी तक चल रहे हैं उनको आपस में निपटा लिया जाय और पाकिस्तान ने इस उप महाद्वीप को रक्षा मिलकर करने का जो प्रस्ताव किया है उस पर गम्भीरता के साथ विचार किया जाय। इस क्षेत्र की सुरक्षा के लिए मिलकर प्रयत्न करने के उद्देश्य से दक्षिण एशिया और दक्षिण पूर्वी एशिया के देशों से मेल किया जाय तथा लोगों के छिपकर भारत में घुसने की कोशिशों और पंचगामी कार्यवाहियों के प्रति जागरूकता बर्त्ती जाय।

हमारे देश की रक्षा सेवा अर्थात् सेना के अफसरों और सैनिकों में जो देशभक्तों का एक सुन्दर समुदाय है उच्च अनुशासन की रक्षा पार्टी की विशेष चिंता का विषय रहेया। इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए पार्टी ऐसी शर्त्तों के *प्राविधान पर जोर देगी जिससे सही प्रकार के लोग* पर्याप्त संख्या में सेना की ओर आकर्षित हों। इसके भी आगे हम यह भी देखना चाहेंगे कि हमारी लडने वाली सेनाओं के पास वे समस्त साज सज्जा शस्त्र आदि हों कि जिनसे उन्हें जो काम सौंपे जाय उनको वे समुचित रूप से कर सकें। अन्त में हम इस बात के महत्व को भी मानते हैं कि सेना को राजनीति के प्रभावों और चालबाजियों से परे रखा जाय।

१३ मतभेद वाली पार्टी

स्वतन्त्र पार्टी एक भिन्न कार्यक्रम व विचारधारा वाली पार्टी है। उसका विश्वास है कि इस समय भारत में तथा दूसरे देशों में भी जो यह मोजूदा प्रवृत्ति हो रही है कि जिसके द्वारा राजनैतिक पार्टीयां अपने सदस्यों के विचारों कार्यों और जीवन को अधिकाधिक अपने प्रभुत्व में रखती हैं ऐसी है, जो पल्टी जानी चाहिए। पार्टी का निश्चित मत है कि जनतन्त्र की सर्वोत्तम सेवा यही है कि प्रत्येक राजनैतिक पार्टी अपने सदस्यों को उन सब मामलों में स्वतन्त्र विचार करने दे जो पार्टी के बुनियादी सिद्धान्तों के बाहर है। इसलिए स्वतन्त्र पार्टी अपने सदस्यों को फिर चाहे वे लोकसभा में हों या धारा सभाओं में या और कहीं उन सब मामलों में पूर्णतः स्वाधीनता देती है जो उसके सिद्धांतों और नीति वक्तव्य की सीमा क्षेत्र में नहीं आते। दूसरी कुछ पार्टियों में मतभेद रखने वाले सदस्यों के साथ जैसा वर्ताव किया जाता है उसके विपरीत पार्टी के सदस्यों की खास तौर पर पार्टी की नीतियो के निर्धारण के सम्बन्ध में अपने विचार प्रकट करने का पूर्ण अवसर दिया जायगा।

१४ हमारा उद्देश्य

और इसीलिए स्वतन्त्र पार्टी अपने राष्ट्रीय स्वाधीनता संग्राम में राष्ट्र ने जनतन्त्रीय जीवन के सन्दर्भ में जो वैयक्तिक *नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त की उसे दिलाने के अपने* उद्देश्य को पूरा करने जा रही है। वह लोगोंकी स्वाधीनता की और स्वाधीनता के लिए उनकी उस शिक्षा के काम को पूरा करेगी जिसे महात्मा गांधी ने शुरू किया था और वह तब तक जारी रहीं जबतक कि कांग्रेस महात्मा गांधी की सलाह के खिलाफ महज एक राजनेतिक पार्टी नहीं बन गई स्वतन्त्र पार्टी वह पार्टी है जिसकी देश को अपने उद्देश्य को पूरा करने के लिए आवश्यकता है। अर्थात स्वतन्त्र पार्टी स्वतन्त्रता के अन्दर और स्वतन्त्रता के द्वारा व्यवस्थित प्रगति की पार्टी हैं।

SWATANTRA PARTY SOUVENIR

1961

URDU SECTION

میرے نزدیک خوراک کی پیداوار میں یہ ابتری اس وجہ سے ہے کہ زراعت ایک ٹیکنیکل کام ہونے کے علاوہ ایک ہمدرد انسانیت بھی کام ہے لیکن یہ ایسے آدمیوں کو سپرد کر دیا گیا ہے کہ جنکا اپنی زندگی میں زراعت سے کوئی واسطہ نہیں رہا اور خواہ وہ کتنے ہی سرگرم اور بذات خود قابل کیوں نہ ہوں لیکن وہ اپنے فرائض کی انجام دہی میں ناکامیاب ثابت ہوئے ہیں جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ بہت سی قومی دولت ضایع ہو گئی ہے اور اب بھی ضایع ہو رہی ہے نہ تو اس سے کسانوں کا بھلا ہوا ہے اور نہ قوم کا۔

جب تک موجودہ گورنمنٹ اپنی زراعتی پالیسیوں اور پروگراموں اور سیاسی منصوبہ بندی میں بنیادی تبدیلی نہیں کرے گی اور جب تک اس کا مطمح نظر محض اپنی سیاسی قوت کو دوامی طور پر قایم رکھنا رہے گا۔ اور جب تک اس کی پالیسی اصلی معنی میں اقتصادی پالیسی نہ ہوگی اس وقت تک دیہات کی آبادی تنزل کی دلدل میں پھنسی رہے گی۔ اور ملک خوراک کے معاملے میں خود کفیل نہ ہوگا

بقول امریکہ کے پریزیڈنٹ مسٹر کینڈی جو خود ایک کسان ہیں "زراعتی پروگرام کسانوں کے فائدے کے لئے ہونا چاہیئے اور اس پروگرام پر عمل درآمد کسانوں ہی کا کام ہونا چاہیئے نہ کوئی افسر، نہ ماہر معاشیات، اور نہ سائنسداں کسانوں اور مقامی زراعتی پیداوار کے بارے میں اتنا جان سکتا ہے کہ جتنا کسان" کانگریس گورنمنٹ کا فرض ہے کہ وہ اسی قسم کی پالیسی اختیار کرے جتنے جلد حکمراں جماعت دوسروں کی مدد اور اسکے نتیجے میں ذلت کو خیرباد کہے گی اور جتنے جلد خوراک کی کمی کے اسباب کو دور کرے گی اتنے ہی جلد قوم کا فائدہ ہوگا اور ترقی ہوگی۔

اودھم سنگھ ناگوکی

پریزیڈنٹ سوتنتر پارٹی پنجاب سٹیٹ پٹیالہ

۲ - قدرتی غیر یقینی - آجتک کسی ایسے ملک نے ترقی نہیں کی کہ جس نے پنیجر کو اپنے قابو میں نہ کیا ہو! امریکہ، روس اور دوسرے ممالک جنھوں نے اپنی پیداوار کو بڑھایا ہے ان سب نے آب پاشی کی آسانیوں کا انتظام کیا ہے، دریاؤں بڑے بڑے بند باندھے ہیں جن کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ وہ اپنی طغیانی کی وجہ سے ملک پر تباہی نہیں لا سکتے۔ ان ملکوں میں پانی کی افراط ہے اور خشک سالی کا پتہ نہیں! اب کسانوں کی محنت رائیگاں نہیں ہو سکتی! کسانوں کو مشینیں حاصل ہیں! بغیر لال فیتے میں سے گزرے ہوئے احکام کے اُسے حسب ضرورت تمام سامان مل جاتا ہے اسے کھیتوں کو نقصان پہنچانے والے کیڑوں کا ڈر نہیں! برخلاف اس کے ہمارے ملک میں کئی من خوراک لاپراہی کی وجہ سے کیڑے تباہ کر رہے ہیں

۳ - **قیمتوں کا غیر یقینی ہونا** - یہ ہمیں یاد رکھنا چاہیئے کہ زراعتی اشیاء کی قیمتوں کا سوال بھی اہم ہے اور جن کو پیداوار بڑھانے سے دلچسپی ہے انہیں اس امر کو نہ بھولنا چاہیئے۔ اگر قیمتوں کا مسئلہ حسب دلخواہ طے ہو جائے گا۔ تو ہم اس بیرونی زرتبادلہ کو بچا سکیں گے۔ کہ جس کی ہمیں اپنی صنعت کو ترقی دینے کے لئے بڑی ضرورت ہے صنعتی ترقی ہماری قومی تعمیر کا ایک اہم جز، ہے قیمتوں کے سوال کو حل کرنے پر ہم کسانوں کی حالت کا بھی سدھار کر سکیں گے۔ کسان قوم کے لئے ریڑھ کی ہڈی کی مانند ہیں یہ دولت بھی پیدا کرتے ہیں اور ملک کی حفاظت میں بھی حصہ لیتے ہیں کسان ہی ہندستان کی قدیم تہذیب کا نمائندہ ہے۔ زراعتی پیداوار کی قیمتوں میں روزانہ ردوبدل اور اتار چڑھاؤ برابر جاری ہے گورنمنٹ نے اس امر کی کوشش نہیں کہ حرف چند سالوں ہی کے لئے وہ زراعتی اشیاء کی فی ایکڑ پیداوار کی قیمت کا اندازہ لگائے تاکہ کاشتکار اپنی آمدنی کا اندازہ کر سکے اور اسے یہ معلوم ہو جائے کہ قیمتیں کس سطح پر قایم رہیں گی۔

۴ - یہ کہنے کی ضرورت نہیں کہ سائنٹفک اصولوں کے مطابق زراعت کی ترقی پر زور نہیں دیا جا رہا اور زراعت کو خطرے میں ڈال کر بڑی صنعتیں قایم کی جا رہی ہیں دوسرے ترقی یافتہ ممالک میں اس وقت تک صنعتی ترقی کی طرف زیادہ توجہ نہیں دی جاتی کہ جبتک ملک خوراک کے معاملہ میں اور ملکوں کا محتاج نہ رہے اور صنعتی ترقی کا جب ہی زیادہ خیال کیا جاتا ہے کہ جب ملک کے پاس اتنی خوراک ہو جائے کہ وہ اور ممالک کا محتاج نہ رہے اور زائد خوراک اور ملکوں کو بھی بھیج سکے کہ جہاں خوراک کی کمی ہے کانگریس گورنمنٹ کی پالیسی بالکل الٹی ہے خوراک کی کمی کی بدولت بیرونی زرتبادلہ پر اثر پڑے گا جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ ہماری صنعتی ترقی رکی رہے۔ اگرچہ ہم تیسرے پنچسالہ منصوبے کو شروع کر رہے ہیں لیکن خوراک کی پیداوار اب بھی ہماری توجہ کی سب سے زیادہ محتاج ہے۔

۵ - اب بھی ہمارے کسانوں کو بہت سی آسانیاں حاصل نہیں ہیں۔ انہیں کافی قرضہ نہیں مل سکتا، نہ انھیں اناج کو جمع کرنے کی سہولت ہے، نہ وہ آسانی سے اناج ایک جگہ سے دوسری جگہ لے جا سکتے ہیں، اور نہ بیچ سکتے ہیں انہیں کاشت کے علمی طریقوں سے واقفیت نہیں، ان تمام دقتوں کی بدولت ہماری کوششیں ناکامیاب ہو رہی ہیں۔ ہندوستانی کسان گورنمنٹ کی نوکرشاہی کا شکار ہے۔ اور اس کا قیمتی وقت مدد کی درخواستیں دینے اور گورنمنٹ سے رہنمائی چاہنے میں صرف ہوتا ہے اس کا بڑا وقت بلاک ڈویلپمنٹ افسروں کی خدمت میں درخواستیں پیش کرنے میں ضایع ہوتا ہے کیونکہ ان کا کوئی نتیجہ نہیں نکلتا۔ ضرورت ہے کہ حکومت کی مشین کی بہتر تنظیم کی جائے تاکہ سرکاری افسر روزانہ مسائل آسانی سے حل کر سکیں اور کسانوں کی ضروریات کیطرف توجہ دے سکیں اور ضروری مدوں میں روپیہ صرف کر سکیں دیہات سدھار بلاک جن کے بارے میں کانگریس گورنمنٹ کا دعویٰ تھا کہ وہ دیہاتی خوشحالی لائیں گے اب تک بالکل ناکامیاب ثابت ہوئے ہیں کیوں کہ ان میں جو افسر مقرر کئے گئے ہیں وہ اپنے کام کے بنیادی اصولوں سے بالکل ناواقف ہیں ان کے دل میں کسانوں سے ہمدردی نہیں، وہ کسانوں کے دل میں سدھار کے لئے جوش پیدا نہیں کر سکتے اور نہ عام پبلک کی ہمدردی حاصل کر سکتے ہیں کہ جو ان کے کام کی کامیابی کے لئے ضروری ہے اس کے علاوہ حکمراں پارٹی ان کو ان بیوپاریوں کے چنگل سے بھی نہیں بچا سکی کہ جن کے ہاتھوں وہ اپنی پیداوار بیچتے ہیں۔

خوراک کے محاذ پر شکست

اس امر کی نہ تو تردید کی جا سکتی ہے اور نہ اس سے انکار کیا جا سکتا ہے کہ دو پنج سالہ منصوبوں میں جو خوراک کی منصوبہ بندی کی گئی وہ نہ صرف غیر موثر ثابت ہوئی بلکہ اس کو زبردست ناکامیابی کا منہ دیکھنا پڑا! اگرچہ حکمران پارٹی نے ۱۹۴۹ء میں زیادہ سے زیادہ خوراک پیدا کرنے کی مہم کے اور دو لو پنجسالہ منصوبوں کے سلسلہ میں وعدے کئے تھے کہ ملک خوراک کے معاملہ میں خود مکتفی ہو جائے گا اور یہ یقین دلایا تھا کہ اسکو دوسرے ممالک کی امداد کی ذرا بھی ضرورت نہ رہیگی۔ مگر آج ہم یہ دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ ہم دوسروں سے اپنے بھوکے اور نیم شکم سیر آدمیوں کے واسطے خوراک کی بھیانک مانگ رہے! اس سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ ہم نے اپنے منصوبوں پر غلط طریقے سے غور کیا تھا۔ ان افسوس ناک حالات میں یہ ظاہر ہے کہ منصوبہ بندی کمیشن نے خوراک جیسے اہم مسئلہ کو اچھی طرح حل نہیں کیا اور نہ اس کی طرف پوری توجہ دی درحقیقت خوراک کا مسئلہ قومی تحفظ کے مسئلے کے بعد سب سے اہم مسئلہ ہے۔

میرے نزدیک خوراک کی پیداوار میں کمی باوجود کوششوں کے کچھ غیر یقینی حالات کی وجہ سے ہے ان غیر یقینی حالات کو ہم حسب ذیل اقسام میں تقسیم کر سکتے ہیں

ا۔ زمین کی ملکیت کے متعلق غیر یقینی حالت۔ یہ غیر یقینی کیفیت کانگریس کی (الف) جوت کی حد بندی (ب) شامل سہکاری کھیتی (ج) زراعت کی مستقبل میں مشکل کے بارے میں لاعلمی کی وجوہ سے پیدا ہوئی ہے ان سب وجوہات کا انفرادی اور مجموعی طور پر نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ مزارعین کے اعلیٰ طبقہ میں انتشار پیدا ہو گیا ہے اور اب سرمایہ دیہات سے شہروں کی طرف منتقل ہو رہا ہے اس کے ساتھ ساتھ دیہات ذہین اور ترقی پسند کاشتکاروں کی اپج اور محنت سے محروم ہو رہا ہے، ترقی پسند کاشتکار اب گاؤں میں کام کرنے کے بجائے شہروں کی طرف جا رہے ہیں تاکہ وہاں وہ کوئی نیا پیشہ اختیار کریں۔ یہ حکمراں پارٹی کی اس پالیسی کا نتیجہ ہے کہ جس کی رو سے وہ زراعت کو پوری اہمیت نہیں دیتی بلکہ اسے ایسے جاہلوں اور غربت زدہ لوگوں کا پیشہ سمجھتی ہے کہ جو قوم کے لئے صرف معمولی اہمیت رکھتے ہیں۔ اس پالیسی کا ایک نتیجہ یہ بھی ہے کہ شہروں میں بے روزگاری بڑھ رہی ہے۔ کانگریس پارٹی کی پالیسی کی بدولت زراعت میں سائنٹیفک طریقے استعمال نہیں کئے جا رہے ہیں حالانکہ اور ملکوں میں مشینیں، پودوں پر دوائیں چھڑکنا، آئی سوٹوپ کا استعمال وغیرہ طریقوں نے زراعت میں انقلاب عظیم پیدا کر دیا ہے ہماری گورنمنٹ کے نزدیک زراعت کے لئے صرف یہ ہی کافی ہے کہ زمین کے اوپری حصہ پر ہل چلایا جائے اس ہل کو مریل بیل چلائیں جن کے پیچھے ایک لنگوٹی بند بھوکا کسان چل رہا ہو اور بیلوں کو چابک مار کر ہانک رہا ہو!۔ اس بھوکے اور ننگے کسان کی حالت یہ ہے کہ یہ ۱۴ برس سے کانگریس کی منصوبہ بندی، اور لوکر شاہی کی حکومت سے اتنا عاجز ہے کہ خدا کو اس کے پیدا کرنے سے غالباً شرم آنے لگی ہے حالانکہ دنیا اس کو ایک مافوق الانسان سمجھتی ہے۔ اور اب تک خیال کیا جاتا رہا ہے کہ خدا اس کے پیدا کرنے پر فخر پیدا کرتا ہے! ہندوستانی کسان کی محنت کے نقطۂ نظر سے دنیا میں جواب نہیں! مگر کانگریس گورنمنٹ کے سلوک کی بدولت دنیا میں اس سے کوئی زیادہ غریب اور مصیبت زدہ انسان نہیں!۔

کے مطابق ہوں اور ان کا معیار زندگی بہتر ہو۔

ملک کے عام انتظام اور حکومت کا فائدہ

یہ پارٹی انتظام حکومت میں کفایت شعاری چاہتی ہے اور حکمران طبقہ اور سرکاری افسروں میں زندگی کی سادگی کی حامی ہے۔ یہ اس بات کی کوشش کرے گی کہ ملازمتوں میں رشوت خوری اور اقربا پروری کا خاتمہ ہو اور روز راہ اپنے فرائض کی طرف زیادہ توجہ دیں اور محض پروپیگنڈہ اور ذاتی تفوق کی خاطر بیکار رسموں میں حصہ لینے سے بچیں اور اپنے عہدوں سے ذاتی اور ناجائز فوائد نہ حاصل کر سکیں۔

عام لوگوں کا فائدہ

یہ پارٹی چاہتی ہے کہ گورنمنٹ ایسے وسائل اختیار کرے کہ جن سے لوگوں کو ہر قسم کا روزگار ملے اور ان کی مالی حالت بہتر ہو اور وہ غذا، لباس اور رہنے کے لئے مکان آسانی سے حاصل کر سکیں گورنمنٹ ایسے لمبے چوڑے منصوبے نہ بنائے کہ جن کو کامیاب بنانے کے لئے لوگوں پر ناقابل برداشت ٹیکس لگانے پڑیں اور دوسرے ملکوں سے ایسی مالی امداد بطور قرض لینا پڑے کہ جس کی ادائیگی کا بوجھ کئی نسلوں کے کندھوں پر پڑ جائے، مختصراً یہ پارٹی ایسی گورنمنٹ بنانا چاہتی ہے کہ جس سے سب لوگوں کی فلاح ہو ان کی بے چینی، بے اطمینانی اور غیر یقینی حالت دور ہو اور ان کا معیار زندگی اونچا ہو۔

(۶) ملک کی موجودہ حکمران پارٹی یعنی کانگریس مہاتما گاندھی کے اصولوں کی پیروی کا دعویٰ کرتی ہے لیکن حقیقت یہ ہے کہ اس کے زیادہ تر پروگرام گاندھی جی کی تعلیم کے بالکل خلاف ہیں، سوتنتر پارٹی نے اس بات کا عہد کیا ہے کہ وہ مہاتما جی کے اصولوں پر کاربند ہونے کی کوشش کرے گی۔

(۷) سب سے آخری لیکن ایک بڑی اہم وجہ اس پارٹی کی حمایت کی یہ بھی ہو سکتی ہے کہ اس پارٹی کو مہاتما گاندھی کے قابل ترین ساتھی اور سیاسی ہندوستان کے بزرگ اعظم شری چکرورتی راجہ گوپالاچاری کی رہنمائی کی عزت حاصل ہے۔

کسانوں کا فائدہ

آج بھی چھوٹے بڑے کسان خوفزدہ ہیں کہ گورنمنٹ کی نئی اسکیموں کی وجہ سے انکی زمین ان کے ہاتھوں سے نکل جائے گی۔ اگر جوت کی حدبندی اور کوآپریٹو کھیتی (امداد باہمی کھیتی) کی اسکیم چلائی گئی تو کسانوں کو نہ صرف اپنی زمینوں سے ہاتھ دھونا پڑے گا۔ بلکہ غلہ کی پیداوار میں بھی کمی ہو جائے گی، تجارتی ترقی میں بھی رکاوٹ پڑے گی اور ڈر یہ ہے کہ ملک میں بےچینی اور بدامنی کی وجہ سے کہیں ڈکٹیٹرشپ قائم ہو جائے سوشلسٹ پارٹی کسانوں کی مدد کی حامی ہے لیکن وہ اس امر کو پسند نہیں کرتی کہ جوت کی حدبندی کر کے اور امداد باہمی کھیتی کو رواج دے کر کسانوں کو زمین کی ملکیت سے محروم کیا جائے۔ لہٰذا وہ اس قسم کے تمام منصوبوں اور اسکیموں کی مخالفت کرے گی کہ جو لوگوں کو انکے مال ان کی آزادی اور ان کی مسرت سے محروم کریں۔

مزدوروں کا فائدہ

یہ پارٹی مزدوروں کے ساتھ انصاف کی حامی ہے اور چاہتی ہے کہ پیداوار کے اضافے کے ساتھ ان کی مزدوریوں اور آرام میں اضافہ کیا جائے تاکہ ان کا معیار زندگی اونچا ہو۔ یہ پارٹی ان کو اپنی تنظیم کرنے اور انجمنیں بنانے کی پوری آزادی دینا چاہتی ہے لیکن مزدوروں ہی کے فائدے کے لئے یہ نہیں پسند کرتی کہ ملک کی مختلف سیاسی پارٹیاں اپنے مقاصد حاصل کرنے کے لئے ان کو اپنا آلۂ کار بنائیں جب مزدوروں اور کارخانہ داروں میں کسی قسم کا جھگڑا ہوگا تو یہ پارٹی دونوں جماعتوں کو ان کے مشترک فوائد کیطرف توجہ دلائے گی اور ایسے انتظام کی کوشش کرے گی کہ وہ آپس میں آزادی سے سمجھوتہ کریں۔

کارخانہ داروں اور سرمایہ داروں کا فائدہ

یہ پارٹی ملک میں زیادہ سے زیادہ صنعتی ترقی کی حامی ہے لیکن نجی کاروبار کو کانگریس اور دوسری سوشلسٹ پارٹیوں سے زیادہ اہمیت دیتی ہے اور چاہتی ہے کہ چھوٹے اور بڑے کارخانہ دار آزادی سے اپنا کاروبار چلائیں۔ ریاست یا گورنمنٹ اپنے آپ کو صرف ایسے ہی صنعتی اور قومی کاروبار تک محدود رکھے کہ جو نجی کارخانہ دار اور سرمایہ دار چلا سکتے ہوں، نجی کاروبار کے اندرونی معاملات اور انتظامات میں گورنمنٹ ضرورت سے زیادہ دخل نہ دے اور نہ ان پر ناقابل برداشت اور حوصلہ شکن ٹیکس لگائے۔

دوکانداروں اور اور صنعت کاروں کا فائدہ

اس پارٹی کا ایک بنیادی اصول یہ بھی ہے کہ چھوٹے اور بڑے دوکانداروں اور کاریگروں کی ہمت افزائی کی جائے اور ان کو ایسے قانونی بندھنوں میں نہ جکڑا جائے کہ جن سے ان کی تکلیفیں اور مشکلیں بڑھیں اور وہ اپنا کاروبار چھوڑنے پر مجبور ہوں نہ ان پر بیجا ٹیکس لگائے جائیں اور نہ ایسے حالات پیدا کئے جائیں کہ سرکاری افسروں کو ان کے معاملات میں دخل دینے اور ان کو پریشان کرنے کا موقع ملے یہ پارٹی یہ بھی نہیں چاہتی کہ تجارت کے میدان میں حکومت داخل ہو کیوں کہ اس کا نتیجہ چھوٹے اور بڑے تاجروں کی تباہی ہوگا۔

سرکاری افسروں کا فائدہ

پارٹی کا ایک اصول یہ بھی ہے کہ سیاسی پارٹیاں (اور خاص کر وہ سیاسی پارٹی جس کے ہاتھ میں حکومت ہے) سرکاری افسروں کے فرائض کی انجام دہی میں مخل انداز نہ ہوں تاکہ وہ انصاف اور ایمانداری سے اپنے کام انجام دیں ان کی تنخواہیں ان کے فرائض اور ذمہ داریوں

سوتنتر پارٹی کے ممبر بن جائیے

کیوں؟

اس لئے کہ:-

(۱) یہ پارٹی تمام مذاہب کے اصولوں کی عزت کرتی ہے اور بھارت کی مادی ترقی کے ساتھ ساتھ اس کی تمام اچھی اور قدیم روحانی اور اخلاقی روایات کو قایم رکھنا چاہتی ہے اور دوسرے ملکوں کی اندھی تقلید کو پسند نہیں کرتی۔

(۲) یہ پارٹی فرد کی عظمت کی قائل ہے اور انفرادی آزادی کو اہمیت دیتی ہے اور اس اصول کی حامی ہے کہ ریاست اور گورنمنٹ جو ریاست کی آلۂ کار ہوتی ہے، افراد کی آزادی میں کم سے کم دخل دے۔ ہندستان کی دوسری بڑی سیاسی پارٹیاں (مثلاً کانگریس پرجا سوشلسٹ، سوشلسٹ، کمیونسٹ، وغیرہ پارٹیاں) سوشلزم کی طرفدار ہیں۔ یعنی وہ افراد کے تمام معاملات میں ریاست کی مداخلت کے اصول کی حامی ہیں اور فرد کو سوسائٹی کی مشین کا ایک پرزہ سمجھتی ہیں، اس کا ثبوت ان پارٹیوں کے کاموں اور ان قوانین سے ہوتا ہے کہ جو موجودہ کانگریس گورنمنٹیں مرکز میں اور ہندستان کی مختلف ریاستوں میں پاس کر رہی ہیں۔

(۳) یہ پارٹی افراد کی آزادی کی اتنی قائل ہے کہ اس نے اپنے تمام ممبروں کو (سوائے چند اصولوں کی پابندی کے) تمام معاملات میں آزادیِ رائے اور آزادی کار کا حق دیا ہے۔ برخلاف اس کے دوسری پارٹیوں کے ممبر غلاموں کی مانند اپنی اپنی پارٹیوں کے تمام احکام کے پابند ہیں

(۴) یہ پارٹی کانگریس پارٹی کی بارہ سالہ حکومت کے نتائج اور اس کی غلطیوں کو دیکھ کر اس لئے بنائی گئی ہے کہ ان غلطیوں کی اصلاح کی جائے۔ اور قوم کو تباہی اور مایوسی سے بچایا جائے، نئی پارٹی قایم کرنے کی یوں ضرورت پیش آئی کہ دوسری بڑی سیاسی پارٹیاں بہ خدمت انجام نہیں دے سکتیں کیوں کہ وہ سب کانگریس کی مانند سوشلزم کی بنیاد پر قایم ہیں اور ان میں اور کانگریس پارٹی میں زیادہ فرق نہیں ہے۔

(۵) اس پارٹی کی حمایت کرنے اور ترقی دینے سے ہندوستان کے تمام طبقوں اور جماعتوں کا بلا لحاظ مذہب، ذات پیشہ اور نسل فائدہ ہے مندرجہ ذیل مثالیں اس فائدہ کو ظاہر کرتی ہیں

کو سیاسی اثر اور رسوخ کے ہتھکنڈوں سے محفوظ رکھا جائے۔

(۱۳)

اس پارٹی اور دوسری پارٹیوں میں فرق

سوتنتر پارٹی اور دوسری پارٹیوں میں ایک خاص فرق ہے ہندستان اور دوسرے ممالک کی سیاسی پارٹیوں کا عام رجحان یہ ہوتا ہے کہ وہ اپنے ممبروں کے خیالات، سرگرمیوں اور زندگیوں پر پورے طور سے حاوی ہونا چاہتی ہیں سوتنتر پارٹی اس طریقے کو بالکل بدل دینا چاہتی ہے اس کا عقیدہ ہے کہ جمہوریت کی بہترین خدمت اس طرح ہو سکتی ہے کہ ہر ایک سیاسی پارٹی اپنے تمام ممبروں کو ایسے معاملات میں آزادانہ اظہار رائے کا حق دے کہ جو پارٹی کے بنیادی اصولوں کی حد سے باہر ہیں۔ لہٰذا یہ پارٹی اپنے تمام ممبروں کو خواہ وہ پارلیمنٹ میں ہوں یا ریاستوں کی مجالس قانون ساز میں یا اور جگہ ان مسائل کے بارے میں پوری آزادی دیتی ہے کہ جو پارٹی کے اصولوں اور اس کی شائع کردہ پالیسی کی حدود میں نہیں آتے، یہ دیکھا گیا ہے کہ عام طور پر سیاسی پارٹیوں کا طریقہ ہے کہ ان کے جو ممبر اپنی پارٹی کی رائے سے اختلاف کرتے ہیں ان کے ساتھ اچھا سلوک نہیں کیا جاتا، برخلاف اس کے سوتنتر پارٹی جب کبھی کوئی پالیسی بنائے گی تو تمام ممبروں کو یہ موقع دیگی کہ وہ اپنی رائے کا آزادی سے اظہار کر سکیں اور اختلاف کرنے والے ممبروں کے ساتھ برا سلوک نہیں روا رکھے گی۔

(۱۴)

ہمارا مقصد

مختصر یہ کہ سوتنتر پارٹی کا خاص مشن یہ ہے کہ وہ ہندستان کے جمہوری نظام میں ہر ایک شہری کو وہ آزادی دلائے کہ جو آزادی کی جنگ نے پوری قوم کو دلائی ہے۔ مہاتما گاندھی نے قوم کو آزادی کا سبق دیا اور یہ بتایا کہ ہم کیسے آزادی حاصل کر سکتے ہیں جس کام کا انہوں نے آغاز کیا تھا، سوتنتر پارٹی اسے پورا کرنے کے لئے بنائی گئی ہے۔ کانگریس نے بھی اس کام کو عرصے تک جاری رکھا، مگر اب مہاتما گاندھی جی کے مشورے کے خلاف محض ایک سیاسی پارٹی ہو کر رہ گئی، سوتنتر پارٹی ہی وہ پارٹی ہے کہ جس کی ہندستان کو ضرورت ہے کیونکہ یہی پارٹی ہندستان کو اس کی شاندار قسمت کی منزل تک پہونچائے گی۔ درحقیقت یہی ایک پارٹی ہے کہ جو افراد کی آزادی قائم رکھے گی اور آزادی کے ذریعے قوم کو منظم ترقی بخشے گی۔

ختم شد

کے پروگرام میں بہت دلچسپی کا اظہار کر رہے ہیں لیکن اس پارٹی کی رائے ہے کہ گو آزاد ہندستان میں طالب علمی کے زمانہ میں گریجویٹ ہونے سے پہلے طلبا کو فلسفہ سیاست کے رجحانات کا علم حاصل کرنا چاہیئے لیکن طالب علمی کے زمانے میں انھیں سیاست میں عملی حصہ لینے اور کسی سیاسی پارٹی کی ترقی کی کوشش کرنے سے بچنا چاہیئے، ہندستان کی اور سیاسی پارٹیاں جو چاہیں کریں لیکن سوتنتر پارٹی کی رائے ہے کہ کسی پارٹی کو طلبا میں سیاسی گروہ بندی کی ہمت افزائی نہ کرنی چاہیئے بے شک ان کو آزادی ہونی چاہیئے کہ اپنے کالج کی یونین اور کلبوں میں سیاست پر بحث و مباحثہ اور اظہار خیال کریں، اس پارٹی نے اپنے ممبروں کی عمر کی جو حد مقرر کی ہے اس کے مطابق تمام نوجوان اس پارٹی کے ممبر ہو سکتے ہیں اگر یہ نوجوان پارٹی میں شامل ہونا چاہیں گے تو ہم ان کو "خوش آمدید" کہیں گے۔

طالب علم سیاسی اور معیشتی مسائل سمجھنے کے لئے اسٹیڈی سرکل (مطالعہ کی انجمنیں) بنا سکتے ہیں لیکن ڈسپلن (ضبط) کے نقطۂ نظر سے اس پارٹی کی رائے ہے کہ پولیٹکل پارٹیوں کو کالجوں اور یونیورسٹیوں میں سیاسی گروہ بندیوں کی ہمت افزائی نہ کرنی چاہیئے۔

(۱۲)

قومی حفاظت

اگرچہ اس پارٹی نے ہندستان کے بین الاقوامی تعلقات کے مختلف پہلوؤں کے بارے میں ابھی تک کوئی پالیسی نہیں بنائی ہے لیکن ہمارے ملک کے خلاف چین کی غاصبانہ پیش قدمی نے ہمارے سامنے قومی حفاظت کا نازک مسئلہ کھڑا دیا ہے چین کی اس کارروائی کا نتیجہ ہے کہ ہندستان کی ہزاروں میل زمین غیروں کے قبضہ میں چلی گئی ہے سوتنتر پارٹی اس امر پر زور دیتی ہے کہ چین کی پیش قدمی کے خلاف ایک مضبوط اور دلیر پالیسی اختیار کی جائے اور ہم حالات سے پورے طور پر باخبر رہیں، جب کہ ہمارے ملک کی سالمیت پر حملہ کیا گیا ہے اور ہماری زمین کے ایک حصہ کو کمیونسٹ چین نے دبا لیا ہے تو ہماری ناطرفداری کی پالیسی کے کوئی معنی نہیں، اب ہمارے لئے ضروری ہو گیا ہے کہ ہم اپنی پالیسی پر نظر ثانی کریں اور اس کو بین الاقوامی حالات کی اصلیت کے مطابق بنائیں اس پارٹی کی رائے میں اب وہ وقت نہیں ہے کہ ہم اپنی اندرونی پالیسی میں محض نئی اصول پرستی کے بھنور میں پھنسے رہیں۔ ہماری رائے میں ملک کے امن اور تحفظ کے لئے ہمیں حسب ذیل طریقے اختیار کرنے چاہئیں

(الف) پاکستان سے جھگڑوں کا فیصلہ اور پاکستان نے اس تحتی براعظم (ہندستان اور پاکستان) کی حفاظت کے لئے جو تجویز پیش کی ہے اس پر سنجیدگی سے غور

(ب) اس علاقہ کی حفاظت کے لئے جنوبی اور جنوب مشرقی ایشیا کے ممالک سے اتحاد تاکہ خطرے کی حالت میں یہ سب ملک مشترکہ کارروائی کر سکیں۔

(ج) برابر چوکنا رہنا تاکہ دشمن ہمارے ملک میں داخل نہ ہونے پائیں

(د) اپنے ہی ملک میں رہنے والے غداروں کی کارروائیوں سے خبردار رہنا۔

یہ پارٹی خاص طور پر خیال رکھے گی کہ ہماری فوج کے افسروں اور سپاہیوں وغیرہ میں کہ جو محبان وطن اور قابل لوگوں کی جماعت ہے ضبط اور خود اعتمادی قایم رہے۔ یہ مقصد حاصل کرنے کے لئے یہ پارٹی ایسے حالات پیدا کرنے کی کوشش کرے گی کہ جن کی وجہ سے کافی تعداد میں مناسب قسم کے لوگ فوج میں بھرتی ہوں علاوہ ازیں پارٹی اس کا بھی خیال رکھے گی کہ فوجوں کے لئے اعلیٰ قسم کا سامان مہیا کیا جائے تاکہ وہ اپنے فرائض عمدگی سے انجام دے سکیں اور سب سے آخر میں یہ کہ ہم اسے بہت اہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ فوج کو

مقاصد حاصل کرنے کے لئے ہوتی ہے۔ سوتنتر پارٹی اس کی مخالف ہے کہ افسر ایمان داری اور انصاف سے اپنے فرائض ادا کر رہے ہوں تو ان پر کسی قسم کا سیاسی دباؤ ڈالا جائے۔

اس پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ پبلک ملازمتوں کا قاعدہ اسی میں ہے کہ ملازمت کے لئے بھرتی کرنے کو باعتبار تعداد اور قابلیت ایک حد کے اندر رکھا جائے کانگریس گورنمنٹ نے بغیر کسی تفریق کے ساٹھ لاکھ ملازموں کی بھیڑ بھرتی کر لی ہے۔ جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ (ان کی کثرت کی وجہ سے) افسروں کی قدر کم ہو گئی ہے۔ نیز حکومت کا خرچ بھی بڑھ گیا ہے۔

یہ پارٹی سرکاری نوکر شاہی مشین کی توسیع کے خلاف ہے یعنی یہ نہیں چاہتی کہ بہت سے درجہ بدرجہ افسر بھرتی کئے جائیں اور ان سے وہ کام لیا جائے جو کہ بہترین طریقے سے غیر ملازم شہری اور نجی ذرائع انجام دے سکتے ہوں کیوں کہ اس سے قوم کا بہت سا روپیہ بیکار ضائع ہوتا ہے یہ پارٹی لوگوں کو مہاتما گاندھی کا یہ مقولہ یاد دلاتی ہے۔

"وہ حکومت بہترین حکومت ہے جو کم سے کم حکمرانی کرتی ہے"

اس پارٹی کی رائے ہے کہ اگرچہ انتظام حکومت کی عمدگی ضروری چیز ہے۔ لیکن حکومت میں ایمانداری حکومت کا سب سے اہم جزو ہے، اسی لئے یہ پارٹی کوشش کرے گی کہ ایک ایسا اعلیٰ افسر مقرر کرے کہ جس کے سامنے تمام وہ لوگ اپیل پیش کر سکیں کہ جن کے ساتھ حکومت کی انتظامی کارروائی کی وجہ سے ناانصافی ہوئی ہے اور جن کی شکایات کا ازالہ یہ افسر ہی کر سکتا ہے۔ اس قسم کے افسروں کی اس ملک میں سب سے زیادہ تربیت ہوتی ہے کہ جہاں پارٹی گورنمنٹ کا طریقہ رائج ہے اس قسم کے افسر کے تقرر کی نظیر سکنڈے نیویا کے ممالک (یعنی ناروے اور سویڈن) میں موجود ہے، ان ملکوں میں ایک افسر "اوم بڈس مان" نامی مقرر کیا جاتا ہے اس افسر کا کسی پارٹی سے تعلق نہیں ہوتا اسکو ان ممالک کی پارلیمنٹ مقرر کرتی ہے اور اس کو تحقیقات کے وسیع اختیارات دیئے جاتے ہیں یہ اپنی تحقیقات کے سلسلے میں سرکاری کاغذات بھی دیکھ سکتا ہے۔ اس افسر کا بڑا اعلیٰ رتبہ ہوتا ہے اور جب کوئی شہری اس کے سامنے شکایت پیش کرتا ہے اور انصاف چاہتا ہے تو یہ ہی مناسب کارروائی کرتا ہے۔

(۱۱)

تعلیم

اس پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ ہر شہری کا یہ بنیادی حق ہے کہ وہ اپنی اولاد کو اپنی مرضی کے مطابق آزاد فضا میں تعلیم دے سکے یہ تعلیم سرکاری احکامات سے آزاد ہو، یہ پارٹی ایسے طریقے اختیار کرے گی کہ اس قسم کی تعلیم آسانی سے دی جا سکے اگر مختلف فرقے اپنے مذہب کے مطابق مذہبی تعلیم دینا چاہیں تو سرکاری امداد نہ دے کر، یا اور پابندیاں لگا کر مدارس میں کسی قسم کی تفریق نہ کی جائے۔

سوتنتر پارٹی اچھے پرائیویٹ مدارس کی ہمت افزائی کرے گی، اس سے گورنمنٹ کے خرچ میں کفایت ہو گی اور مدارس میں باہمی تعلیمی مقابلے کے ذریعہ تعلیمی نظام کی بھی اصلاح ہو گی۔

تعلیم یافتہ نوجوانوں کی بے روزگاری کے مسئلہ کا یہ حل نہیں ہے کہ ان کو کسی سرکاری دفتر میں کم کام والی ملازمت دے کر ان کی زندگی کو غیر نفع بخش اور خشک بنا دیا جائے بلکہ مناسب حل یہ ہے کہ ان کو ایسی تعلیم دی جائے کہ وہ صنعت و حرفت، تجارت، اور دیگر مختلف پیشوں میں کھپ سکیں، اگر تعلیم کے ساتھ ساتھ زندگی کے ان تمام شعبوں (یعنے صنعت، تجارت وغیرہ) کی توسیع کی جائے گی تو ان میں تعلیم یافتہ نوجوانوں کو موجودہ حالت سے زیادہ روزگار مل سکے گا۔

یہ پارٹی دیکھتی ہے کہ کالج اور یونیورسٹیوں کے نوجوان طالب علم ملک کی سیاست میں اور خاص کر سوتنتر پارٹی

ملکیت کے حق کا خاتمہ کیا ہے یا اس کو کمزور کر دیا ہے، خاص کر دیہات میں چھوٹے آدمیوں کے فوائد پر اس کا بُرا اثر پڑا ہے سوشلسٹ پارٹی اس غلطی کی اصلاح کرے گی اور وہ خاص طور پر ان غلطیوں کو دور کرے گی جو لوگوں میں تفریق کر کے کچھ لوگوں کی ملکیت ان سے چھین لینے اور اس کا معاوضہ مقرر کرنے اور دینے کے سلسلے میں کی گئی ہیں۔

موجودہ حکومت میں قانون کی حکمرانی کو گھن لگ رہا ہے کیوں کہ جن سیاسی لوگوں کے ہاتھ میں قوت ہے ان کا عام طور پر رجحان یہ ہے کہ وہ انتظامی اور عدالتی معاملات میں دخل دیں، عدالتی معاملات میں یہ مداخلت کئی شکلیں اختیار کرتی ہے مثلاً بعض حالات میں مقدمات واپس لے لئے جاتے ہیں بعض اوقات مجرم کا جرم ثابت ہونے اور جج کا فیصلہ دینے کے بعد بھی مقدموں سے دست برداری اختیار کی جاتی ہے کبھی پارٹی یا کسی گروہ کے دباؤ کی وجہ سے مجرموں کو معافی مل جاتی ہے سوشلسٹ پارٹی کی رائے ہے کہ سیاسی لوگوں کو یا حکمران پارٹی کو قانون کے عملدرآمد میں دخل نہ دینا چاہیئے۔

موجودہ حکمران جماعت "سوشلسٹ ٹنونہ کی سماج" کی حامی ہے اور وہ وقتاً فوقتاً اپنے مطلب کے مطابق اس قسم کی سماج کے معنی بدل بدل کر بتاتی ہے اس کا بھی عدالتوں پر بُرا اثر پڑا ہے، کیوں کہ بعض اوقات "فلاح عامہ" کے نام پر ان کو اس امر پر آمادہ کیا جاتا ہے کہ وہ گورنمنٹ کی بے جا کارروائیوں کو بھی منظور کر لیں

اس پارٹی کی خواہش ہے کہ ملک میں عدلیہ (عدالتیں) آزاد رہے اور قانون کے مطابق حکومت ہو، لہٰذا سوشلسٹ پارٹی کوشش کرے گی کہ عدالتوں کا مجوزہ قوانین پر) نظر ثانی کا اختیار پھر سے قایم ہو کیوں کہ اس اختیار کا وجود ملک میں قانون کی حکومت قائم رکھنے کے لئے ضروری ہے یہ پارٹی موجودہ قانون بازی کے اس رجحان کو بہت سمجھتی ہے کہ جس کی رو سے بہت سے معاملات عدالتوں کے اختیار سے باہر کر دیئے جاتے ہیں اور بعض معاملات کو انتظامی افسروں اور انتظامی عدالتوں کے اختیارِ تمیزی کے زیر تحت کر دیا جاتا ہے۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی جنتا کا اور پارلیمنٹ کا اقتدار اعلیٰ (سب سے بڑا اختیار) ملک میں دوبارہ قایم کرے گی اور منصوبہ بندی کمیشن کو توڑ دے گی، کیوں کہ اسی کمیشن کی بدولت ملک میں ایک غیر جواب دہ مافوق الحکومت قوت قایم ہو گئی ہے (یعنی یہ کمیشن ملک کی حکومت سے بھی زیادہ اختیار رکھتی ہے)، اس طرح سے یہ پارٹی مرکزی اور ریاستی وزیروں اور گورنمنٹ کے دوسرے افسروں کو اس غیر آئین مداخلت سے آزادی دلائے گی کہ جو منصوبہ بندی کمیشن کے باوجود کا نتیجہ ہے۔

اس پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ قوم کے معاملات کے سلسلے میں منصوبہ بندی کی تنظیم اور حکومت کے سالانہ پروگرام کو تیار اور پیش کرنا اس مجلس وزراء (کیبنیٹ) کا کام ہے جو پارلیمنٹ اور قوم کے سامنے جواب دہ ہے۔ منصوبہ بندی کے متعلق گورنمنٹ ماہرین کی مدد حاصل کر سکتی ہے لیکن وزیروں اور پارلیمنٹ کے علاوہ کوئی ایسی جماعت نہ ہونا چاہیئے جو اس پالیسی اور کارروائیوں کو متاثر کرے کہ جن کا قوم کی زندگی سے تعلق ہے۔

(۱۰)

پبلک انتظام حکومت

سوشلسٹ پارٹی ملک کے لئے ایماندار اور عمدہ حکومت مہیا کرنے کی کوشش کرے گی، کیوں کہ ہمیں ایسی ہی گورنمنٹ کی اشد ضرورت ہے یہ پارٹی اس امر کی حامی ہے کہ سرکاری افسر ایماندار ہوں اور قابلیت سے کام کریں۔ اس کا عقیدہ ہے کہ ہندوستان میں سرکاری ملازم اتنے ہی اچھے ہو سکتے ہیں جتنے کسی اور ملک کے۔ اگر افسروں کی محنت اور وفاداری کے باوجود انتظام حکومت خراب ہے تو یہ اس وجہ سے ہے کہ وہ اپنے فرائض عمدگی سے ادا نہیں کر سکتے، کیوں کہ ان کے روزانہ کام میں مرکزی اور ریاستی گورنمنٹوں کے وزراء اور حکمران جماعت (کانگریس پارٹی) کے لوگ بعض اوقات بہت ہی غیر معقول دخل اندازی کرتے ہیں، یہ مداخلت اکثر سیاسی

کہ روزگار کے نئے نئے ذرائع مہیا کئے جائیں، یہ پارٹی کوشش کرے گی کہ سب بیروزگار تندرست لوگوں کو کام ملے یہ کام سڑکیں بنانے کے ریاستی منصوبوں، جنگلوں کے لئے درخت لگانے، عمارات بنانے اور پانی کے ذخائر قائم کرنے کے سلسلہ میں حاصل ہو سکے گا، مکانات بنانے اور چھوٹی صنعتوں کے نجی منصوبوں کی بھی اتنی مالی امداد کی جائے گی کہ جس سے بیروزگار لوگوں کو کام مل سکے۔ یہ پارٹی پسند نہیں کرتی کہ جہاں جلدی کی ضرورت نہ ہو اور انسانی محنت کام دے سکے وہاں مشینوں کا استعمال کیا جائے۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی کھیتی میں کام کرنے والے مزدوروں کی افسوسناک حالت کے متعلق خاص طور سے متفکر ہے، اس لئے یہ پارٹی کوشش کرے گی کہ ان کی حالت کی جلد اصلاح ہو اس پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ اس قابل زراعت زمین کو کہ جو ترقی کے لئے گورنمنٹ کے قبضہ میں ہے اجتماعی کھیتی کے لئے نہ محفوظ رکھا جائے۔ بلکہ یہ زمین چھوٹے چھوٹے قطعوں میں تقسیم کر کے کھیتی میں کام کرنے والے مزدوروں کو دیدی جائے تاکہ وہ اپنی محنت سے خود کام لینے والے مالک کسان بن جائیں بے زمین مزدوروں کا مسئلہ بھی بیروزگاری کے مسئلہ کا ایک پہلو ہے سوشلسٹ پارٹی اس طرح سے روزگار کے نئے نئے ذرائع مہیا کرنے میں لوگوں کی مدد کرے گی۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی کی کچھ معیشتی پالیسیاں بھی ہیں یعنی وہ چاہتی ہے کہ زراعت کے تمام قابل حصول ذرائع استعمال کئے جائیں چھوٹی چھوٹی ہلکی صنعتوں کو ترقی دی جائے کیوں کہ ان میں توسیع کی بڑی گنجائش ہے، اگر ان پالیسیوں پر عمل کیا گیا تو قومی آمدنی میں بہت تیزی سے اضافہ ہو جائے گا۔ زیادہ سے زیادہ پیداوار عزت اور بیروزگاری دونوں کا ایک ساتھ خاتمہ کر دے گی اس پارٹی کو پورا یقین ہے کہ اگر اس کی مجوزہ معیشتی پالیسیوں کو مان لیا گیا اور اس پر پورے طور سے عمل کیا گیا تو ملک اتنا خوشحال ہو جائے گا اور لوگوں کو اتنا روزگار مل جائے گا کہ جو دوسری پالیسیوں سے ممکن نہیں جب ہم تمام ذرائع کا تجزیہ کرتے ہیں تو ہم اس نتیجے پر پہونچتے ہیں کہ مزدوروں کی فلاح اور ترقی پوری سماج کی ترقی اور خوشحالی پر منحصر ہے۔

(۹)

آئین اور قانون کی حکومت

سوشلسٹ پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ ہمارے ملک کا آئین حکومت بنانے والوں نے ایک خوشحال سماج کی بنیاد سچے اور اچھے اصولوں پر رکھی تھی، یہ پارٹی ایسے طریقے اختیار کرے گی کہ جن سے لوگوں کو وہ بنیادی حقوق پھر مل جائیں کہ جن کی آئین نے ابتدا میں ضمانت دی تھی لیکن جن کو موجودہ حکمران جماعت (یعنی کانگریس پارٹی) نے اپنی ہمہ گیر پالیسیوں کو چلانے کے لئے آہستہ آہستہ کم دیا ہے۔

ہندستان کی آئین بنانے والی اسمبلی نے ملک کا طریقہ حکومت تجویز کرتے ہوئے یہ امر صاف طور پر ظاہر کر دیا تھا کہ آزاد ہندستان کا نظام حکومت ایک ایسی ریاستوں کا یونین (وفاق) ہوگا کہ جن میں سے ہر ایک اپنے اندرونی نظم و نسق میں بڑی حد تک خود مختار ہوگی اس صاف اعلان کے برخلاف موجودہ حکمران جماعت نے ریاستوں کی حکومت کے اختیارات مرکز کی طرف کھینچ لئے ہیں اور ان اختیارات کو اتنا کم کر دیا ہے کہ ریاستیں میونسپلٹیوں کی مانند ہو گئی ہیں اور ہر معاملہ میں مرکزی حکومت پر انحصار رکھتی ہیں سوشلسٹ پارٹی اس غلطی کی اصلاح کرے گی اور ریاستوں کو آئین کی عطا کردہ خود مختاری واپس دے گی ہمارے جیسے وسیع ملک میں (جہاں ایک مرکز سے سارے ملک پر حکومت کرنا مشکل ہے) نظم و نسق اس طریقے سے ہونا چاہیئے کہ اس کی لامرکزیت قائم رہے تاکہ ہر ریاست کو اپنے اوپر آپ حکومت کرنے کا موقع ملے۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ ساتھ قومی اتحاد قائم رہے اور مرکزی حکومت بھی اپنے اختیارات بغیر کسی رکاوٹ کے استعمال کر سکے۔ سوشلسٹ پارٹی ان کے مطابق پبلک زندگی کے تمام شعبوں میں وفاقی اور لامرکزیت کے اصولوں پر زور دے گی اور ان کی اشاعت کرے گی۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی کی رائے ہے کہ حکمران جماعت (کانگریس پارٹی) نے ملک میں اپنی طاقت کا بیجا استعمال کر کے بہت سے لوگوں کی

اپنے کام کے حالات بہتر بنا سکیں، مضبوط اور ذمہ دار ٹریڈ یونینیں (مزدوروں وغیرہ کی انجمنیں) جمہوری صنعتی نظام کا ایک ضروری جزو ہوتی ہیں۔ تمام کام کرنے والوں کی ہمت افزائی اور مدد کرنی چاہیے تاکہ وہ اپنی انجمنیں بنا سکیں اور ان کے ذریعے اپنے مالکوں سے اپنے ملازمت کی شرائط اور کام کے حالات کے بارے میں اجتماعی طور پر سمجھوتہ کر سکیں، سوشلسٹ پارٹی مزدور انجمنوں کی موجودہ حالت سے مطمئن نہیں ہے ان میں زیادہ تر انجمنیں غیر مزدوروں کے ہاتھوں میں ہیں اور سیاسی پارٹیوں کا کھلونا بن کر رہ گئی ہیں! اس پارٹی کی بڑی خواہش یہ ہے کہ یہ انجمنیں سیاسی پارٹیوں کے زیر اثر سے آزاد ہو کر ترقی کریں اور ان کا کنٹرول اور یہ انتظام ان ہی کام کرنے والوں کے ہاتھ میں ہو کہ جن کے لئے یہ انجمنیں بنائی گئی ہیں چونکہ سوشلسٹ پارٹی مزدور انجمنوں پر سیاسی پارٹیوں کے غلبہ کی مخالف ہے اس لئے یہ خود مزدوروں کی انجمنوں کو اپنے قبضہ میں لینے کی دوڑ میں شریک نہ ہوگی۔ لیکن اس پارٹی کے ممبران انجمنوں کی ہر قسم کی مدد کے لئے ہمیشہ تیار رہیں گے۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی اس امر کی حامی ہے کہ مزدوروں اور صنعتی کارخانوں کے منتظموں اور مالکوں میں آپس میں مشورے ہوتے رہیں اور ان میں گہرا تعلق رہے اس پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ مزدوروں اور مالکوں میں ایک دوسرے پر بھروسہ کرنے کی روح پیدا ہو اور اس کے لئے کسی خاص انتظام کی ضرورت نہ ہو، اس کی خاص طور پر ضرورت ہے کہ مزدوروں اور مالکوں میں یہ احساس پیدا ہو کہ وہ ایک دوسرے کے شریک کار ہیں۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی اس امر پر زور دے گی کہ اگر مزدوروں اور مالکوں میں کوئی جھگڑا ہو تو وہ اندرونی طور پر اسے خود طے کر لیں اور اس میں کم سے کم بیرونی مداخلت کی جائے۔ ریاست (گورنمنٹ) عام طور پر صنعتی جھگڑوں میں دخل نہ دے لیکن ایسی مشینری کو تیار رکھے کہ جس کے ذریعے ان میں بیچ بچاؤ اور میل کرایا جا سکے اور یہ بھی اس وقت کہ جب ضرورت کے وقت دونوں پارٹیاں اس کی طرف رجوع کریں (یعنی گورنمنٹ کی بنائی ہوئی مشینری مزدوروں اور مالکوں میں اس وقت سمجھوتہ کرائے کہ جب دونوں پارٹیاں درخواست کریں) جب ضرورت ہو تو ریاست ایسی عدالتیں مقرر کرے کہ جو واقعات کی تحقیقات کریں اور یہ بتائیں کہ پارٹیوں کے جھگڑوں کی نوعیت کیا ہے تاکہ سمجھدار رائے عامہ پارٹیوں پر جھگڑے کے فیصلے کے سلسلے میں اپنا اثر ڈال سکے، اجتماعی طور پر اپنی مزدوری وغیرہ کے بارے میں سمجھوتے کے ساتھ ساتھ مزدوروں کو اس کا بھی حق ہے کہ وہ اسٹرائک کر سکیں۔ اگر ان میں اور مالکوں میں سمجھوتہ نہ ہو سکے تو دونوں پارٹیوں کو آزادی ہے کہ وہ قانون کے حد کے اندر کوئی ایسی کارروائی کریں کہ جس کو وہ ضروری اور مناسب سمجھتے ہیں ایک آزاد سماج میں مزدوروں کو اس کے لئے مجبور نہیں کیا جا سکتا کہ وہ اپنے مالکوں کے لئے ان شرائط پر یا حالات میں کام کریں کہ جو انہیں منظور نہیں، مزدوروں کو حق ہونا چاہیئے کہ وہ انفرادی یا اجتماعی طور پر اپنی خدمات واپس لے سکیں مگر پورے سماج کے فائدے کے لئے یہ مناسب معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ جہاں تک ہو سکے نہ تو مزدور اسٹرائک کریں اور نہ کارخانے دار اپنے کارخانوں کی تالہ بندی کریں لیکن یہ مقصد جب ہی پورا ہو سکتا ہے کہ اجتماعی سمجھوتے کے طریقے کو ترقی دی جائے اور مزدور اور کارخانہ دار اپنے جھگڑوں کے فیصلے کے لئے ثالثی طریقے کو مانیں۔ سوشلسٹ پارٹی کوشش کرے گی کہ کارخانہ دار اور مزدور اس طریقۂ کار کو منظور کریں۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی اس امر کی حامی ہے کہ مزدوروں کو دن بھر کے اچھے کام کی اچھی مزدوری دی جائے مزدوری اور کام دونوں کا صحیح اندازہ لگایا جائے اور یہ انتظام کیا جائے کہ پیداوار کے اضافے اور صنعت کی خوشحالی کے ساتھ مزدوروں کی مزدوری بھی بڑھائی جائے اور مزدوروں کو اس کا یقین ہو کہ ان سے محفوظ صحت مند اور دل پسند حالات میں کام لیا جائے گا اور اس کا کافی انتظام کیا جائے گا کہ بیماری، بے کاری اور بڑھاپے کی حالت میں وہ سماج میں محفوظ زندگی گزار سکیں، یہ بھی ضروری ہے کہ مزدوروں کے لئے مکانات بنانے کی طرف توجہ دی جائے۔

ملک کے سامنے بنیادی سوالوں میں سے ایک سوال بیروزگاری کا بھی ہے سوشلسٹ پارٹی خاص طور پر توجہ کرے گی

کیا جارہا ہے کہ انگلستان میں لیبر پارٹی کی شکست "قومیانے" (ذرائع پیداوار وغیرہ کو قوم کی ملکیت قرار دینا اور ان کا نجی ہاتھوں سے لے کر گورنمنٹ کو دے دینا) کے اصول کی وجہ سے ہوئی ہے، جاپان میں جمہوریت پسند لوگ سوشلسٹ پارٹی سے علیحدہ ہو گئے ہیں۔ جرمنی میں بھی سوشلسٹ ڈیموکریٹک پارٹی نے اپنے نومبر ۱۹۵۹ء کے خاص اجلاس میں ریاستی سوشلزم (گورنمنٹ کا ذرائع پیداوار وغیرہ کو اپنے ہاتھ میں لے لینا) کی پالیسی کو خیرباد کہہ دیا ہے، یہ سب علامات ظاہر کرتے ہیں کہ ساری دنیا میں مرکزی نوکر شاہی اور ریاستی سرمایہ داری کے رجحانات کو زوال ہو رہا ہے اور آزاد مارکیٹ (یعنی گورنمنٹ اور ریاست کی بیجا دخل سے آزاد) قوانین کو اہمیت اور اولیت دوبارہ بخشی جا رہی ہے۔ سوتنتر پارٹی کو جرمن سوشلسٹ پارٹی کے جدید اعلان سے خاص طور پر خوشی ہوئی ہے اس کے مندرجہ ذیل جملے سوتنتر پارٹی کے اصولوں کی صدائے بازگشت معلوم ہوتے ہیں۔

"سوشلسٹ ڈیموکریٹک پارٹی کی معیشتی پالیسی کے ضروری اصول یہ ہیں کہ استعمالی سامان اور ضروری خدمات کے انتخاب میں سب کو آزادی ہو، اپنے کاروبار کی جگہ کا بھی لوگ آزادی سے انتخاب کر سکیں، کارخانے داروں کو ہر قسم کا کاروبار شروع کرنے کی اور بے روک ٹوک آپس میں مقابلہ کی آزادی ہو مزدور اور کارخانے کے مالک اپنی انجمنیں بنانے میں خود مختار ہوں تاکہ وہ اجتماعی طور پر اپنے کاروبار کے سلسلے میں سودا کر سکیں، کیونکہ آزاد طور پر سودا کرنے کا حق ہی ایک آزاد سماج کی اہم خصوصیت ہے (ریاست کے ہاتھ میں) معیشتی نظام کا ہمہ گیر کنٹرول قوم اور افراد کی آزادی کا خاتمہ کر دیتا ہے، اسی لئے سوشل ڈیموکریٹک پارٹی اس امر کی طرفدار ہے کہ جہاں درحقیقت آزاد مقابلہ کا وجود ہو وہاں آزاد تجارت بھی ہو لیکن جہاں بازار پر چند افراد یا چند جماعتیں حاوی ہوں وہاں معیشتی نظام کی حفاظت کے لئے ہر قسم کی کارروائی کرنی چاہیئے۔ مختصر یہ ہے کہ تجارت اور صنعت میں زیادہ سے زیادہ مقابلہ ہونا چاہیئے۔ اور منصوبہ بندی اس حد تک ہی ہونی چاہیئے کہ جتنی ضروری سمجھی جائے (یعنی مقابلہ زیادہ ہو اور منصوبہ بندی ضروری حد کے اندر)"

(۸)

مزدور

سوتنتر پارٹی اس امر پر زور دے گی کہ قومی پالیسیوں کے بنانے میں مزدوروں کی بھی آواز کو اہمیت ہو۔ سوتنتر پارٹی کوشش کرے گی کہ زراعتی صنعتی اور دفتری کام کرنے والوں کی معیشتی ترقی اور سماجی بہتری ہو اور وہ ثقافتی (تہذیبی) اعتبار سے بھی آگے بڑھیں۔ یہ پارٹی تمام کام کرنے والوں کے تعلیمی پروگرام کی طرف خاص طور پر توجہ کرے گی اور ان کی تعلیم کو اس قابل بنائے گی کہ جس سے ان میں وسیع النظری پیدا ہو، ان کو اپنی ذمہ داریوں اور حقوق کا احساس ہو اور وہ سمجھ سکیں کہ ان کو صرف اپنی مزدوری، تنخواہوں اور الاؤنس ہی میں دلچسپی نہیں لینی چاہیئے بلکہ ان تمام معاملات کو پورے طور پر سمجھنا چاہیئے۔ کہ جو پوری سماج کی فلاح پر اثر ڈالتے ہیں۔

سوتنتر پارٹی یہ مانتی ہے کہ کام کرنے والوں کا یہ حق ہے کہ وہ اپنی تنظیم کر سکیں اور اپنی انجمنوں کے ذریعے اپنی زندگی اور

کوئی صنعت ہاتھ میں لینی چاہیئے اور نہ کوئی تجارت بلکہ اس کا نجی کاروبار کے ساتھ برابر کا مقابلہ ہونا چاہیئے، تاکہ یہ آسانی سے معلوم ہو سکے کہ ریاستی کاروبار کے کیا نتائج ہوئے یعنی یہ معلوم ہو سکے کہ پبلک کے لئے گورنمنٹ کا کاروبار مفید ہے یا نجی آدمیوں کا، اگر گورنمنٹ نے کسی صنعت کی پوری ملکیت اختیار کر لی ہو تو سوتنتر پارٹی اسے ایک عارضی اور عبوری دور کی کارروائی سمجھے گی۔ اور جب ضرورت ہوئی اور گورنمنٹ کی ملکیت کے خراب اثرات ظاہر ہوئے تو یہ پارٹی اس ملکیت کا خاتمہ کرنے میں ذرا بھی توقف نہیں کرے گی۔

سوتنتر پارٹی ٹیکس کم کرے گی اور قرض لینا کم کرے گی اور اس کے لئے ایسے ریاستی کاروبار سے دست بردار ہو جائے گی کہ جو نہ تو ضروری ہیں اور نہ جن سے کوئی منافع حاصل ہوتا ہے اس کا اثر یہ بھی ہوگا کہ اشیاء کی قیمتیں گر جائیں گی، یہ قیمتیں گورنمنٹ کے قرض لینے اور لوگوں سے مختلف طریقوں سے روپیہ وصول کرنے کی وجہ سے بڑھی ہوئی ہیں جسقدر سرکاری کاروبار گورنمنٹ کے ہاتھوں سے نکل کر پرائیویٹ ہاتھوں میں چلا جائے گا۔ اسی قدر عام لوگوں کے کندھوں کا ناقابل برداشت بوجھ کہ جو گورنمنٹ کے کاروبار کو اپنے ہاتھ میں لینے کی وجہ سے ہے، کم ہو جائے گا۔ اور ان مالدار کاروباری لوگوں کی طرف سے منتقل ہو جائے گا۔ کہ جو اسے اٹھانے کے لئے رضامند ہیں۔

سوتنتر پارٹی کو اس امر سے مسرت ہے کہ ان چند مہینوں میں جو اگست ۵۹ء سے اب تک گزرے ہیں اس ملک کے اور دنیا کے دوسرے ملکوں کے فکری رجحانات ان پالیسیوں کی تائید کر رہے ہیں کہ جو اس پارٹی نے اگست کے مہینے میں اپنے اصول کی شکل میں بمبئی کے ابتدائی اجلاس کے دوران میں پاس کئے تھے۔ اکتوبر کے برطانوی انتخابات کے نتائج نے بھی ان اصولوں کی تائید کی ہے اور یہ عام طور پر محسوس

سوتنتر پارٹی

کی ممبری کا سالانہ چندہ جنوری سے دسمبر تک صرف
۵۰ نئے پیسے ہے۔ مزید معلومات اپنے حلقہ انتخاب کے
پارٹی دفتر یا پارٹی کے لوکل ضلع دفتر یا مندرجہ ذیل پتہ سے حاصل کیجئے

سوتنتر پارٹی (سنٹرل آفس)
مہاتما گاندھی روڈ
بمبئی ۱

(۷)

صنعت اور تجارت

موجودہ گورنمنٹ کے دماغ پر بڑے بڑے منصوبے بنانے کا خبط سوار ہے سوتنتر پارٹی اس کے خلاف ہے، مہاتما گاندھی کے خیالات کے مطابق اس پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ صنعتی کاروبار کو غیر مرکزی بنا کر تمام دیہات میں پھیلانا چاہیئے، بیشک یہ ضروری ہے کہ کچھ کارخانے شہروں میں بھی رکھا جائے اور صنعت کی باقاعدہ تنظیم کی جائے لیکن یہ بھی اتنا ہی ضروری ہے کہ صنعت کاری کو گاؤں کی طرف لے جایا جائے اور وہاں بجلی پہونچانے کا انتظام کیا جائے تاکہ اس کی مدد سے دیہات میں بھی صنعتی کاروبار کی ترقی ہو۔ سوتنتر پارٹی اپنی محنت سے روزی کمانے والوں چھوٹے چھوٹے کاریگروں صنعت کاروں اور تاجروں کی آزادی قایم رکھنے کی حامی ہے اور اس بات کی کوشش کرے گی صنعت کو ایک بڑے مرکز میں نہ رکھا جائے بلکہ اس کو غیر مرکزی بنا کر دور دور پھیلایا جائے سوتنتر پارٹی یہ بھی چاہتی ہے کہ ہر قسم کی صنعت کی بہت جلد ترقی کا ایک ایسا پروگرام بنایا جائے کہ جس سے قومی دولت بڑھے اور لوگوں کو روزگار بھی ملے، اس پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ مشینیں بنانے کی صنعت، عام صارفین کے استعمال کی اشیاء کی صنعت، دیہاتی صنعتیں کہ جو زراعتی پیداوار پر مبنی ہیں اور جن سے گاؤں والوں کو کچھ ضمنی کاروبار مل جاتا ہے، ان سب کی برابر اور متوازن ترقی ہو۔

سوتنتر پارٹی ایسی بھاری اور بنیادی صنعتوں (مشینیں وغیرہ بنانا) کی ترقی کی مخالف نہیں ہے کہ جن کے لئے آسانی سے سامان اور ذرایع حاصل ہو سکیں، لیکن یہ پارٹی یہ منظور کرنے کے لئے تیار نہیں ہے کہ بھاری صنعتوں کو اتنی غلط اہمیت اور اولیت دی جائے کہ جس کی وجہ سے چھوٹی چھوٹی گھریلو اور منظم صنعتوں کی طرف سے لوگ لاپرواہی برتیں اور اس طرح بھاری صنعتوں کی ترقی میں تو اضافہ ہو جائے لیکن ہلکی صنعتوں کی ترقی میں کمی واقع ہو۔

اس پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ مال کے پیدا کرنے والے، سرمایہ لگانے والے مزدور اور سامان کے استعمال کرنے والے لوگوں کو اپنے کاروبار کی پوری آزادی ہونی چاہیئے اور سماج کو چاہیئے کہ وہ ان تمام جماعتوں کو مناسب جگہ اور اہمیت دے۔ سوتنتر پارٹی کا یہ بھی عقیدہ ہے کہ کاروبار میں ترقی اور توسیع کا بڑا ذریعہ کاروبار کرنے والوں کا آپس میں مقابلہ ہے لیکن اس مقابلہ کے ساتھ ساتھ مزدوروں کے حقوق کی بھی کافی حفاظت ہونی چاہیئے اس کے علاوہ اس امر کی بھی احتیاط ہونی چاہیئے کہ کارخانہ دار غیر معقول منافع نہ حاصل کر سکیں صنعتی مال کی قیمت غیر واجبی نہ ہو، جب کارخانہ کے حصوں پر منافع تقسیم کیا جائے تو وہ بھی مناسب ہو۔ یہ سب احتیاطیں، اس صنعت میں بھی برتی جائیں کہ جس میں آپس میں مقابلہ کا موقع ہے اور اس صنعت میں بھی کہ جہاں مقابلہ کا امکان نہیں (یعنی جب کہ پوری صنعت چند محدود ہاتھوں میں ہے۔) اور اس لئے اصلاحی کارروائیوں کی زیادہ ضرورت ہے

اگرچہ سوتنتر پارٹی ایک ایسے ملے جلے معشتی نظام کی حامی ہے کہ جس میں پوری قوم کے فائدہ کے لئے ریاستی کاروبار، اور نجی کاروبار دونوں کی گنجائش ہو لیکن وہ اس امر کی بھی حامی ہے کہ ریاست (گورنمنٹ) اپنا کاروبار ایسی بھاری صنعتوں تک محدود رکھے جو نجی کاروبار کا خاتمہ نہ کرے بلکہ اس کے ساتھ بطور اضافہ کے ہو۔ مثلاً ریلوے کا محکمہ (یہ بھی پوری قوم کی خدمت کے لئے ایک قسم کا کاروبار سمجھنا چاہیئے۔) بیشک ریاست (گورنمنٹ) ایسے کاروبار کا بھی آغاز کر سکتی ہے کہ جو پرائیویٹ لوگوں کے سرمایہ اور قوت ایجاد کے بس کے نہیں۔ سوتنتر پارٹی اس امر کی مخالف ہے کہ ریاست تجارت کے میدان میں داخل ہو اور اس طرح سے تجارت کے مال کی تقسیم میں رخنہ ڈالے اور کنٹرول لگائے سرکاری افسروں کو تجارت میں دخل دینے کا اور پورے طور پر کسی تجارت کو اپنے ہاتھوں میں لینے کا موقع دے جس کا لازمی نتیجہ بد انتظامی فضول خرچی اور رشوت خوری ہو اور اس کے ساتھ ساتھ بہت سے افسروں کو بھرتی کرنا پڑے۔

سوتنتر پارٹی کی رائے ہے کہ جب بھی ریاست (گورنمنٹ) صنعت یا تجارت کے میدان میں داخل ہو تو اسے پورے طور پر نہ تو

میں پانی بند کرنے کی حد تک نہیں جائے گا۔ اس بیان سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ کسانوں پر جبر نہ کرنے کے وعدے محض وعدے ہی ہیں! ان پر کوئی بھروسہ نہیں کیا جا سکتا، سوتنتر پارٹی کسانوں کو خبردار کرتی ہے کہ ان کی اپنی زمین کی ملکیت اور اس پر ان کا قبضہ خطرے میں ہے حالانکہ یہ ملکیت ان کو زمانہ قدیم سے اپنے آباؤ اجداد سے ورثہ میں ملتی چلی آرہی ہے یا انھوں نے اپنی گاڑھی کمائی سے خرید حاصل کی ہے پارٹی اس مسئلہ میں کسانوں کی طرفدار ہے اگر ان سے ان کی زمین چھیننے کی کوشش (شامل امداد باہمی کھیتی کے نعرے لگا کر) کی گئی تو سوتنتر پارٹی ان کے حقوق کی حفاظت کرے گی۔

سوتنتر پارٹی اس کوشش پر اظہار افسوس کرتی ہے کہ جو اصولِ امداد باہمی کے غلط استعمال کے سلسلے میں کی جا رہی ہے۔ کیونکہ اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ زمین کی ملکیت انفرادی طور پر کسانوں کے ہاتھ میں نہیں رہے گی بلکہ متعدد مشترک مالکوں کے ہاتھوں میں چلی جائے گی اور نیز سرکاری افسروں کے زیر انتظام ہو جائے گی اس کا ایک اور نتیجہ یہ بھی ہوگا کہ لوگوں کے خیالات میں انتشار پیدا ہو جائے گا اور امداد باہمی کے اصلی اصول کی اشاعت میں رکاوٹ پڑے گی، سوتنتر پارٹی کا ارادہ ہے کہ وہ لوگوں کو سمجھائے کہ اصلی امداد باہمی اور ان ریاست کے چلائے ہوئے اور ریاست کے زیر کنٹرول منصوبوں میں کیا فرق ہے جو لوگوں کے سامنے امداد باہمی کے نام سے پیش کئے جا رہے ہیں۔

سوتنتر پارٹی جوت کی حد بندی کی اسکیم کو ناپسند کرتی ہے اور اسے رد کرتی ہے کیوں کہ اس کے نفاذ سے کھیتی باڑی پر برا اثر پڑے گا۔ اور صنعتی اور شہری علاقوں میں زیادہ سے زیادہ اناج نہیں پہونچ سکے گا۔ اس تجویز سے ایسے تمام لوگوں کو زمین بھی نہ مل سکے گی کہ جن کے پاس زمین نہیں ہے، برخلاف اس کے اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ لوگوں کے پاس انفرادی طور پر کم زمین رہ جائے گی اس کے علاوہ اس اسکیم میں ایک خرابی یہ بھی ہے کہ اس میں موروثی حقوق کی ذرا بھی پرواہ نہیں کی گئی ہے اور یہ خطرہ ہے کہ (زمین کی تقسیم اور کم ہونے کی وجہ سے) دیہات کے رہنے والوں کی حالت محض لکڑہاروں اور پانی بھرنے والے سقوں کی سی ہو جائے گی (یعنی زمین کے خود مختار مالک کسان محض مزدوروں کی مانند ہو جائیں گے۔)

واقعہ یہ ہے کہ جوت کی حد بندی کا طریقہ اس لئے وضع کیا گیا ہے کہ کسانوں کی سیاسی قوت اور قابلیت کار کو کمزور کیا جائے اس تجویز کا نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ ایسے کھیتوں کی تعداد بڑھ جائے گی جن سے کاشتکار کافی منافع حاصل نہیں کر سکتے لہٰذا اس طرح جبریہ شامل امداد باہمی کھیتی کے لئے زمین ہموار ہو جائے گی (یعنی جب فرداً فرداً کسان اپنی زمین سے منافع حاصل کر سکیں گے تو وہ مجبوراً شامل امداد باہمی کھیتی کا طریقہ اختیار کریں گے اور اس طرح کانگریس پارٹی کا منشا پورا ہو جائے گا)

ناگ پور کے اجلاس میں کانگریس پارٹی نے یہ تجویز پاس کی تھی کہ اناج کی تجارت مکمل طور پر ریاست اپنے ہاتھ میں لے۔ لیکن گورنمنٹ کی یہ کوشش ناکامیاب ہوگئی ہے، اگر باوجود ناکامیابی گورنمنٹ اس تجارت کو اپنے ہاتھ میں لینے پر مصر ہو تو یہ نہ صرف ملک کے لاکھوں دوکانداروں، اور اناج کے بیوپاریوں، گودام رکھنے والوں، اور تقسیم کرنے والوں پر ایک قسم کا حملہ ہوگا۔ بلکہ ملک کے کروڑوں کسانوں پر بھی زبردست چوٹ ہوگی، اگر گورنمنٹ نے مکمل طور پر اناج کی تجارت کو اپنے ہاتھ میں لے لیا تو کسانوں کو اس امر کی آزادی نہیں رہے گی کہ کھلے بازار میں اناج کی خرید و فروخت میں مول تول کر سکیں اور وہ مجبور ہو جائیں گے۔ کہ سیاسی دباؤ کے زیر اثر گورنمنٹ کی مقرر کی ہوئی قیمت کے پابند ہو جائیں اور نیز اپنے ذاتی اغراض سے متاثر ہوں۔

شامل کھیتی، ریاست (گورنمنٹ) کا اناج کی تجارت کو پورے طور پر اپنے ہاتھ میں لے لینے، اور جوت کی حد بندی، ان تینوں کا نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ دیہات میں بیروزگاری بڑھ جائے گی ہندستان کی آبادی دن بہ دن بڑھتی جا رہی ہے اب ضرورت یہ ہے کہ بے روزگار یا کم روزگار والے لوگوں کے لئے نفع بخش روزگار کا انتظام کیا جائے۔ یہ روزگار چھوٹی بڑی صنعتوں کے ذریعے مہیا ہو سکتا ہے۔ ان چھوٹی بڑی صنعتوں کو سارے ملک میں پھیلایا جائے۔ اور لوگوں کی ضروریات پوری کرنے کے لئے سامان بنایا جائے۔

ملک میں حکمران پارٹی (کانگریس پارٹی) خوراک کے مسئلے کو حل کرنے میں ناکامیاب ہوگئی ہے اور لوگوں کی توجہ اصل مسائل سے ہٹانے کے لئے اس نے مارکسی (یعنے کمیونسٹ) پالیسیوں کی حمایت شروع کر دی ہے ان ہی پالیسیوں کی تائید میں کانگرس نے اپنے ناگپور کے اجلاس میں تجاویز پاس کی تھیں، اور بنگلور کے اجلاس میں ان کو دہرا کر ان کی تصدیق کی تھی، چوں کہ زمین سے پیداوار کی مقدار کا مسئلہ محض ملکیت کی تبدیلی سے حل نہیں ہو سکتا، اس لئے سوتنتر پارٹی کو یقین ہے کہ اگر ناگپور کی تجاویز پر عمل کیا گیا تو اس سے خوراک کی پیداوار بھی گھٹ جائے گی، اور اپنی زمین کے مالک کسان اپنی زمینوں سے محروم ہو کر اجتماعی کھیتوں کے ان غلاموں کے مانند ہو جائیں گے جو آج کل کمیونسٹ ملکوں میں پائے جاتے ہیں (یعنی اگر جائنٹ کوآپریٹو کھیتی کا اس ملک میں رواج ہو گیا جیسا کہ کانگریس پارٹی چاہتی ہے تو کسان بے زمین مزدوروں کے مانند ہو جائیں گے۔)

سوتنتر پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ امداد باہمی کی تحریک اسی حد تک کامیاب ہو سکتی ہے جس حد تک وہ غیر سرکاری اور اختیاری رہے (یعنی لوگ خود اپنی مرضی سے بلا کسی سرکاری دخل اور جبر اسے اختیار کریں) اسی نقطۂ نظر سے سوتنتر پارٹی ایسا طریقہ اختیار کرے گی کہ جس سے امداد باہمی انجمنیں آج کل کے سرکاری کنٹرول سے نکل جائیں، نیز ان سے کسی قسم کا ناجائز فائدہ نہ اٹھایا جا سکے، سیاسی قوت حقیقت میں اسی وقت غیر مرکزی ہو سکتی ہے کہ جب ایسے ادارے جیسے امداد باہمی انجمنیں اور گاؤں پنچائتیں گورنمنٹ کے کنٹرول اور سیاسی اثرات سے آزاد ہو جائیں۔

سوتنتر پارٹی چاہتی ہے کہ کسانوں کے لئے صارفین کی امداد باہمی انجمنیں، امداد باہمی بنک صنعتی امداد باہمی انجمنیں اور کثیر المقاصد امداد باہمی انجمنیں قایم کی جائیں، لیکن اس پارٹی کا خیال ہے کہ کانگریس نے ناگپور کے اجلاس کی تجویز میں جو "شامل امداد باہمی کھیتی" کے الفاظ استعمال کئے ہیں ان کا منشا لوگوں کو غلط راستے پر ڈالنا ہے۔ کانگریس کی تجویز ہمارے سامنے ایک ایسا منظر پیش کرتی ہے کہ جب مختلف کسان اپنی زمینیں ایک دوسرے سے ملا کر کھیتی کریں گے لیکن یہ طریقہ ہمارے کسانوں کے موروثی طریقے کے خلاف ہے کیونکہ اس سے ان کے اپنی زمین کے مالک ہونے کے احساس کا خاتمہ ہوتا ہے (یعنی جب کسان مشترکہ امداد باہمی کھیتی کریں گے تو ان کو یہ خیال ہوگا کہ وہ زمین کے مالک نہیں رہے) ہمارے کسانوں کے لئے یہ ممکن نہیں کہ وہ اپنی ذاتی خاندانی ملکیت کا خاتمہ کر کے جمہوری اور امداد باہمی طریقے سے مشترکہ کھیتوں کا انتظام کر سکیں، جوں ہی کہ کسان کے دل میں یہ خیال پیدا ہوا کہ وہ نہ زمین کا مالک ہے، نہ زمین اسکے قبضہ میں ہے اور نہ زمین سے وہ ذاتی فوائد حاصل کر سکتا ہے، اسی وقت اس کی اس آزادی اور خودداری کا خاتمہ ہو جائے گا کہ جس کی بنیاد پر جمہوری نظام قایم ہے، اس کا یہ بھی نتیجہ ہوگا کہ سرکاری افسروں کی گرفت میں دیہات کے معیشتی، سماجی اور سیاسی نظام کی گردن آجائے گی، (یعنی سرکاری افسر تمام دیہاتی زندگی پر حاوی ہو جائیں گے، کیوں کہ بغیر ان کی مدد اور دخل کے بڑے بڑے کھیتوں کا انتظام نہ ہو سکے گا، اور ناگ پور کی تجویز میں جس نام نہاد ذاتی ملکیت کا ذکر کیا گیا ہے اس کی وقعت اس کاغذ کے ٹکڑے سے زیادہ نہ ہوگی کہ جس پر یہ تجویز لکھی گئی ہے۔ واقعہ یہ ہے کہ اس تجویز کا نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ بجائے بہت سے پرانے زمینداروں کے زمین صرف ایک بڑے زمیندار یعنی گورنمنٹ کی زمینداری میں آجائے گی۔

سوتنتر پارٹی کی رائے ہے کہ حکمران پارٹی (کانگریس پارٹی) کا یہ دعویٰ کہ شامل امداد باہمی کھیتی کا طریقہ اختیاری طور پر (یعنی بلا کسی جبر کے) جاری کیا جا سکتا ہے ناقابل عمل ہے، دنیا کی تاریخ کوئی ایسی مثال نہیں پیش کر سکتی کہ جس سے یہ ثابت ہوتا ہو کہ کسانوں نے اپنی مرضی سے اپنی زمین کی ملکیت چھوڑی ہو، ہمارے وزیر اعظم نے لوک سبھا میں یقین دلایا تھا کہ شامل امداد باہمی کھیتی کے لئے کوئی قانون نہیں بنایا جائے گا لیکن اس خلاف ورزی بعض ایسی ریاستوں کی کارروائی سے ہوئی ہے کہ جہاں کانگریسی حکومت ہے وزیر اعظم نے پارلیمنٹ میں یہ بیان بھی دیا ہے کہ وہ ایسے کسانوں کے خلاف تفریقی برتاؤ سے ہرگز نہیں ہچکچائیں گے کہ جو اپنی زمین کو دوسروں کی زمین کے ساتھ ملانے پر راضی نہیں ہیں اور وہ ان پر ہر قسم کا انتظامی، قانونی اور معیشتی دباؤ ڈالیں گے، لیکن یہ دباؤ کھیت

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زراعت

ملک میں خوراک کی پیداوار بڑھانے کی سب سے زیادہ ضرورت ہے، یہ پیداوار اس طرح بڑھ سکتی ہے کہ اپنی زمین کا مالک کسان کہ جس کو اپنی زمین سے زیادہ سے زیادہ پیداوار حاصل کرنے میں دلچسپی ہو سکتی ہے اور جس کے پاس پیداوار بڑھانے کا سامان موجود ہے، خود اپنی محنت سے کام لے اور پیداوار کے بڑھانے کی کوشش کرے۔

سوتنتر پارٹی ایسے تمام ذرائع استعمال کرے گی کہ زمین نہ تو پانی جمع ہونے سے خراب ہو اور نہ پانی، ریت وغیرہ کے اثر سے کم ہو اور نہ اس کی زرخیزی کا خاتمہ ہو وہ اس کا بھی انتظام کرے گی کہ زمین کے اندرونی مفید کیمیائی اجزا ختم نہ ہوں اور اس کی بھی کوشش کرے گی کہ لاکھوں ایکڑ جنگل نہ کاٹے جائیں کیوں کہ جنگل نہ ہونے کی وجہ سے طغیانی کا خطرہ بہت بڑھ جاتا ہے۔ ان تمام احتیاطوں کے لئے بڑے سرمائے اور جدید میکنیکل طریقوں کے استعمال کی ضرورت ہے۔

اجتماعی کھیتی (یعنی جوائنٹ کوآپریٹو فارمنگ) جس کو ہندی میں شامل سہکاری کھیتی کہا جاتا ہے جس کی کانگریس پارٹی حمایت کر رہی ہے) اس مسئلہ کو حل نہیں کر سکتی جو ملک میں بڑھتی ہوئی آبادی سے پیدا ہو گیا ہے۔ ہندستانی کسان میں اتنی قابلیت موجود ہے کہ وہ اپنا کام خوش اسلوبی سے کر سکے (یعنے کسان انفرادی طور پر اپنی پیداوار بڑھا سکتا ہے اسے اجتماعی کھیتی کی ضرورت نہیں) اگرچہ بدقسمتی سے ہندستانی کسانوں کے کھیتوں کا اوسط رقبہ بہت کم ہوتا ہے لیکن ان کے کھیت اتنے چھوٹے کبھی نہیں ہوتے کہ جتنے جاپانیوں کے ہوتے ہیں، باوجود ان چھوٹے کھیتوں کے جاپانی دنیا کے ہر ملک سے زیادہ فی ایکڑ چاول پیدا کرتے ہیں واقعہ یہ ہے کہ ہمارے لئے سب سے اہم سوال کھیت کے چھوٹے بڑے ہونے کا نہیں ہے بلکہ کسان کو ایسی آسانیاں اور امداد پہونچانے کا ہے کہ جن کی مدد سے وہ اپنے کھیت کو عمدگی سے جوت اور بو سکے، اسی لئے سوتنتر پارٹی اس امر کی حمایت کرتی ہے کہ کسان کی، پانی، کھاد، بیج، اور اوزار کے ذریعے ہر قسم کی مدد کیجائے۔

اس کے ساتھ ساتھ کسانوں کی ایسے مادی اور نفسیاتی ذرائع سے ہمت افزائی کی جائے کہ جن کی وجہ سے وہ اپنے کھیتوں میں زیادہ سے زیادہ پیداوار کی کوشش کریں مثلاً ان کو آسانی سے قرضہ مل سکے، جو اناج وغیرہ وہ پیدا کریں اس کی بازار میں مناسب قیمت ملے، اس کے علاوہ ان کی پیداوار کی قیمت اور ان کی ضروریات زندگی کی دوسری چیزوں کی قیمت میں ایک قسم کی ہم آہنگی اور برابری سی ہو (یعنی ایسا نہ ہو کہ اناج وغیرہ تو سستا ہو اور دیگر ضروری اشیاء مثلاً کپڑا وغیرہ بہت مہنگا ہو) سوتنتر پارٹی کا خیال ہے کہ دیہاتی آبادی میں ایک قسم کی بے اطمینانی پھیلی ہوئی ہے کیوں کہ کسانوں کی ضروریات کیطرف کافی توجہ نہیں دی گئی ہے، اسی لئے یہ پارٹی ان کے راستے سے تمام رکاوٹیں ہٹانے کا تہیہ کر چکی ہے۔

زراعتی پیداوار کی قیمتوں کی طرح ٹیکس لگانے کے معاملہ میں بھی یہ پارٹی چاہتی ہے کہ مزارعین (کسانوں) کے ساتھ انصاف کیا جائے۔ آج حالت یہ ہے کہ ملک میں جتنے بالواسطہ (یعنی اشیاء پر) ٹیکس لگائے جا رہے ہیں، ان کا بوجھ زیادہ تر کسان پر پڑ رہا ہے اس کو مالگزاری دینی پڑتی ہے، خواہ وہ اپنی زمین سے منافع حاصل کر سکے یا نہیں، سوتنتر پارٹی اس امر کی حمایت کرتی ہے کہ مالگزاری کے نظام کی اور آب پاشی کی مختلف اجارتوں اور قانونوں کی ایسی اصلاح ہو کہ جس سے کسانوں کا بوجھ ہلکا ہو جائے اور ان میں ایسی مناسب تبدیلیاں کر دی جائیں کہ جو مختلف ریاستوں کے حالات کے مطابق ہوں اور مال گزاری کا ایک حصہ فصل کی بربادی کے انشورنس کی مد میں شامل کر دیا جائے تاکہ اگر قدرتی وجوہات کی وجہ سے فصل تباہ ہو جائے تو اسی مال گزاری سے کسان کو معاوضہ مل سکے یہ پارٹی کسانوں پر سرچارج (یعنے زائد ٹیکس) اور بیٹرمنٹ (بہتری) ٹیکس لگانے کے خلاف ہے۔

کے لئے عطیات دیں، خواہ یہ عطیات کسی خاص فرقے کے لئے ہوں یا عام لوگوں کے لئے۔ یہ پارٹی امید کرتی ہے کہ آخر کار اس طریقے سے تمام کم درجے والے پسماندہ لوگوں کا فائدہ ہوگا۔ لیکن شرط یہ ہے کہ ان عطیات کے دینے میں بھی لوگوں کو آزادی دی جائے اور اس پر زور نہ دیا جائے کہ یا تو عطیات سب کے لئے ہوں یا کسی کے لئے نہیں۔

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عوام کی ضروریات

سوشلسٹ پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ گورنمنٹ کا پہلا فرض یہ ہے کہ وہ عام آدمیوں کی ضروریات مثلاً خوراک، لباس، مکان اور پانی کافی مقدار میں مہیا کرنے کا انتظام کرے اس پارٹی کا یہ بھی عقیدہ ہے کہ ہماری معیشت کی اصلاح کی ضروری شرط یہ ہے کہ ہمارا ملک خوراک اور کچے مال کی پیداوار میں خود کفیل ہو جائے اور اس طرح دوسرے ملکوں کا دست نگر نہ رہے، چونکہ عام آدمیوں کے بجٹ میں پہلی مد خوراک کی ہوتی ہے اس لئے ریاست کو خوراک مہیا کرنے کے انتظام کی سب سے پہلے فکر کرنی چاہیئے۔ ہماری حکمران جماعت (یعنے کانگریس پارٹی) اس پہلے فرض کی ادائیگی میں ناکامیاب ہوگئی ہے اس نے دور رس اور عظیم الشان منصوبوں کی قربان گاہ پر خوراک کی خود کفالت کو بھینٹ چڑھا دیا ہے (یعنے بڑے بڑے منصوبوں کی وجہ سے اس نے خوراک کی پیداوار کی طرف پوری توجہ نہیں دی ہے) اس نے کانوں کو زمین کو زرخیز بنانے والی اشیاء، بیج اور پانی کافی مقدار میں مہیا نہیں کی ہیں

سنہ ۱۹۵۸ء میں ہر ایک ہندستانی ۱۶٫۲ گز کپڑا اپنے صرف میں لا سکتا تھا، سنہ ۱۹۵۹ء میں اس کی مقدار ۱۵٫۸ گھٹ کر رہ گئی اس کے برخلاف سنہ ۱۹۳۸-۳۹ء میں ہر ایک آدمی ۱۶٫۹۶ گز کپڑا استعمال کرتا تھا یہ اعداد صاف طور پر ظاہر کرتے ہیں کہ مل میں بنے ہوئے کپڑے اور ہاتھ کے کرگھے سے بنے ہوئے کپڑے کی صنعت کی طرف حسب ضرورت توجہ نہیں کی گئی ہے۔

ہاتھ سے بنا ہوا کپڑا ہماری کافی ضروریات پوری کرتا ہے اور نیز ہندستانیوں کی کثیر تعداد کا ذریعہ روزگار ہے، لیکن ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ اس صنعت کی کافی اور مؤثر طور پر حفاظت نہیں کی جا رہی ہے، سوشلسٹ پارٹی کی یہ پالیسی ہے کہ وہ سوسائٹی کے کمزور مگر پیداوار بڑھانے والے طبقہ کی حفاظت کرے، اس لئے وہ ہینڈلوم (ہاتھ کے کرگھے سے کپڑا بُننے کی) صنعت کی پورے طور سے حفاظت کرے گی، اور اس کے علاوہ ایسے طریقے بھی اختیار کرے گی کہ جن کی وجہ سے کپڑے کی ملوں میں زیادہ سے زیادہ کپڑا بنایا جا سکے

ہماری گورنمنٹ نے شہری اور دیہاتی علاقوں میں مکانات بنانے کے سلسلہ میں بہت سی پابندیاں عاید کر رکھی ہیں جن سے لوگوں کی پریشانیاں بڑھ گئی ہیں اور نئے مکانات بنانے میں مشکلات پیش آ رہی ہیں، اسکے برخلاف سوشلسٹ پارٹی دیہات اور شہری علاقوں میں نئے مکان بنانے کی ایک بہت بڑی اسکیم کا آغاز کرے گی،

حکمران جماعت (کانگریس پارٹی) کسانوں کو کافی مقدار میں پانی مہیا کرنے میں ناکامیاب ہوگئی ہے، اس نے آب پاشی کے بڑے بڑے منصوبے تو بنائے ہیں لیکن اس نے چھوٹے چھوٹے آب پاشی کے ایسے ذرائع مہیا کرنے سے غفلت برتی ہے کہ جو دیہاتی علاقے میں کافی پینے اور آب پاشی کے لئے پانی مہیا کرتے (شہروں میں بھی پانی کی کمی کی شکایت ہے) گورنمنٹ کے پہلے پنجسالہ منصوبہ کے شروع میں شہر کے باشندوں کے لئے محفوظ پانی کے مہیا کرنے کا انتظام کیا گیا تھا۔ لیکن دو پنجسالہ منصوبے بن چکے ہیں لیکن شہر والوں کے لئے اور زائد پانی کا انتظام نہیں کیا گیا ہے، دیہات میں تو اور بھی حالت بدتر ہے، سوشلسٹ پارٹی ان حالات کو دور کرنے کی کوشش کرے گی۔

دی جاسکے اور نیز کمزور لیکن سوسائٹی کے لئے مفید طبقوں کی حفاظت کی جاسکے اس پارٹی کی رائے میں ریاست کا ایک ضروری کام یہ ہے کہ وہ ملک میں ایسی فضا پیدا کرے اور اُسے قائم رکھے کہ جسکی وجہ سے لوگ اپنی ذکاوت اور قابلیتیں پورے طور پر ظاہر کریں اور اُن سے فائدہ اُٹھا سکیں۔ اس مقصد کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے سوشلسٹ پارٹی اس اصول کی حامی ہے کہ افراد کو زیادہ سے زیادہ آزادی دی جائے اور ریاست اُن کے معاملات میں کم سے کم مداخلت کرے۔

ریاست کا ایک کام یہ بھی ہے کہ وہ ہر ایک شہری میں اخلاقی فرض کے احساس کی نشوونما کرے اور اس امر کی ہمت افزائی کرے کہ ہر شہری قوم کی خدمت پر فخر کرے اور اسی خدمت کو تکمیل انسانیت سمجھے کیونکہ درحقیقت یہ اخلاقی احساس ہی ہماری سماجی اور مذہبی روایات کا ایک ضروری جزو ہے اور ہمیں اپنے بزرگوں سے ورثہ میں ملا ہے لیکن یہ احساس آزادی کا نتیجہ ہو یعنی ریاست افراد کی زندگی پر حاوی ہوئے بغیر اور بلا کسی جبر کے یہ جذبہ پیدا کرے۔

فزیکل ڈائی نے مکس (طبیعیاتی علم حرکت اجسام) کے قانون کی مانند اخلاقی اور معیشتی دنیا میں بھی عدم مساوات اور تفریق سے قوت پیدا ہوتی ہے نچلی سطح پر یعنی غریبوں میں ہمیں اپنی حالت کی بہتری کی خواہش پیدا کرنی چاہیئے۔ اور اوپر کی سطح پر یعنی خوشحال لوگوں میں ہمیں اس امر کی ہمت افزائی کرنی چاہیئے۔ کہ ان میں غریبوں کے ساتھ اتحاد کا جذبہ پیدا ہو اور وہ اپنی دولت میں ان کو (یعنی غریبوں کو) شریک سمجھیں، ایک صحت مند سماج کے لئے ضروری ہے کہ اس کے امیروں اور غریبوں میں یہ خواہشات پیدا ہوں لیکن یہ نیچے سے اوپر کی طرف اور اوپر سے نیچے کی طرف آزاد ارادہ پر مبنی ہونی چاہیئے۔ (یعنی غریبوں کو اپنی حالت کے بہتر بنانے کا جذبہ اور امیروں کو غریبوں کے ساتھ اتحاد اور یک جہتی کا احساس ریاست کے جبر کے ذریعہ نہ ہو) اگر ریاست اس سلسلے میں جبر کرے گی تو اس کا نتیجہ ہوگا کہ غریبوں کی قوت کا رمردہ ہو جائے گی۔ یعنی وہ اپنی بہتری کے لئے ریاست ہی کا منہ تکیں گے اور خود کوشش نہیں کریں گے اور امیروں میں غریبوں سے یکجہتی کے احساس کا خاتمہ ہو جائے گا۔ اسی اصول کی بنا پر سوشلسٹ پارٹی مہاتما گاندھی کے اصول امانت کو مانتی ہے (یعنی ہر شخص اپنی قابلیت اور دولت کو ایک قسم کی خداداد امانت سمجھے اور اس کا استعمال پوری قوم اور افراد کے فائدے کے لئے کرے) یہ پارٹی اس امر کی بھی حامی ہے کہ لوگوں کو کاروبار کی آزادی ہو جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوگا کہ کاروبار میں ترقی بھی ہوگی اور لوگوں میں سماجی فرض کا بھی احساس پیدا ہوگا۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی منصوبہ بندی کی پورے طور پر مخالف نہیں ہے لیکن وہ موجودہ گورنمنٹ کی ایسی مرکزی اور عظیم منصوبہ بندی کے خلاف ہے کہ جو لوٹے لے ٹے رین (یعنی ہمہ گیر) پروگراموں پر مبنی ہو۔ منصوبہ بندی ہندستان کے آئین کی حدود کے اندر ہونی چاہیئے اور اس سے ہماری ان آزادیوں میں کمی نہ ہونی چاہیئے۔ کہ جو آئین نے ہمیں عطا کی ہیں اور سب سے زیادہ ضروری یہ امر ہے کہ یہ (منصوبہ بندی) ایک حد کے اندر رہنی چاہیئے۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی اس امر کی مخالف ہے کہ ہماری زندگی پر محض مادی ترقی کا ایسا فلسفہ مسلط کیا جائے کہ جو صرف معیشتی معیاروں کو اہمیت دیتا ہو (یعنے دنیاوی مال و دولت کو بہت بڑی چیز سمجھے) اور نیکی اور زندگی کی دوسری اخلاقی خوبیوں کی طرف سے لاپرواہ ہو، اس پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ اگرچہ ہمیں مادی ترقی کے تمام وسائل اختیار کرنے چاہئیں لیکن ہمیں برابر کی زیادہ توجہ ان روحانی خوبیوں اور قدروں کی طرف دینی چاہیئے کہ جنھوں نے ہماری قوم کو زندگی بخشی ہے، یہ پارٹی ان تمام روحانی قدروں کی نشوونما کرے گی۔ کہ جو ہماری روایات اور ہماری تہذیب کے ضروری اجزا ہیں۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی اپنے بنیادی اصولوں پر عمل کرے گی لیکن اس کے ساتھ ساتھ وہ ان خیراتی عطیات اور خیراتی اوقاف کے ساتھ کسی تفریق کا برتاؤ نہیں کرے گی کہ جو مخیر لوگوں نے اور وصیت کرنے والوں نے اپنے دل پسند فرقے یا فرقوں کے فائدے کے لئے وقف کئے ہیں اور نیز اس امر کی ہمت افزائی کرے گی کہ لوگ کم درجے اور پسماندہ طبقوں کے فائدے یا اور خاص اغراض کے لئے عطیات دیں، خواہ یہ عطیات کسی خاص فرقے کے لئے ہوں یا عام لوگوں کے لئے۔ یہ پارٹی امید کرتی ہے کہ آخر کار اس طریقے

ہے۔ ہمیں چاہیئے کہ سماج کے فائدے کے لئے ہر ایک شہری کی ان تمام خواہشوں کو جمع کر کے اُن سے کام لیں۔ "اگر ہم دوسرے آدمیوں کے وہ تمام کام کرتے رہیں کہ جو وہ آزادی سے خود کر سکتے ہوں تو یہ ان کی حقیقی اور مفید مدد نہ ہوگی۔" سوشلسٹ پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ ایک آزاد سماج میں خود افراد ہی وہ مادی اور اخلاقی قدریں پیدا کر سکتے ہیں جو ایک اچھی زندگی کی بنیاد ہوتی ہیں۔

پیداوار میں اضافہ افراد کی مسلسل کوششوں سے ہوتا ہے اس کے علاوہ یہ بھی ضروری ہے کہ افراد اتنا سامان وغیرہ پیدا کریں کہ اسکو استعمال کرنے کے بعد بھی کچھ بچ رہے، یہ دونوں حالتیں اس امر پر منحصر ہیں کہ ہم افراد کی ایسی ہمت افزائی کریں کہ جو ان کو اپنا کام پوری قابلیت اور دلچسپی سے کرنے پر آمادہ کر سکے۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی ایسے شہریوں کو سماج کے لئے بہت قیمتی سمجھتی ہے کہ جو اپنا کاروبار خود کرتے ہیں اسی لئے وہ اپنی زمین کے مالک کسانوں، کاریگروں، دوکانداروں اور پیشہ ور لوگوں (ڈاکٹر۔ وکیل اور مدرس وغیرہ) کے حقوق اور ان کی آزادیوں کی ہر ممکن طریقے سے زیادہ سے زیادہ حفاظت کرنا چاہتی ہے۔

ہمارے ملک میں ابھی تک ایسا نظام وضع نہیں کیا گیا جس سے حسب ذیل نتائج برآمد ہو سکیں:۔

۱۔ قوم کی مادی حالت کی اصلاح ہو لیکن افراد کی اُس آزادی کو نقصان نہ پہنچے کہ جو ایک آزاد سماج کے قوانین سے اُن کو حاصل ہوتی ہے۔

۲۔ ملک میں پیدا شدہ سامان اُس کے استعمال کرنے والوں کی مرضی کے مطابق ہو۔

۳۔ کام کرنے والوں کو اس امر کا حق ہو کہ وہ اپنی پسند کے مطابق کام کا انتخاب کر سکیں اور جب اُن کو کسی قسم کی بے اطمینانی ہو تو وہ کام چھوڑ سکیں۔

۴۔ سرمایہ لگانے والوں کو اس بات کا پورا حق ہو کہ خواہ وہ اپنا روپیہ صرف کریں یا بچا کر رکھیں اور حسب مرضی جس کام میں چاہیں اپنا روپیہ لگائیں۔

ہندوستان کے دستور میں بنیادی حقوق کے بیان میں اس طریقۂ زندگی کی ضمانت دی گئی ہے۔ اُس میں تینوں انسانی آزادیاں یعنی پیشے کے انتخاب کی آزادی، قانون کی حدود کے اندر اپنا کاروبار کرنے کی آزادی اور اپنی آمدنی کے خرچ اور بچت کی آزادی سب شہریوں کو عطا کی گئی ہیں۔

ملکیت کا (یعنی اپنی چیز کے مالک ہونے کا) احساس انسان کی ایک جبلّی خصوصیت ہے۔ یعنی ہر انسان چاہتا ہے کہ وہ اپنے مال کا مالک رہے اور اُس پر قابض رہے۔ اس احساس کے ساتھ ساتھ وہ سامان کی پیداوار وغیرہ میں ایک دوسرے کے ساتھ مقابلہ پسند کرتا ہے اور چاہتا ہے کہ ہر ایک آدمی کو اسکی محنت کا قدرتی صلہ اور اسکی سستی کی قدرتی سزا ملے اور اسکی اس یقین سے ہمت بڑھتی ہے کہ وہ اپنی محنت کے نتائج سے ذاتی فائدہ حاصل کر سکے گا، ان سب خصوصیتوں کو دیکھتے ہوئے یہ ضروری معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ہمارا معیشتی نظام ان ہی خصوصیتوں کی بنیاد پر قائم ہو۔

سوشلسٹ پارٹی اس امر کی حامی نہیں کہ گورنمنٹ کسی معاملے میں دخل ہی نہ دے لیکن وہ چاہتی ہے کہ لوگوں کو کاروبار کی آزادی ہو اور ریاست کاروبار کو صرف ایسے قواعد کا پابند کرے کہ جن سے سماج دشمن کارروائیاں رک سکیں یا اُن کے سلسلہ میں سزا

دے رہے ہیں کہ تو میانے (یعنی کاروبار وغیرہ کو قوم کے نمائندے کی حیثیت سے گورنمنٹ کا اپنے ہاتھ میں لینا) کی پالیسی بیکار ثابت ہوئی ہے اور یہ بھی ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ گورنمنٹ تجارت اور صنعتی کاروبار عمدگی سے نہیں چلا سکتی، سوائے چند مستثنیات کے گورنمنٹ کے کاروباروں میں بے کار روپیہ ضائع ہوا ہے، اس کے علاوہ یہ بھی ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ کاروباری معاملات کے متعلق فیصلہ کرنے میں سرکاری افسر ہمت سے کام نہیں لیتے، بعض وقت وہ دفتری قواعد کی وجہ سے بہت دیر لگاتے ہیں اخراجات کی پرواہ نہیں کرتے، اور ایک ہی ڈھچر پر کام کرنے کے عادی ہوتے ہیں۔

ان تمام حکمت عملیوں کا مجموعی اثر یہ ہے کہ ملک میں ایک غیر یقینی حالت پیدا ہو گئی ہے جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ کسان، دوکان دار اور کارخانہ دار نئے طریقے اختیار کرنے اور نئے کام شروع کرنے کی ہمت نہیں کرتے۔

ریاست (گورنمنٹ) کی مداخلت سے زندگی کا ہر شعبہ خطرے میں ہے تعلیم کے بارے میں ریاست ناقابل تبدیل کوڈ (قاعدے) بنا کر نئے تعلیمی تجربات کا گلا گھونٹ رہی ہے، وہ خود نصابی کتب شایع کر رہی ہے اور بچوں کو خاص اصولوں کی تعلیم دے رہی ہے اس کے مجوزہ قانونوں کی وجہ سے یونیورسٹیاں بھی اپنی اندرونی آزادی سے محروم ہو رہی ہیں۔

غیر مذہبیت کے نام پر مدارس کو امداد نہ دینا مذہبی تعلیم کی ہمت افزائی نہیں کیا رہی ہے، حالانکہ دستور ہند کے عطا کردہ بنیادی حقوق مذہبی تعلیم کی ہمت افزائی کے خلاف نہیں ہیں، مذہبی درسگاہوں کے عطیات پر ٹیکس لگائے جا رہے ہیں اس امر کی کوششیں کی جا رہی ہیں کہ مذہبی مٹھوں کے انتظام کرنے والوں کو سرکاری شوربہ چٹوں میں تبدیل کر دیا جائے، ٹرسٹ کے روپیوں کو یا مذہبی ٹرسٹوں کے آدمیوں کو دنیاوی اخراجات کیطرف منتقل کیا جا رہا ہے، بدانتظامی سے بچانے کے نام پر مذہبی اداروں کو گورنمنٹ کے کنٹرول اور رہنمائی میں لیا جا رہا ہے۔

"آل انڈیا ریڈیو جو کلیتہً" گورنمنٹ کے اختیار میں ہے صرف اُن ہی سیاسی اور غیر سیاسی تقریروں کے نشر کی اجازت دیتا ہے جو گورنمنٹ کی رائے کے مطابق ہوں اور اس کی ہدایت کی پابند ہوں فلموں کی سرکاری سنسر شپ (احتساب) کا بھی یہی حال ہے خبروں اور واقعات کے فلم بھی گورنمنٹ تیار کراتی ہے ان میں وزراء کے کارنامے دکھائے جاتے ہیں اور وہی لوگوں کے مرکز توجہ ہوتے ہیں اس طرح ہیرو پرستی کی ہمت افزائی کی جاتی ہے، اخبارات کو زیر اثر کرنے کے لئے سرکاری سرپرستی یا سرکار کے ڈر کا استعمال کیا جاتا ہے لیکن باوجود ان اثرات کے ہمارے اخبارات نے قابل تعریف استقلال سے اپنی آزادی قایم رکھی ہے اس لئے ہمیں ان کی قدر کرنی چاہیئے۔

غرضکہ سرکاری مداخلت بالواسطہ یا واسطہ طریقوں سے زندگی کے ان تمام کاموں میں جاری اور ساری ہے کہ جو ایک آزاد سوسائٹی میں افراد بلا مداخلت انجام دیتے ہیں۔

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ہمارا (سوتنتر پارٹی کا) طریقہ

سوتنتر پارٹی ہندستانیوں کی ذہانت، ایجاد اور کارکردگی پر اعتماد رکھتی ہے۔ اس کا عقیدہ ہے کہ ہر ایک فرد کو خدا نے قوت عطا کی ہے، یہ اس امر پر بھی اعتقاد رکھتی ہے کہ اگر انسانی قابلیتوں کو انسان کی آرزوں کے ساتھ جوڑ دیا جائے تو اس سے ایک ایسی مکمل اور ہر طرح سے مالا مال زندگی بہت جلد وجود میں لائی جا سکتی ہے کہ جس میں اس قسم کے دباؤ اور تناؤ نہ ہوں کہ جو افراد پر عدم اعتماد کی وجہ سے پیدا ہوتے ہیں ہر ایک شہری میں قوت تخلیق ہوتی ہے وہ محض خود غرضی سے نہیں بلکہ روشن خیال ذاتی مفاد کے نقطۂ نظر سے اپنے نفع کی خواہش رکھتا ہے اور اس میں اظہار خودی کی تمنا ہوتی

ہے۔ ہمیں چاہیئے کہ سماج کے فائدے کے لئے ہر ایک شہری کی ان تمام خواہشوں کو جمع کر کے اُن سے کام لیں۔" اگر ہم دوسرے آدمیوں کے وہ تمام کام کرتے رہیں کہ جو وہ آزادی سے خود کر سکتے ہوں تو یہ ان کی حقیقی اور مفید مدد نہ ہوگی۔" سوتنتر پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ ایک آزاد سماج میں خود افراد ہی وہ مادی اور اخلاقی قدریں پیدا کر سکتے ہیں جو ایک اچھی زندگی کی بنیاد ہوتی ہیں۔

پیداوار میں اضافہ افراد کی مسلسل کوششوں سے ہوتا ہے اس کے علاوہ یہ بھی ضروری ہے کہ افراد اتنا سامان وغیرہ پیدا کریں کہ اسکو استعمال کرنے کے بعد بھی کچھ بچ رہے، یہ دونوں حالتیں اس امر پر منحصر ہیں کہ ہم افراد کی ایسی ہمت افزائی کریں کہ جو ان کو اپنا کام پوری قابلیت اور دل چسپی سے کرنے پر آمادہ کر سکے۔

سوتنتر پارٹی ایسے شہریوں کو سماج کے لئے بہت قیمتی سمجھتی ہے کہ جو اپنا کاروبار خود کرتے ہیں اسی لئے وہ اپنی زمین کے مالک کسانوں، کاریگروں، دوکانداروں اور پیشہ ور لوگوں (ڈاکٹر۔ وکیل اور مدرس وغیرہ) کے حقوق اور ان کی آزادیوں کی ہر ممکن طریقے سے زیادہ سے زیادہ حفاظت کرنا چاہتی ہے۔

ہمارے ملک میں ابھی تک ایسا نظام وضع نہیں کیا گیا جس سے حسب ذیل نتائج برآمد ہو سکیں:۔

۱۔ قوم کی مادی حالت کی اصلاح ہو لیکن افراد کی اُس آزادی کو نقصان نہ پہنچے کہ جو ایک آزاد سماج کے قوانین سے اُن کو حاصل ہوتی ہے۔

۲۔ ملک میں پیدا شدہ سامان اُس کے استعمال کرنے والوں کی مرضی کے مطابق ہو۔

۳۔ کام کرنے والوں کو اس امر کا حق ہو کہ وہ اپنی پسند کے مطابق کام کا انتخاب کر سکیں اور جب اُن کو کسی قسم کی بے اطمینانی ہو تو وہ کام چھوڑ سکیں۔

۴۔ سرمایہ لگانے والوں کو اس بات کا پورا حق ہو کہ خواہ وہ اپنا روپیہ صرف کریں یا بچا کر رکھیں اور حسبِ مرضی جس کام میں چاہیں اپنا روپیہ لگائیں۔

ہندوستان کے دستور میں بنیادی حقوق کے بیان میں اس طریقۂ زندگی کی ضمانت دی گئی ہے۔ اُس میں تینوں انسانی آزادیاں یعنی پیشے کے انتخاب کی آزادی، قانون کی حدود کے اندر اپنا کاروبار کرنے کی آزادی اور اپنی آمدنی کے خرچ اور بچت کی آزادی سب شہریوں کو عطا کی گئی ہیں۔

ملکیت کا (یعنی اپنی چیز کے مالک ہونے کا) احساس انسان کی ایک جبلّی خصوصیت ہے۔ یعنی ہر انسان چاہتا ہے کہ وہ اپنے مال کا مالک رہے اور اُس پر قابض رہے۔ اس احساس کے ساتھ ساتھ وہ سامان کی پیداوار وغیرہ میں ایک دوسرے کے ساتھ مقابلہ پسند کرتا ہے اور چاہتا ہے کہ ہر ایک آدمی کو اسکی محنت کا قدرتی صلہ اور اسکی سستی کی قدرتی سزا ملے اور اسکی اس یقین سے ہمت بڑھتی ہے کہ وہ اپنی محنت کے نتائج سے ذاتی فائدہ حاصل کر سکے گا، ان سب خصوصیتوں کو دیکھتے ہوئے یہ ضروری معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ہمارا معیشتی نظام ان ہی خصوصیتوں کی بنیاد پر قائم ہو۔

سوتنتر پارٹی اس امر کی حامی نہیں کہ گورنمنٹ کسی معاملے میں دخل ہی نہ دے لیکن وہ چاہتی ہے کہ لوگوں کو کاروبار کی آزادی ہو، اور ریاست کاروبار کو صرف ایسے قواعد کا پابند کرے کہ جن سے سماج دشمن کارروائیاں رک سکیں یا اُن کے سلسلہ میں سزا

دے رہے ہیں کہ تو میانے (یعنی کاروبار وغیرہ کو قوم کے نمایندے کی حیثیت سے گورنمنٹ کا اپنے ہاتھ میں لینا) کی پالیسی بیکار ثابت ہوئی ہے اور یہ بھی ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ گورنمنٹ تجارت اور صنعتی کاروبار عمدگی سے نہیں چلا سکتی، سوائے چند مستثنیات کے گورنمنٹ کے کاروباروں میں بے کار روپیہ ضائع ہوا ہے، اس کے علاوہ یہ بھی ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ کاروباری معاملات کے متعلق فیصلہ کرنے میں سرکاری افسر ہمت سے کام نہیں لیتے، بعض وقت وہ دفتری قواعد کی وجہ سے بہت دیر لگاتے ہیں اخراجات کی پرواہ نہیں کرتے، اور ایک ہی ڈھچر پر کام کرنے کے عادی ہوتے ہیں۔

ان تمام حکمت عملیوں کا مجموعی اثر یہ ہے کہ ملک میں ایک غیر یقینی حالت پیدا ہو گئی ہے جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ کسان، دوکان دار اور کارخانہ دار نئے طریقے اختیار کرنے اور نئے کام شروع کرنے کی ہمت نہیں کرتے۔

ریاست (گورنمنٹ) کی مداخلت سے زندگی کا ہر شعبہ خطرے میں ہے تعلیم کے بارے میں ریاست ناقابل تبدیل کوڈ (قاعدے) بنا کر نئے تعلیمی تجربات کا گلا گھونٹ رہی ہے، وہ خود نصابی کتب شائع کر رہی ہے اور بچوں کو خاص اصولوں کی تعلیم دے رہی ہے۔ اس کے مجوزہ قانونوں کی وجہ سے یونیورسٹیاں بھی اپنی اندرونی آزادی سے محروم ہو رہی ہیں۔

غیر مذہبیت کے نام پر مدارس کو امداد نہ دینا مذہبی تعلیم کی ہمت افزائی نہیں کیا جا رہی ہے، حالانکہ دستور ہند کے عطا کردہ بنیادی حقوق مذہبی تعلیم کی ہمت افزائی کے خلاف نہیں ہیں، مذہبی درسگاہوں کے عطیات پر ٹیکس لگائے جا رہے ہیں اس امر کی کوششیں کی جا رہی ہیں کہ مذہبی مٹھوں کے انتظام کرنے والوں کو سرکاری شوربہ چیٹوں میں تبدیل کر دیا جائے، ٹرسٹ کے روپیوں کو یا مذہبی ٹرسٹوں کے آدمیوں کو دنیاوی خراجات کیطرف منتقل کیا جا رہا ہے، بدانتظامی سے بچانے کے نام پر مذہبی اداروں کو گورنمنٹ کے کنٹرول اور رہنمائی میں لیا جا رہا ہے۔

"آل انڈیا ریڈیو جو کلیتہً گورنمنٹ کے اختیار میں ہے صرف اُن ہی سیاسی اور غیر سیاسی تقریروں کے نشر کی اجازت دیتا ہے جو گورنمنٹ کی رائے کے مطابق ہوں اور اس کی ہدایت کی پابند ہوں فلموں کی سرکاری سنسر شپ (احتساب) کا بھی یہی حال ہے خبروں اور واقعات کے فلم بھی گورنمنٹ تیار کراتی ہے ان میں وزراء کے کارنامے دکھائے جاتے ہیں اور وہی لوگوں کے مرکز توجہ ہوتے ہیں اس طرح ہیرو پرستی کی ہمت افزائی کی جاتی ہے، اخبارات کو زیر اثر کرنے کے لئے سرکاری سرپرستی یا سرکار کے ڈر کا استعمال کیا جاتا ہے لیکن باوجود ان اثرات کے ہمارے اخبارات نے قابل تعریف استقلال سے اپنی آزادی قایم رکھی ہے اس لئے ہمیں ان کی قدر کرنی چاہیئے۔

غرضکہ سرکاری مداخلت بالواسطہ یا واسطہ طریقوں سے زندگی کے ان تمام کاموں میں جاری اور ساری ہے کہ جو ایک آزاد سوسائٹی میں افراد بلا مداخلت انجام دیتے ہیں۔

(۴)

ہمارا (سوتنتر پارٹی کا) طریقہ

سوتنتر پارٹی ہندستانیوں کی ذہانت، ایجاد اور کارکردگی پر اعتماد رکھتی ہے۔ اس کا عقیدہ ہے کہ ہر ایک فرد کو خدا نے قوت عطا کی ہے، یہ اس امر پر بھی اعتقاد رکھتی ہے کہ اگر انسانی قابلیتوں کو انسان کی آرزوں کے ساتھ جوڑ دیا جائے تو اس سے ایک ایسی مکمل اور ہر طرح سے مالا مال زندگی بہت جلد وجود میں لائی جا سکتی ہے کہ جس میں اس قسم کے دباؤ اور تناؤ نہ ہوں کہ جو افراد پر عدم اعتماد کی وجہ سے پیدا ہوتے ہیں ہر ایک شہری میں قوت تخلیق ہوتی ہے وہ محض خود غرضی سے نہیں بلکہ روشن خیال ذاتی مفاد کے نقطۂ نظر سے اپنے نفع کی خواہش رکھتا ہے اور اس میں اظہار خودی کی تمنا ہوتی

پیداوار بجائے بڑھنے کے گھٹ رہی ہے۔

ملک کی صنعت میں بھی گورنمنٹ بہت کچھ دخل دے رہی ہے اور اسکو قواعد وضوابط کی پابند بنا رہی ہے۔ اگر گورنمنٹ کی پالیسیوں کے باوجود ملک کی پیداوار میں کوئی اضافہ ہوا ہے تو اسکی وجہ یہ ہے کہ ہندوستانیوں کی قوت پیداوار بڑی جان دار ہے۔ جب ملک میں درآمد پر پابندیاں ہوتی ہیں اور غیر ملکی اشیاء پر ٹیکس لگا کر ملکی اشیاء کی پیداوار اور ان کی بکری کی ہمت افزائی کی جاتی ہے تو بلا لحاظ معاشی نظام اور بلا لحاظ صارفین کے فوائد کے جو بھی سامان ملک میں بنتا ہے وہ بکتا ہے، اور اسپر منافع حاصل ہوتا ہے۔ اعداد وشمار سے اب یہ ظاہر ہو رہا ہے کہ گزشتہ تین سالوں میں فی کس (ایک آدمی کی) سالانہ آمدنی میں اضافہ نہیں ہوا ہے بلکہ وہ بند پانی کی طرح ایک جگہ پر قائم ہے۔

گورنمنٹ کی حکمت عملیوں کے سماجی نتائج بھی بہت مضر ثابت ہوئے ہیں، اشیاء کی قیمتیں بڑھنے کی وجہ سے کاشتکاروں مزدوروں اور مقررہ آمدنی کے لوگوں پر برا اثر پڑا ہے۔ جب ملک میں افراط زر ہوتی ہے تو دولت کی تقسیم اس طرح سے ہونے لگتی ہے کہ جس سے سماج کا مجموعی طور پر نقصان ہوتا ہے، اور ترقی کی بجائے افراد کی مالی حالت میں تنزل ہونے لگتا ہے، بہت سے کنٹرولوں سے خاص کر تبادلۂ زر کے کنٹرول اور درآمد کی پابندیوں سے سماجی ناانصافی پیدا ہوتی ہے۔ ان پابندیوں سے کاروبار چند ہاتھوں میں محدود ہو کر رہ جاتا ہے۔ جب ایسی حالت ہو جائے تو اسے بدترین قسم کی ابتری کہنا بے جا نہ ہوگا۔

کنٹرولوں سے کئی اور برے نتائج پیدا ہوتے ہیں۔ مثلاً قیمتوں کے فرق سے زیادہ تر مالدار لوگ فائدہ اٹھاتے ہیں، خاص کردہ لوگ جو پولیٹکل (سیاسی) اثر رکھتے ہیں۔ بے ایمان افسر اور دوسرے لوگ درآمد اشیاء کے واسطے لائسنس دلانے کے لئے خوب رشوتیں لیتے ہیں، پرمٹوں کی باقاعدہ تجارت ہونے لگتی ہے اور خفیہ فروشی کا زور ہوتا ہے۔ اسکو روکنے کے لئے گورنمنٹ کو پولس اور دیگر انتظامی افسروں پر روپیہ خرچ کرنا پڑتا ہے۔ جب گورنمنٹ بھاری بھاری ٹیکس لگاتی ہے تو خود اسکی آمدنی کم ہو جاتی ہے۔ ہمارے ملک میں یہ تمام حالات پیدا ہو رہے ہیں۔

مال، کرنسی، درآمد اشیاء پر پابندی، بین الاقوامی قرضے کی ادائیگی اور مختلف قسم کے کنٹرول، ان سب معاملات میں ہماری گورنمنٹ کی کارروائیاں غلط رہنمائی کا شکار رہیں۔ جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ ملک میں دولت کی تقسیم کی حالت اس سے بھی بدتر ہے کہ جو آزادی سے پہلے تھی۔

متوسط طبقے اور مقررہ آمدنی کے لوگوں کی حالت اور بھی خراب ہے، وہ محدود آمدنی، بڑھتی ہوئی قیمتوں اور بھاری بھاری ٹیکسوں کے بوجھ کے نیچے دبے جا رہے ہیں، متوسط طبقہ قوم کی ریڑھ کی ہڈی کی مانند ہوتا ہے۔ ہمارے ملک کا یہی طبقہ مختلف قسم کے مصائب کا شکار رہے۔

ہمارے ملک میں معاشی اور سیاسی قوت تیزی سے ریاست کے ہاتھوں میں پہنچ رہی ہے، اس طرح قوت کا ایک مرکز پر جمع ہونا خطرناک ہے، درحقیقت اگر ریاست ظلم کرتی ہے تو وہ ظلم مکمل ظلم ہوتا ہے، کیونکہ پوری قوت ریاست کے ہاتھ میں ہوتی ہے، واقعہ یہ ہے کہ ریاست کے ہاتھ میں بہت زیادہ قوت کے جمع ہونے سے افراد کی آزادی خطرے میں پڑ جاتی ہے۔

مندرجۂ بالا حالات کے ساتھ ساتھ قوم کے اخلاقی معیاروں کی جڑیں کھوکھلی ہو رہی ہیں، کنٹرول کی بدولت بازار میں اشیاء کی کمی ہے اور رشوتوں کا بازار گرم ہے اور لوگ قانون کی پرواہ نہیں کرتے۔

ریاستی کارپوریشنوں (ریاستی کاروباری ادارے اور کمپنیاں) اور دیگر ریاستی کاروباروں کی ناکامیابی اس امر کی گواہی

کہ اجتماعی نظام معیشت (سوویت روس کا سا نظام معیشت) اور سیاسی جمہوریت جو آزادی پر مبنی ہوتی ہے ایک دوسرے کے ساتھ نہیں چل سکتے (یعنی جہاں گورنمنٹ زندگی کے ہر کاروبار میں دخل دے سکے وہاں آزادی قائم نہیں رہ سکتی۔

بختار کل ریاست کا معاشی نظام اپنا سرمایہ لوگوں پر بھاری بھاری ٹیکس لگا کر حاصل کرتا ہے، اس کے علاوہ اس کے سرمایہ حاصل کرنے کا ایک طریقہ یہ بھی ہوتا ہے کہ لوگوں کے اس پس انداز روپے کو کہ جو انھوں نے اپنی ضروریات زندگی کو کم کر کے بچایا ہے ان سے بہ جبر لے لے۔ برخلاف اس کے آزاد معاشی نظام میں ریاست (گورنمنٹ) اپنی مرضی افراد پر مسلط نہیں کرتی اور نہ کسی کا کچا مال اور نہ بنا ہوا مال اپنے کنٹرول میں لیتی ہے۔ نہ تقسیم دولت اور صرف دولت میں دخل اندازی کرتی ہے، جبریہ معاشی نظام کا یہ بھی نتیجہ ہوتا ہے کہ مشینیں اور سامان کثرت استعمال سے خراب ہو جاتے ہیں اور لوگ اس امر کے لئے رضامند نہیں ہوتے کہ بہت لمبے عرصہ تک ایسے حالات میں محنت سے کام کریں کہ جنکو وہ انسانی وقار کے خلاف سمجھتے ہیں مسلسل نگرانی اور دفتر وغیرہ کے اخراجات میں بھی کفایت نہیں ہوتی جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ پیداوار کے اخراجات بہت بڑھ جاتے ہیں، علاوہ ازیں جب ریاست مکمل طور پر ذرائع پیداوار اپنے قبضہ میں لے لیتی ہے تو وہ صارفین کی طلب (مانگ) سے بے پرواہ ہو جاتی ہے اور اکثر گھٹیا قسم کا مال تیار ہونے لگتا ہے، قومی پیداوار میں جب اس طریقے سے اضافہ کیا جاتا ہے تو اس سے لوگوں کا معیار زندگی بہتر نہیں ہوتا۔

ہندوستان کی آج کل عجیب حالت ہے ایک طرف تو حکمراں پارٹی (کانگریس پارٹی) نے آزاد معاشی نظام کو چھوڑنے کی قسم کھالی ہے، دوسری طرف حالت یہ ہے کہ اس میں (حکمراں پارٹی میں) یہ قابلیت نہیں کہ وہ ملک میں پورے طور پر اپنی ڈکٹیٹر شپ (آمریت) قائم کر دے جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ "نہ ادھر کے رہے نہ ادھر کے رہے" (یعنی نہ تو ملک میں کاروبار کی پوری آزادی ہے اور نہ روس کی مانند پورا کنٹرول) ذرائع پیداوار کن کن کاموں میں استعمال کئے جائیں۔ اس پر گورنمنٹ کا پورا کنٹرول نہیں، اس لئے لوگوں کی پس انداز رقمیں بھی گورنمنٹ کے کنٹرول سے باہر ہیں لیکن باوجود اس بے بسی کے ہماری گورنمنٹ سوویت قسم کی منصوبہ بندی اپنا مقصد بنا رہی ہے، واقعہ یہ ہے کہ گورنمنٹ ایک قسم کے تذبذب کی گرفت میں ہے اسکی یہ حالت منتشر خیالی کا نتیجہ ہے، اب اس نے ملکیوں اور غیر ملکیوں سے بڑے بڑے قرضے لینا شروع کر دیئے ہیں، بھاری بھاری ٹیکس لگائے ہیں اور انتہائی بے بسی اور مایوسی کی حالت میں وہ اپنے کرنسی نوٹ چھاپنے والے مطابع کا غلط استعمال کر رہی ہے۔ ملک میں غلط قسم کی سوشلزم جاری کرنے کے لئے وہ مختلف اشیاء پر کنٹرول بڑھا رہی ہے اور ایسے اخراجات کر رہی ہے کہ جن کا کوئی فائدہ نہیں۔ اور جن کا پیداوار پر کوئی اثر نہیں پڑتا۔ یہ قرضوں پر قرضے لے رہی ہے اور ہم کہہ سکتے ہیں کہ وہ ہندوستان کے مستقبل کو دوسروں کے ہاتھوں گروی (رہن) رکھ رہی ہے (یعنی آنے والی نسلوں پر قرضوں کا بوجھ لاد رہی ہے) اس نے ریونیو (سرکاری خرچ کے لئے روپیہ حاصل کرنے کے لئے) بہت سے کاروبار اپنے ہاتھ میں لے لئے ہیں۔ حالانکہ یہ عمدگی اور کفایت سے ان کو نہیں چلا سکتی! اسکو (گورنمنٹ کو) اس بات کی بھی پرواہ نہیں کہ زندگی کے اخراجات اسکی ان کارروائیوں سے بڑھ جائینگے، یہ شاید بھول گئی ہے کہ گورنمنٹ کا کام حکومت ہے نہ کہ تجارت!

اسکی یہ کارروائیاں لوگوں کو روپیہ پس انداز کرنے سے روک رہی ہیں اور زراعت یا صنعتی کاروبار میں سرمایہ لگانے اور پیداوار بڑھانے میں بھی حارج ثابت ہو رہی ہیں، ان کا نتیجہ یہ بھی ہے کہ زراعت کے لئے کم قرضہ حاصل ہوتا ہے۔ قابل اور کفایت شعار کاشت کار اپنا روپیہ زمین میں لگانے سے ہچکچاتے ہیں۔ اب وہ جوت کی حد بندی کے قانون سے بچنے کے لئے اپنی زمینوں کے احتیاطاً ٹکڑے ٹکڑے کر رہے ہیں۔ اسی وجہ سے زراعتی

غلاسنی کی بنیاد اس عقیدہ پر ہے کہ ریاست یا گورنمنٹ ہی معاشی اور سماجی ترقی کا ذریعہ ہوتی ہے۔ جب ہم اس اصول کو مان لیتے ہیں تو مندرجۂ ذیل نتائج نکلتے ہیں :-

الف :- بنیادی صنعتیں ریاست کی ملکیت میں ہونی چاہئیں اور ضروری معاشی فوائد بھی ریاست کے قبضہ میں ہونے چاہئیں، معاشی نظام کا وہ حصہ جو ریاست کے پاس ہے دن بہ دن بڑھنا چاہیئے اور وہ حصہ جو افراد کے قبضہ میں ہے (یعنی نجی کاروبار) رفتہ رفتہ اتنا کم کر دینا چاہیئے کہ اسکی کوئی اہمیت نہ رہے۔

ب :- کسی نہ کسی طرح کسانوں کو اس بات پر آمادہ کرنا چاہیئے کہ وہ اجتماعی کاشتکاری میں شریک ہو جائیں اور اس طرح اپنی انفرادیت اور آزادی کا خاتمہ کر دیں۔

ج :- سرمایہ کا بڑا حصہ بھاری صنعتوں میں لگانا چاہیئے۔

د :- جب تک یہ کارروائیاں ہوتی رہیں صارفین کو اُن کے استعمال کی بہت سی اشیاء سے محروم رکھنا چاہیئے۔

ہ :- ان تمام مقاصد کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ ملک کی پارلیمنٹ حکمراں پارٹی کی تابع رہے اور خود حکمراں پارٹی منصوبہ بندوں کی ایک ایسی ٹولی کے ماتحت رہے کہ جو حکمراں پارٹی کے مقتدر لیڈروں کے احکامات کی رہنمائی میں کام کرتی ہے۔

اگرچہ یہ غالباً صحیح ہے کہ حکمراں پارٹی (کانگریس پارٹی) کے ممبروں کی ایک بڑی تعداد اس فلسفہ کی تائید نہیں کرتی لیکن یہ بھی واقعہ ہے کہ یا تو وہ کھلم کھلا مخالفت نہیں کرتے یا ان کی مخالفت بے اثر رہتی ہے درحقیقت حکمراں پارٹی انھیں مقاصد کو پورا کرنے کی کوشش کر رہی ہے جو ہم نے نتائج کی شکل میں مختصر طور پر لکھے ہیں۔ چونکہ کانگریس پارٹی کے سمجھدار ممبر اپنی پارٹی کی اصلاح نہیں کر سکتے اس لئے سوتنتر پارٹی کا قیام ناگزیر ہو گیا۔

ملک کی ترقی کا جو مندرجہ بالا طریقہ کانگریس نے اختیار کیا ہے، سوتنتر پارٹی اسکی مخالف ہے اور اسکو رد کرتی ہے کیونکہ یہ طریقہ ٹوٹے لی ٹے رین (ہمہ گیر یعنی قوم اور فرد کے تمام کاموں پر حاوی ہونا اور اُن میں دخل دینا) منصوبہ بندی کے اصول پر مبنی ہے۔ یہ اصول ہماری اُس قومی روح اور آرزوؤں کے خلاف ہے کہ جن کے ہمارے دل پر گہرے نقوش ثبت ہیں۔ سوتنتر پارٹی کا عقیدہ ہے کہ ہمہ گیر منصوبہ بندی (ریاست یا گورنمنٹ کا فرد کے ہر معاملہ میں دخل دینے کا اختیار اور معاشی اور دیگر معاملات کے سلسلے میں بڑی بڑی اسکیمیں بنانا) اور جمہوری طریقے ایک جگہ جمع نہیں ہو سکتے (یعنی ایک دوسرے کے خلاف ہیں) اس پارٹی کا یہ بھی عقیدہ ہے کہ اگر ہم اپنے مقاصد حاصل کرنے کے لئے اپنی آزادی کو قربان کریں گے تو یہ نفسیاتی اور سماجی طور پر غلط ہوگا اور اس سے ہمارے مقاصد کا حصول بھی شک میں پڑ جائے گا۔

ہر ایک قوم جو اپنے معاشی نظام (یعنی دولت پیدا کرنا، اسکو صرف کرنا، تقسیم کرنا اور تبادلہ) کو ترقی دینا چاہتی ہے، اُس کے سامنے دو مختلف طریقے ہوتے ہیں (۱) ایک طریقہ تو فوجی طریقہ ہے (یعنی ہر معاملہ میں ریاست یا گورنمنٹ کے احکام پر بے چون وچرا عمل کرنا) (۲) دوسرا طریقہ آزاد طریقہ ہے (یعنی اپنی آزادی اور انفرادیت کو قائم رکھنا اور ہر معاملہ میں گورنمنٹ کے احکام کے انتظار میں نہ رہنا بلکہ اپنی عقل استعمال کر کے ترقی کے مناسب ذرائع کام میں لانا) ہمیں ان دونوں راستوں میں سے کوئی ایک راستہ اختیار کرنا ضروری ہوتا ہے اور ہم اس انتخاب سے بچ نہیں سکتے۔ یہ حقیقت ہے

نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ ملک میں عام بداخلاقی پھیلی ہوئی ہے، اس طرح قومی اخلاق کی جڑیں تو کھوکھلی ہو ہی چکی تھیں، اب اس میں ایک ذلت کا اور بھی اضافہ ہو گیا ہے یعنی غیروں نے ہمارے ملک کی زمین کے ایک حصہ پر قبضہ جما لیا ہے۔

حکمراں جماعت (کانگریس پارٹی) کے بہت سے ممبر اس امر سے واقف ہیں کہ ان کی پارٹی کی بنیادی پالیسیاں ناکام ہو چکی ہیں اور ان میں تبدیلی کی ضرورت ہے لیکن وہ اپنے خیالات اور جذبات کا اظہار نہیں کر سکتے۔ کیونکہ ان کا خیال ہے کہ اگر انھوں نے ایسا کیا تو اپنی پارٹی کے ساتھ ایک قسم کی غداری ہوگی، نیز اس سے ان کی ذاتی ترقی رک جائے گی، اس کے علاوہ وہ پارٹی کے خلاف رائے کا اظہار ہیرو پرستی کے بھی خلاف سمجھتے ہیں (کانگریس کے بڑے بڑے لیڈر سب کانگریسیوں کے ہیرو ہیں، ان کی رائے کے خلاف کچھ کہنا ہیرو پرستی کے خلاف ہے) کانگریس پارٹی کے علاوہ جو دوسری سیاسی پارٹیاں ملک میں پیدا ہو گئی ہیں ان کی سماجی اور معاشی پالیسی بھی کانگریس سے ملتی جلتی ہے۔ یعنی وہ بھی لوگوں کے معاملات میں ریاست کے دخل دینے کی تائید کرتے ہیں، یہ پارٹیاں بھی ذرا فرق سے کانگریسی سروں میں الاپتی ہیں۔ یہ کہنا غیر موزوں نہ ہوگا کہ اگر کانگریس پارٹی کو سورج مان لیا جائے تو ہندوستان کی اور سیاسی پارٹیاں اس کے گرد گھومنے والے سیارے ہیں۔

اب وقت آگیا ہے کہ سب ہندوستانی اس ابتر حالت کا مقابلہ کریں، اسی مقابلے کے لئے اور بُری حالت کو دُور کرنے کے لئے سوتنتر پارٹی پیدا ہوئی ہے، یہ قوم کے سامنے زندگی اور حکومت کا ایک دوسرا صاف راستہ پیش کر رہی ہے

(۲)

مشترک آرزوئیں اور مقاصد

ہم میں سے جو لوگ بھارت کی ری پبلک کے آئین کو اور پارلیمانی جمہوریت کے طریقوں کو وفاداری کے ساتھ مانتے ہیں اُن کے کچھ مشترک مقاصد اور مشترک آرزوئیں ہیں۔ ہمارا سب کا اس پر اتفاق ہے کہ ملک میں زراعت کی ترقی ہو اور صنعتی پیداوار بڑھے، ہم اس پر بھی متفق ہیں کہ بڑھتی ہوئی پیداوار سے جو منافع حاصل ہوں ان میں سب لوگ منصفانہ طور پر شریک رہیں اور بنیادی آزادیوں کے قیام کیساتھ ساتھ ہماری قوم کی عام حالت سُدھرے، بیشک اس کے لئے ہمارے حاکموں کو اور ہمارے معاشی اداروں کو کچھ منصوبہ بندی کرنی پڑے گی، لیکن یہ منصوبہ بندی ایسی نہ ہونا چاہیئے کہ جو پارلیمانی جمہوریت کے حقوق غصب کرے یا افراد کی آزادی کا خاتمہ کر دے۔

اس پر بھی سب متفق ہیں کہ تمام ہندوستانیوں کو بلا لحاظ مذہب، ذات، پیشہ یا سیاسی رجحانات ترقی کے یکساں مواقع ملنے چاہئیں، لیکن ہمیں ایسے لوگوں کے حقوق کی خاص طور پر حفاظت کرنی پڑے گی جو مختلف قسم کی مجبوریوں اور مشکلات کا شکار ہیں ان میں ہریجن، ادی باسی اور دوسری پس ماندہ طبقے شامل ہیں ہمیں ان سب کی مدد کرنی پڑے گی، تاکہ یہ لوگ بہت جلد اپنے آپ کو اونچا اٹھا سکیں اور اپنی حالت بہتر بنا سکیں۔

سوتنتر پارٹی بھی موجودہ حکمراں پارٹی (کانگریس پارٹی) کے ساتھ یہی آرزوئیں رکھتی ہے اور اسی قسم کے مقاصد حاصل کرنا چاہتی ہے لیکن یہ مقاصد کس طرح حاصل کئے جائیں جب یہ سوال آتا ہے تو سوتنتر پارٹی اور حکمراں پارٹی کے راستے علیحدہ ہو جاتے ہیں مختصر یہ کہ ہمارے اور کانگریس پارٹی کے مقاصد ایک ہیں لیکن مقاصد حاصل کرنے کے طریقوں میں اختلاف ہے۔

(۳)

موجودہ نظام

جب ہم موجودہ حکمراں پارٹی (کانگریس پارٹی) کی پالیسیوں اور بیانات کو دیکھتے ہیں تو ہم یہ نتیجہ نکالتے ہیں کہ اُسکی

آزادی کے ذریعہ خوشحالی

سوتنتر پارٹی کی پالیسی کا بیان

جو پارٹی کے قومی کنونشن منعقدہ پٹنہ نے بتاریخ ۱۹ و ۲۰ مارچ ۱۹۶۰ء کو منظور کیا

ہندوستان ایک باعظمت ملک ہے، اس کے باشندے عظیم المرتبت ہیں، ہمارا عقیدہ ہے کہ اس ملک کا مستقبل بہت شاندار ہوگا، لیکن اپنی عظمت کے انتہائی عروج پر پہونچنے کے لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ اس ملک میں ایسی حکومت ہو جو لوگوں کو اپنی بہترین قابلیتوں اور خوبیوں کے اظہار پر آمادہ کر سکے۔

آج ملک کو قومی آزادی حاصل کئے ہوئے بارہ برس ہو چکے ہیں، یہاں ہم دیکھتے ہیں کہ عام لوگوں کی قسمت ابھی مشکل ہی سے جاگی ہے۔ ہمارے عوام کو نہ کافی خوراک ملتی ہے نہ کافی جائے رہائش اور نہ کافی لباس۔ زیادہ تر لوگ غریب ہی ہیں، اشیاء کی قیمتیں بڑھتی ہوئی آسمان تک جا رہی ہیں۔ ہمارے شہر غیر معمولی طور پر آبادیوں سے بھرے ہوئے ہیں۔ اُن میں گندی بستیوں کی بھرمار ہے۔ لوگ سڑکوں پر سو رہے ہیں۔ متوسط طبقے اور کم آمدنی کے لوگوں کی حالت اور بھی نازک ہے اور سب پر مایوسی طاری ہے۔

ان گزشتہ بارہ سالوں میں ہماری اخلاقی قوت برابر زوال پذیر رہی ہے۔ کیونکہ ہم اپنی خداداد اخلاقی صفات مثلاً قوت برداشت، ہمت اور محنت کو کمتر سمجھتے رہے ہیں۔ درحقیقت ہم نے اپنی ان تمام صفات حسنہ کو ایک ایسی سیاسی جماعت (یعنی کانگریس پارٹی) کے احکام کے تابع کر دیا ہے کہ جس نے انڈین نیشنل کانگریس کی خدمات کی بناء پر ملک میں حد سے زیادہ اختیار حاصل کر لیا ہے اور جس پر اب رائے عام کا ذرا بھی اثر نہیں ہوتا۔

اس ملک کے باشندوں کی خواہش تھی کہ اُن کے ملک میں اچھی حکومت قائم ہو لیکن ان کی غضب آلود نگاہیں اب کیا دیکھ رہی ہیں؟ ملک میں بدانتظامی بڑھ رہی ہے، طرفداری اور رشوت خوری کا زور ہے، وہ لوگ جن کے ہاتھوں میں قوت ہے اُسے قائم رکھنے کے لئے طرح طرح کے ہتھکنڈوں اور سازشوں کا استعمال کر رہے ہیں، وہ لوگوں کی شکایات کی پرواہ نہیں کرتے، وہ سماجی بندھنوں کو ایسے سماجی قانون بنا کر توڑ رہے ہیں کہ جن کے اثرات پر انھوں نے پورے طور سے غور نہیں کیا ہے، وہ اس مذہبی روح اور جذبے سے لاپرواہی برتتے ہیں کہ جو انسان کو بے غرض خدمت پر آمادہ کرتا ہے! جرائم میں بھی اضافہ ہو رہا ہے اور قانون کا اثر اور امن گھٹ رہے ہیں، ایک طرف تو یہ حالت ہے دوسری طرف لوگ یہ وعظ سن رہے ہیں کہ سادہ زندگی بسر کرنی چاہیئے۔ یہ وعظ وہ حضرات کہہ رہے ہیں کہ جو حکومت کرتے وقت نہ سادگی کی پرواہ کرتے ہیں اور نہ بے غرض خدمت کی، جس کا ایک نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ لوگ ان کے وعظ کو نفرت اور حقارت سے سنتے ہیں اور دوسرا

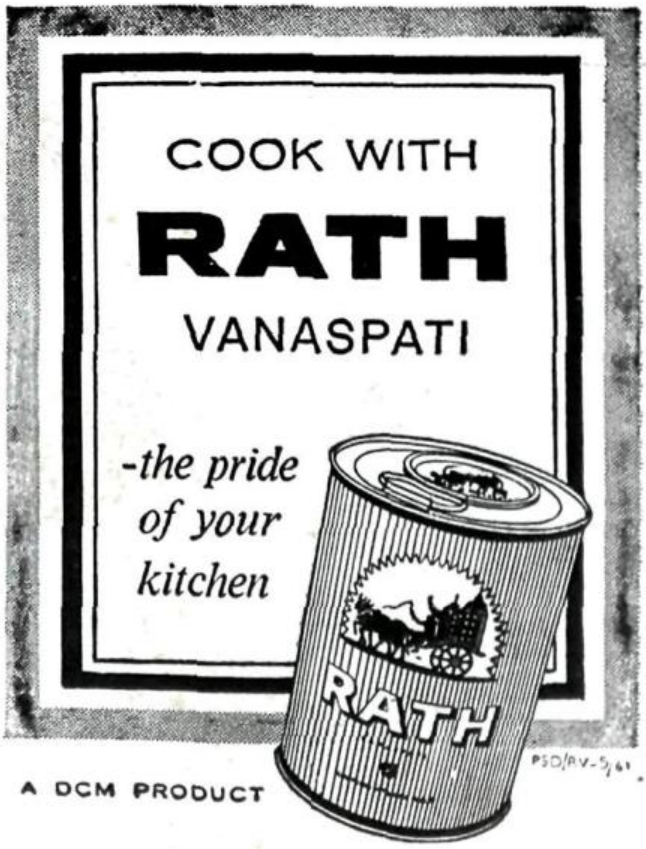
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Reserve Fund & other Reserves	Rs.	4,16,84,856
Deposits as at 31-12-1960	Rs.	2,00,01,41,000

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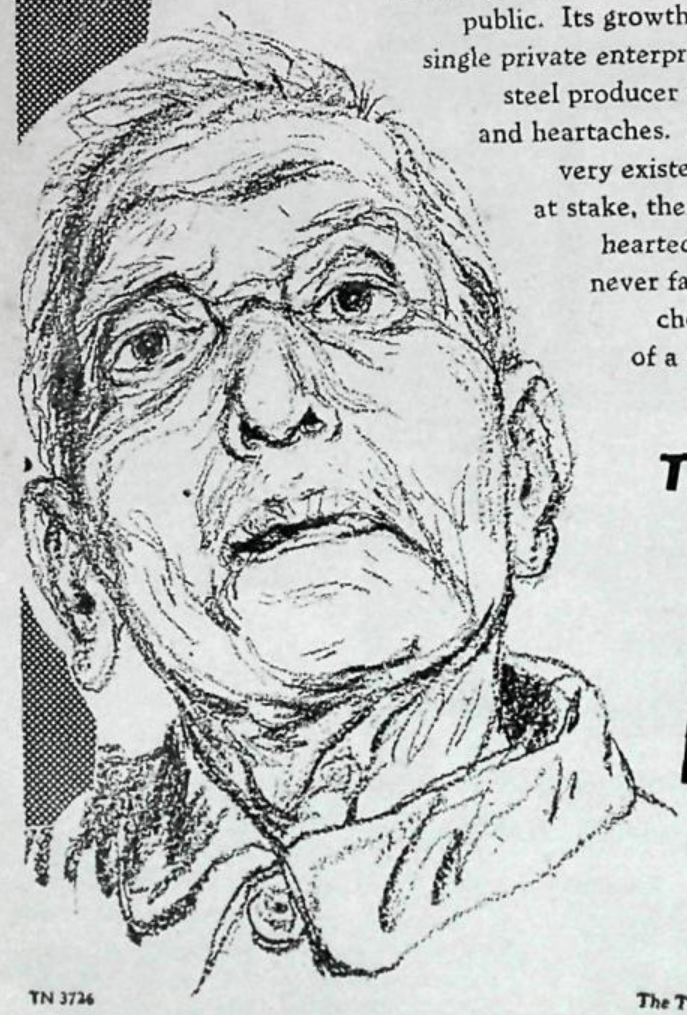
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men of faith

"From early morning till late at night the Tata offices in Bombay were besieged by an eager crowd of investors. Old and young, rich and poor, men and women, they came offering their mites ; and, at the end of three weeks, the entire capital required for the construction requirements, £ 1,630,000 (over Rs. 2 crores), was secured, every penny contributed by some 8,000 Indians."

— Axel Sahlin

India's first venture into heavy industry, The Tata Iron & Steel Company, was thus launched on 26th August, 1907, with overwhelming support from investors and the public. Its growth into the country's largest single private enterprise and the principal steel producer was not without struggles and heartaches. In the 1920's when the very existence of the Company was at stake, there were many stout-hearted investors whose faith never faltered, and who cheerfully accepted the risks of a pioneering enterprise.



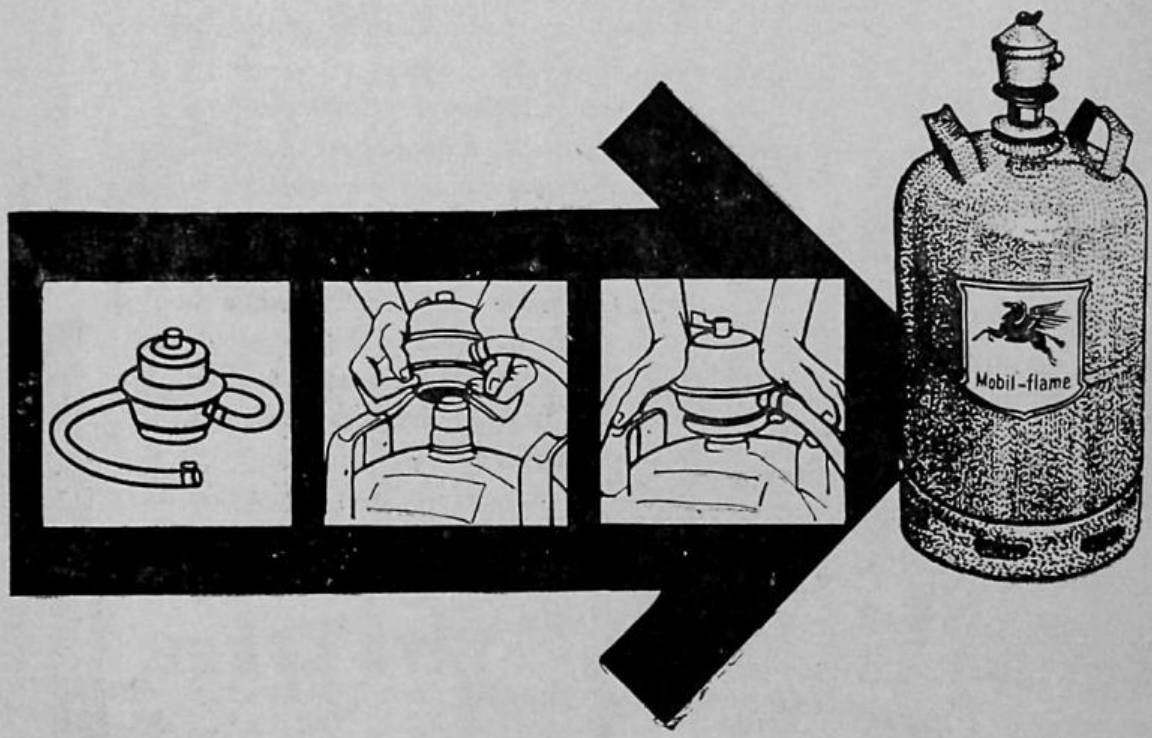
TATA STEEL

80-year old Mr. Rash Behari Law of 13-B Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6, one of the first shareholders, who still holds stock in the Company.

TN 3726

The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited

MANUFACTURERS OF L. P. GAS
CYLINDERS AND ALLIED PRODUCTS



Kosan Metal Products Ltd.,

53/51 Laxmi Insurance Bldg.,
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Rayon,

Nature's own fabric, serves many different purposes



NRC produces rayon yarn to bring beauty at a low cost in the lives of the people of this country. From NRC yarn are woven the fine silk-like fabrics for men, women and children's wear, for furnishing material, drapery and tapestry.

The newest development in rayon is Cord, to give added strength to tyre walls, to make them tough, blow-out protected, "high-test" tyres giving extra mileage. NRC will soon supply India's tyre industry with Rayon Cord.



THE NATIONAL RAYON CORPORATION LTD.

Managing Agents:
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Office: Ewart House, Bruce Street, Bombay 1
Factory: Mohone, Kalyan, Maharashtra

N.C. 370 EVEREST



My choice of a truck?

DODGE

of course

Bhaiya, I have been a truck operator long enough to know that there can be no two opinions about the superiority of *Dodge trucks*. For instance take Axles. A Dodge vehicle is fitted with Timken axles now known as Rockwell-Standard *which have a world-wide reputation. These* axles have great load carrying capacity and are absolutely dependable-which means a great deal to us truck operators.

There are several other superior features , besides. Taken together they lead to only one conclusion, namely, that the *Dodge is a great truck*. It is great in hauling power, great in endurance, great in earning capacity. You'll make *Dodge your truck*, too, I am sure.



DODGE

DIESEL TRUCK

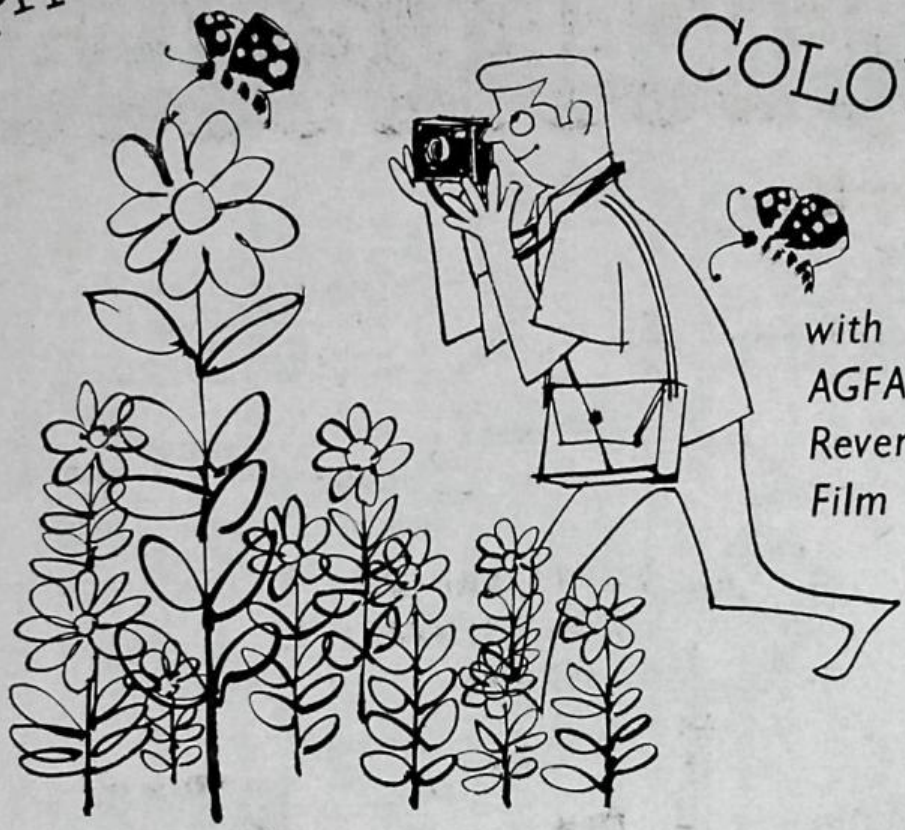
Manufactured by

THE PREMIER AUTOMOBILES LIMITED,

BOMBAY.

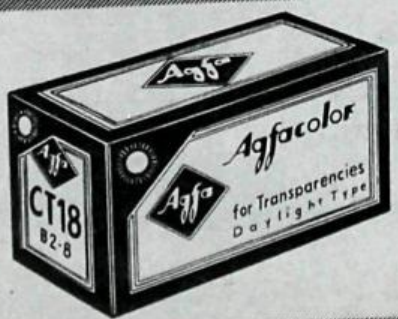
SISTA'S PAL-380

Photographers! Go Gay, Shoot COLOUR



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JUST ARRIVED—World-famous Agfacolor Reversal Film to give you true-to-life sparkling colour transparencies for straight viewing or fascinating projection. Just load an Agfacolor film into your camera and shoot...Shoot everything from the scenic beauty of Kashmir to the colourful festivities of Kerala, the picturesque harbour of Bombay to the verdant plantations of Assam. With Agfacolor film it is simply superb, superbly simple. Available in B2/8 (120), 35 mm/20 exp. and 35 mm/36 exp. sizes, with full instructions enclosed. For processing, post your films to Agfa India Limited, 31, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta–12.



Agfacolor

Sole Distributors : AGFA INDIA LIMITED

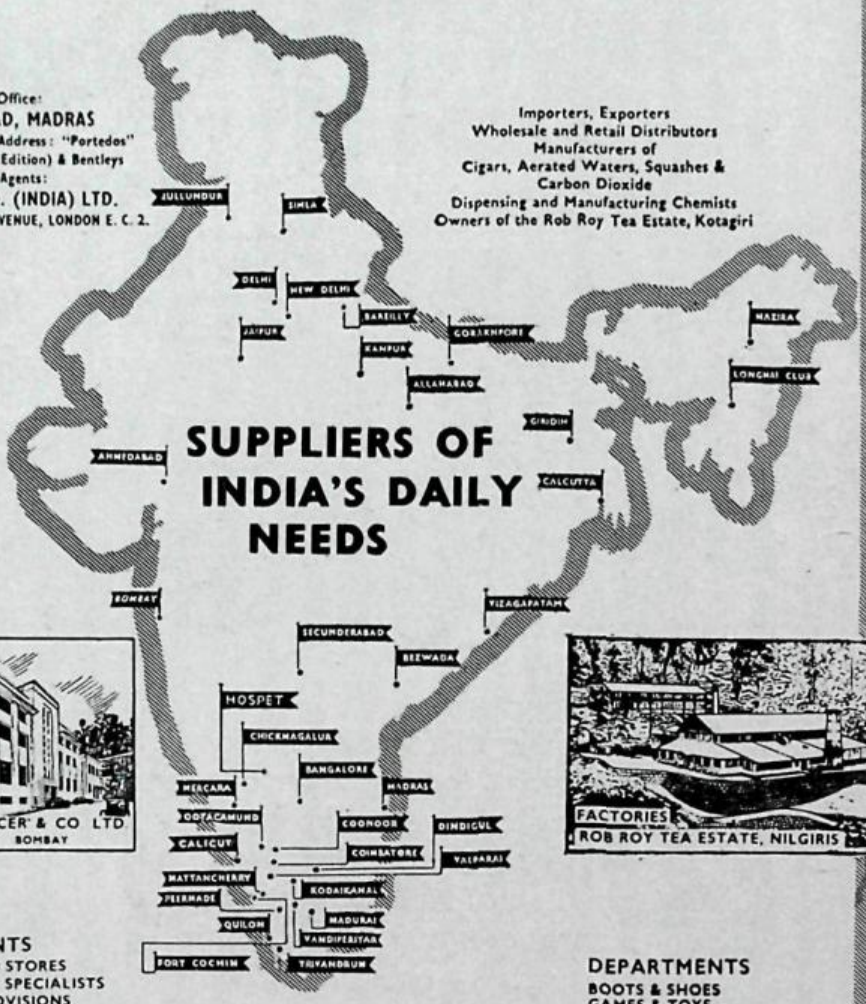
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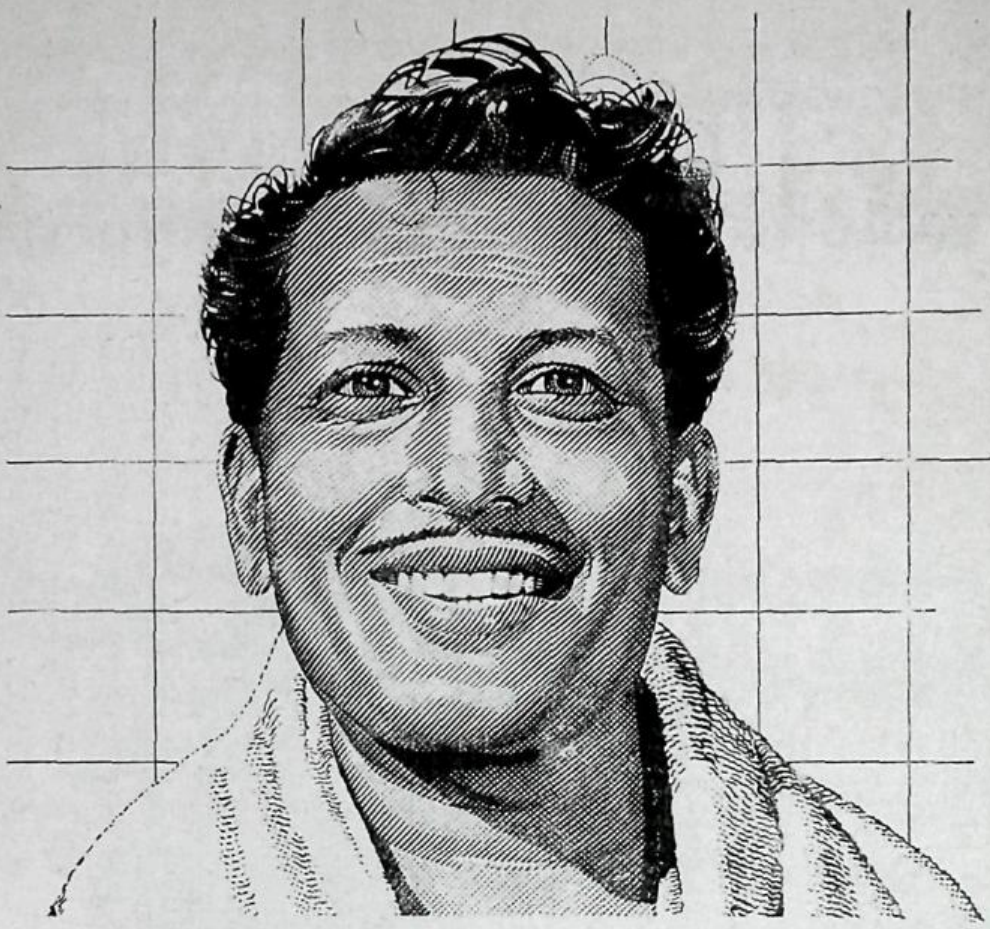
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THE HEAD OFFICE & SHOWROOMS, MADRAS
(WITH THE CONNEMARA HOTEL IN BACKGROUND)

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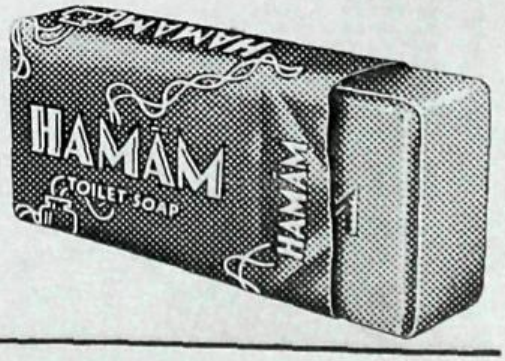


start the day with

HAMĀM

the family soap

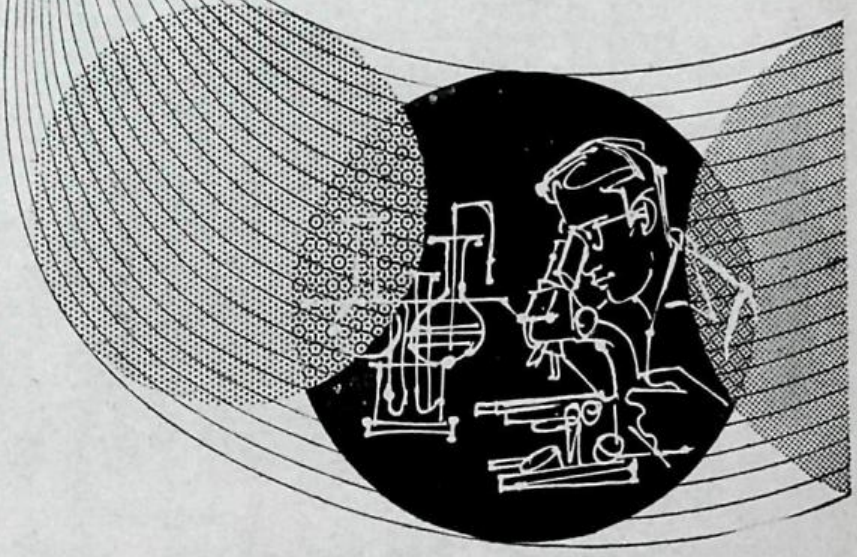
...and it lasts longer!



A TATA PRODUCT

THY-7

Dyestuffs The Key to Industrial Prosperity



Dyes play a key role in the manufacture of textiles, paints, plastics, paper and ink — all necessities of day-to-day life. Until Independence, India depended on imported dyes.

AMAR DYE started manufacturing dyes in 1956. Today, by dint of intensive research we can offer dyes comparable in quality to the imported products... and at the most competitive prices.

The rising tempo of industrial activity will generate an overwhelming demand for Dyestuffs. We shall ensure that this demand is fully satisfied.

—enrich India's life with COLOUR!

Amar Dye-Chem Limited

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JWT-AD. 3328

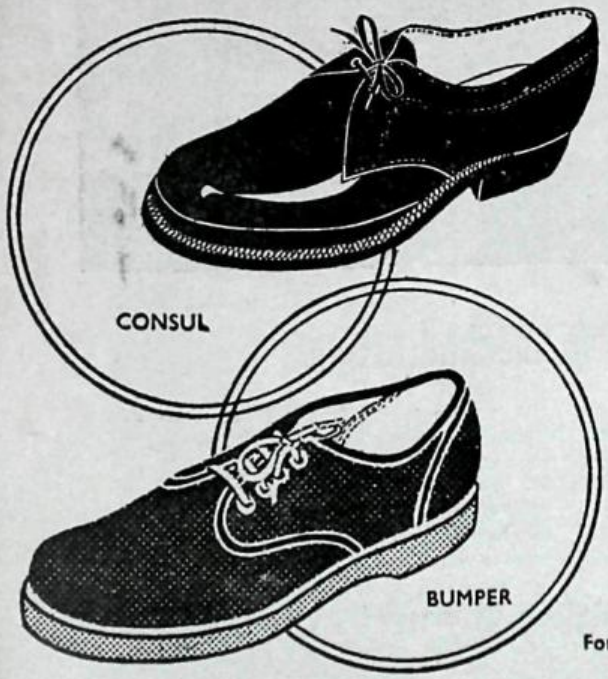


WHEN YOUR SHOE

PINCHES

YOU

IT'S TIME TO CHANGE TO



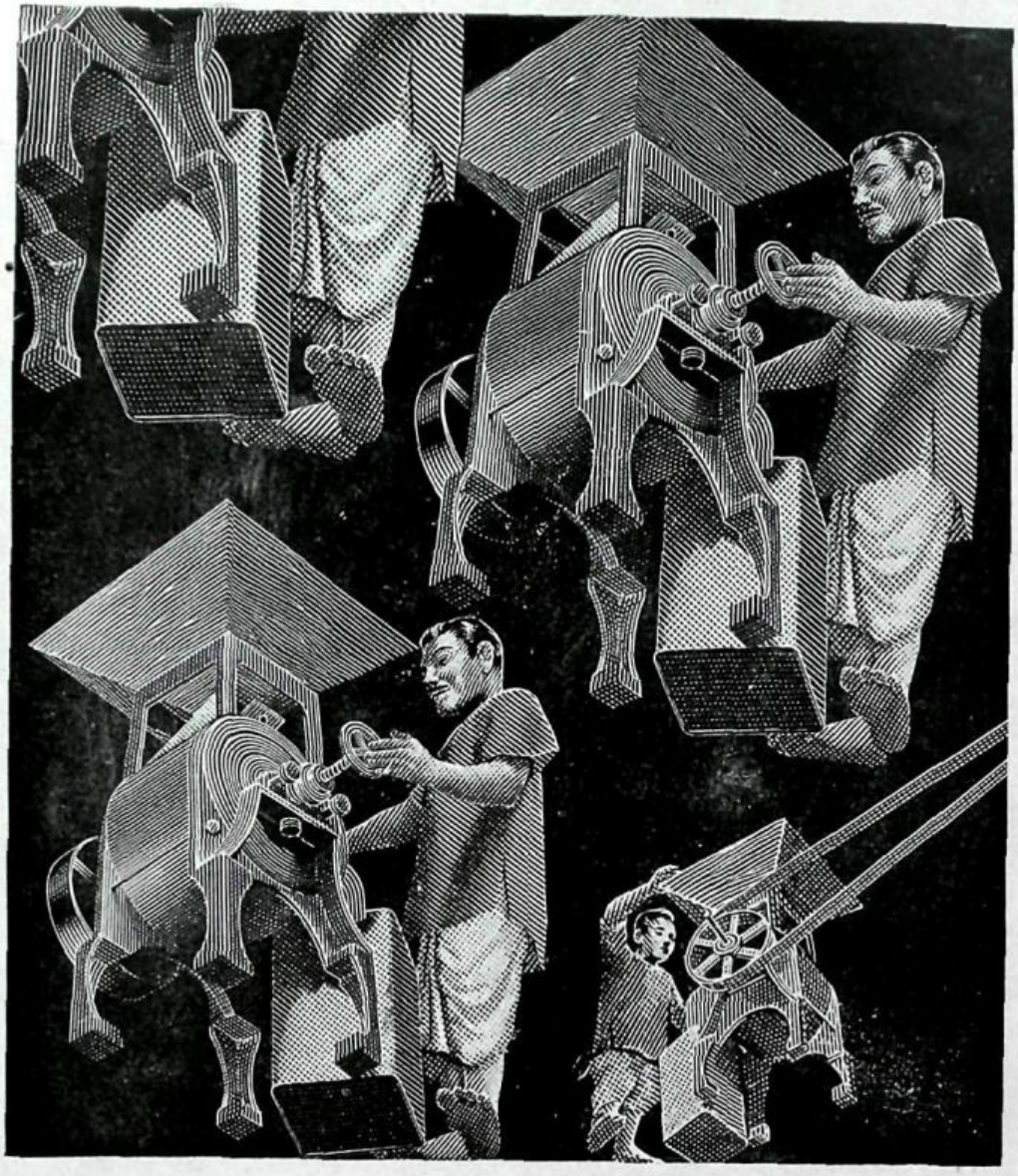
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Designed for comfort. Styled for looks. Made to last. Economically priced.

Carona Sahu Co. Ltd.

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Moving towards mechanization

As India's economy develops, more and more small oil machines will replace man-power in both industry and agriculture...oil machines *driven by Light Diesel Oil. With mechanization* will grow the demand for Light Diesel Oil. In 1956 India consumed 4,35,000 tons. By the end of the Third Plan her needs will increase by 47%. There can be no question that the first priority should be the exploration and production of indigenous crude oil; the second priority must be to expand refining capacity in India. Oil is essential to economic growth, and Burmah-Shell believes that

for tomorrow's needs we must act today



The NAME behind the product

What makes us decide to buy one product in preference to another? Suitability, price, quality—all these influence our decision. But there is something *more, something which nine times out of ten* proves to be the deciding factor.

This intangible something is the name *behind* the product. The name that tells of a tradition of quality, workmanship and service. And in the supply and servicing of consumer goods, agricultural and industrial equipment the name VOLTAS stands for high quality and superb technical efficiency.

Whatever the equipment, whatever its size—whether for agricultural or industrial use VOLTAS is the name that is relied on.

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IWT-VT. 3525(a)

BIRDS are stepping it up



To sustain its expanding output, India's steel industry needs increased quantities of essential raw materials like iron and manganese ore, coal, limestone and refractories. By meeting a large part of this demand, Bird & Company (Private) Limited have been making significant contributions to the progress of the steel industry.

Birds have now launched on a programme of expansion, which when completed will step up considerably the annual output of these raw materials.

	PRESENT PRODUCTION	EXPECTED INCREASED PRODUCTION
Iron and manganese ore	2,000,000 tons	3,000,000 tons
Coal	2,250,000 tons	3,000,000 tons
Limestone	2,000,000 tons	2,500,000 tons
Refractories	100,000 tons	120,000 tons

This expansion will assure the steel industry of increased supplies of these vital raw materials.

BIRD & COMPANY (PRIVATE) LIMITED
and
F.W. HEILGERS & COMPANY (PRIVATE) LIMITED

Chartered Bank Buildings, Calcutta-1

JWT/B 4147R(I)

THE NEW INDIA INDUSTRIES LTD.
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FOREMOST
MANUFACTURERS OF :

"INDIA" BRAND

Best Egyptian Cotton Healds, Steel Reeds, Brass Reeds, Striking Combs, Dobby Harness with and without rubber and Heald Piecing Yarn

"CYCLE" BRAND

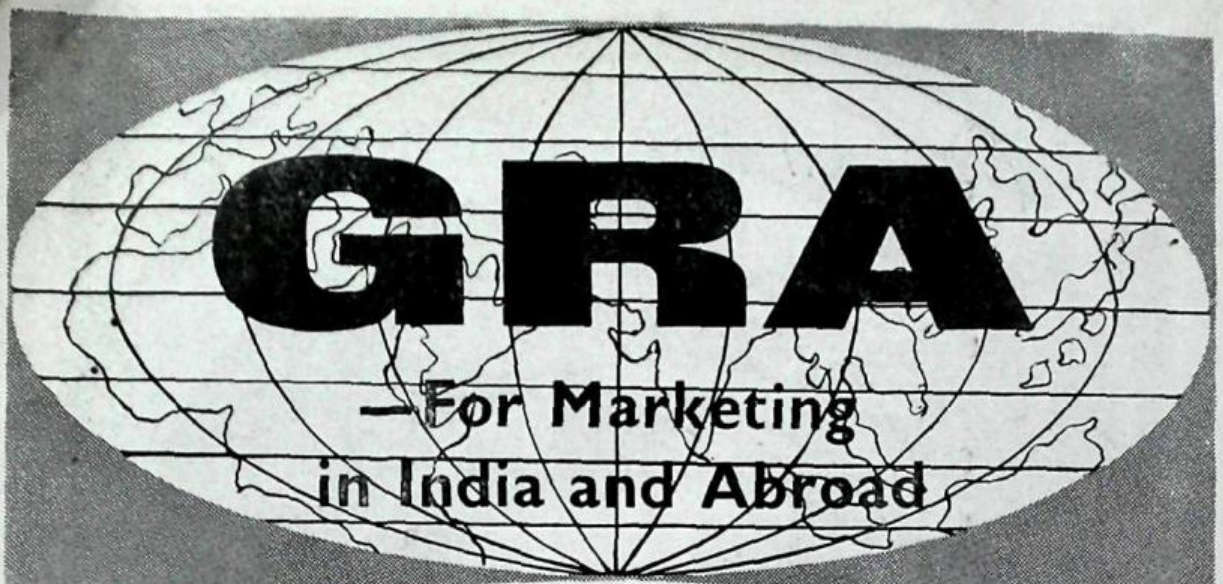
Wire Healds, All Metal Reeds, Jute Cambs and Jute Reeds

"SWAR" BRAND

Egyptian combed cotton yarn and Staple fibre yarn

Bombay Office:
Industrial Assurance Building,
Churchgate.

NIICB-4



OUR business is marketing. . . to offer Indian-made products the widest possible coverage in India and abroad.

Our marketing facilities in India consist of 7 Regional Offices — at Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Patna, Bangalore and Secunderabad — serving a nation-wide network of 800 dealers in 650 towns. We also have an Export Division which frequently sends a Representative on tours of foreign markets.

Our methods are modern, our organisation is vast, our experience is wide — and many manufacturers have full faith in us — because we specialise in *marketing*.

Sole Distributors in India for NATIONAL EKCO Radios

Kleertone Lamps, Plastics & Appliances

Products marketed by GRA

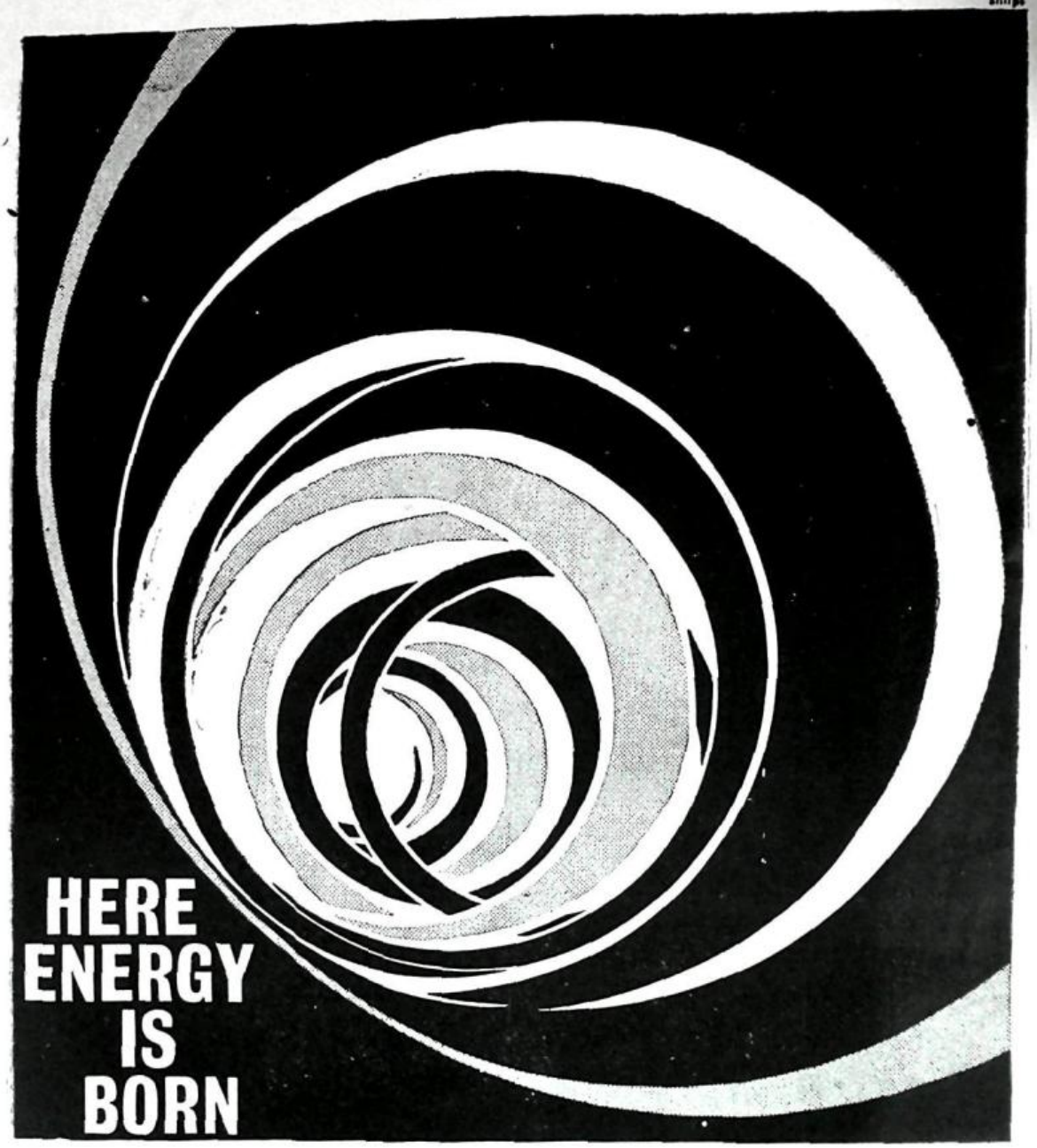
* *Radios & Accessories*
* "Kleertone" Domestic & Industrial Appliances & Canteen Equipment
* "Kleertone" Lamps, Fluorescent Tubes & Fixtures & Accessories
* "Kleertone" Public Address Equipment & Accessories
* "Kleertone" Furniture
* "Kleertone" Plastics
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* Electrical, Electronic & Laboratory Instruments
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* Medicines
* Buckets & Ghamelas
* Wooden Furniture

GRA GENERAL RADIO & APPLIANCES LIMITED

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Through these strong steel walls of the penstocks water rushes down to the powerhouse gaining the velocity and kinetic energy required to whirl the turbines and generate electricity. The power that emerges from the hydro electric projects is thus born in the circular walls of these penstocks. IHP is supplying these penstocks to almost all major hydro-electric projects of India today.

Every day tons of vital penstocks of various diametres and thicknesses roll off the lines of the IHP factory at Hadapsar assuring a continuous supply to meet the requirements of the various hydro-electric projects planned in the 2nd & 3rd Five Year Plans.

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keeps pace with the progress of the times

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