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Draft Policy statement for the  
Janata Party

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The need for a democratic alternative to Congress misrule has been felt by the people for along time. For under this misrule, there has been a callous neglect of the rural areas, where most of our people live, an over-reliance on machines instead of manpower, a growing unemployment, an increase in the disparities of income, and the erosion of all moral values, to the extent that Government corruption has become the order of the day. We have been relegated to almost the lowest rung of poverty amongst nations. And yet the Congress has remained in office for over 28 years, only because the Opposition failed to unite.

The unwarranted proclamation of Emergency, the crushing of democratic institutions, and the gross misuse of powers to establish a personal dictatorship, has made life intolerable. And therefore, the Socialist Party, the Jana Sangh, the Congress (O) and the BLD have united to form the JANATA PARTY to give to the people, the opportunity of replacing Congress with a good Janata Party Government for their own economic prosperity.

Since 1970-71, when the 'Garibi Hatao' slogan was first raised, the real per capita income has remained almost stagnant, and availability even in foodgrains has been going down. We have imported nearly as much foodgrain during the first two years of the fifth plan, as we did in all the five years of the 1st plan. The goal of self reliance has receded the most in 1975-76, when external assistance was more, than ever before. This has happened only because the Congress has rejected the teachings of Gandhiji, and over emphasised industrialisation at the expense of agriculture, preferred capital-based to labour intensive techniques, and neglected the poor in favour of the rich.

The Janata Party presents to the people a distinct and definite alternative programme of action, to meet the challenge and stem the rot. As must be, the programme of the Janata Party is rooted in our soil, takes note of our realities, and derives its inspiration from our thought, experience and culture.

As Gandhiji Said:

" Self-government means, a continuous effort to be independent of Government, whether it is a foreign government or it is national. Swarajya Government will be a sorry affair if the people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life. A nation that runs its affairs smoothly and effectively without much State interference is truly democratic. Where such condition is absent, the form of Government is democratic only in name."

" I look upon 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 by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress."

What the country right now needs is the reversal of the "statist" policies of the Congress in the political, social and economic fields. In fact, the need to follow Gandhiji has never greater than it is today. The Janata Party will therefore:

1. Declare war on corruption in Government
2. Decentralise revenue and power
3. Relate education to employment
4. Invest 33 per cent of the capital budget in agriculture
5. Encourage export of farm produce
6. Emphasise the employment of manpower mainly through cottage industries, rather than the indiscriminate use of machines and thereby 7. Ensure a job to every family.

And in every policy it adopts, the Janata Party will measure the decision by the talisman of Gandhiji—if it is good for the poor, it is good for the nation. If it is not, reject it.

### Policies and Programmes

#### The Emergency

The Congress- elected to run a democratic government for five years- has declared an unwarranted emergency, and mis-used the powers thus acquired to deny to all the seven freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution, detain lakhs of citizens who languish in jail without trial or charge, gag the press, establish a dictatorship, and extend its term without the sanction of the people.

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Things have deteriorated to such an extent, that the Attorney General of the Congress Government has even argued that a person can, not only be detained, but even executed without any charge or trial during the emergency and no court shall be allowed to enquire into it.

The Janata Party insists on the immediate withdrawal of the emergency, the repeal of all draconian laws impinging on civil liberties, the freedom of the people and the press and judicial review, and the immediate holding of national elections.

Organisations have been banned without any legal process. This ill befits a democracy, and the Janata Party therefore demands that any charges the government may have against these organisations should be placed before an independent judicial authority, by whom they should be judged.

#### The Constitution

Over-quarter of a century has passed since our Constitution was adopted. What was conceived as a federal decentralised structure, is in fact operating as a unitary form of Government. Certain lacunae have been exploited by the Congress Government to the detriment of the liberties guaranteed to the citizens, and the autonomy meant for the States.

Power, somewhat decentralised on paper, has become fully centralised in actual fact, as resources accrue mostly to the centre, with all other units of self government, especially the panchayats, left with inadequate resources.

The electoral process has resulted in a party with less than half the popular vote holding more than two thirds of the seats in the Lok Sabha.

The Janata Party, therefore, calls for a comprehensive review of the Constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected by the people.

The Janata Party also calls for the immediate adoption of the unanimous recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on electoral reforms, as basis for the election to the new Constituent Assembly.

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### Values

No society can progress unless it follows certain values worth striving for. Almost three decades after Independence, we stand today devoid of most values, constantly demanding our rights, without any understanding of corresponding obligations towards society. As Mahatma Gandhi taught us, rights flow, out of duties well-performed. No one can have something for nothing. And if we are to develop our society, each Indian must make, and willingly, a positive contribution to our national growth.

And to do this, in place of fatalistic pre-determinations, we will have to substitute the work ethic.

The Janata Party will inculcate in the people a spirit of reliance on our own mental and physical resources, so that the country need not look, for outside aid at every conceivable opportunity, or whenever any little difficulty arises. A grim determination to stand on our own two feet, and solve our national problems in accordance with our own genius and economic circumstances, alone, can entitle us to the respect of the world.

### Corruption

Corruption, like sacrifice, starts at the top and, percolating down, corrupts the whole society. Unless there is a high degree of personal integrity at the top level in the public life of our country, corruption cannot possibly be stamped out or even reduced. The Janata Party therefore, proposes to devise special procedures and establish special agencies, which will take automatic legal notice of complaints and not depend on Government's initiative to enquire into charges of corruption against all those placed in positions of responsibility, particularly ministers and legislators.

### Inflation and Expenditure

Runaway inflation caused by the wrong policies of the Congress has accentuated the poverty of our people. Bringing indexes down by dumping subsidized imported foodgrains in a bumper crop year, and allowing farm prices to crash has dealt a further blow to millions of our kisans.

The Janata Party will ensure the stability of the rupee by drastically reducing Government expenditure, and relating increases in money supply to the increase in real income.

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Congress policies of indiscriminate import substitution have created in India a large number of unproductive investments that are a drain on national resources, and on the consumer through high prices. The Janata Party will therefore make national cost-benefit the ~~a~~ main criterion in determining import substitution.

For example, if selected agricultural inputs are imported wherever they are beneficial to the nation, farmers will get far more for the same investment, production will increase, deficits will become surplus food imports will not be required, and the balance of payments can be made favourable to the country in the shortest time.

### Taxation

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Under the Congress, the entire fiscal incentives have been slanted in favour of the capitalists, and the purchase of machinery, with not a single incentive for the employment of the jobless people.

The Janata Party will remove from the fiscal law all incentives for use of capital, and have only one incentive available to those who create employment for the jobless.

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The burden of Congress taxation falls heaviest on the common man through excise duties on articles of mass consumption. The burden on the poor is many times what it was at the time of Independence.

The Janata Party will create a flexible Indian rupee by exempting all essentials from excise, taxing optionals progressively, and taxing luxuries at prohibitive rates. By this method, goods which our millions need will become cheaper our middle class will get some relief, and the burden of taxation will fall upon the richer citizens who can afford to pay.

### Planning

The Russian type of planning pursued by the Congress has proved to be unsuitable to India. It is centralized, imposed from above, and restricts the initiative of every citizen.

In a country growing on the basis of widespread self employment, as envisaged by the Janata Party, the sphere planning by Government will be reduced.

The Janata Party will decentralise planning, with the Central Government planning only the areas within its own sphere, and each unit of local self Government shall have full freedom to draw up its own targets within its own sphere, and in accordance with its own resources and needs.

### Agriculture

At the root of most of our present ills, is the criminal neglect of agriculture and the rural areas by the Congress.

The Janata Party will therefore make agriculture the <sup>m</sup>ain foundation of Indian economic development, and invest in agriculture at least 33 per cent of the capital budget.

Studies have shown that under optimum conditions, it is the small but viable peasant-proprietor assured of all inputs, and of an access to the market, who will create the maximum production per unit of land, with the maximum and widespread employment of manpower. The Janata Party, will, therefore, ensure a pattern of agriculture consisting of peasant-proprietors linked by service cooperatives and encouragement to mixed farming.

This pattern will ensure adequate and regular food supply, increase export earnings, provide widespread employment in the villages where most of our people live, and place purchasing power in the hands of the rural masses to remove their poverty.

To ensure food supply to weaker sections, the Janata party will in times of scarcity, and for building buffer stock, procure by levy part of the surplus available with comparatively larger farmers, leaving the balance to be handled by the trade. The procurement price shall be fixed having regard to the price of inputs and shall not ordinarily be lower than the cost of imported foodgrains. In times of scarcity, the Janata Party will accept the responsibility to ensure food supplies to weaker sections through a system of food coupons.

### Labour

Although Government is the largest employer in India, the Congress has failed to make government a model employer. The Janata Party will ensure that government make applicable to its own workers all welfare legislation applicable to industrial workers, and is the first to adopt any new measures of welfare proposed.

The Janata Party believes that a workman should have a full share of the profits of the establishment where he works, to the extent that his labour contributes to them. The Janata Party will therefore ensure by law that the workers get as bonus the same percentage of the profits as the wage bill bears to the total inputs.

Having been unable to organise themselves, and abandoned by the Congress, non-industrial workmen urgently require the protection of law. The Janata Party shall therefore immediately pass an appropriate law for the welfare of the rural and agricultural workers, providing besides the minimum wage, facilities such as leave, provident fund etc.

### Industry

In industrial development, it is the strange reliance by the Congress on capital based technology, rather than labour intensive techniques that has starved agriculture of capital, replaced manpower indiscriminately with machines, and created the mounting unemployment that today plagues our country.

In our country, capital is scarce and must be conserved while labour is almost unlimited. As wages are lower than the interest on capital, labour is cheaper than machines. Our economy, therefore, must depend on small-scale enterprises using labour intensive, capital-saving techniques, dispersed over the country-side, in preference to large-scale industries using costly automatic machines which necessarily need to be located in urban centres.

As the capital-labour ratio improves, the economy will gradually evolve from cottage or small-scale industries to medium and, finally, to large-scale industries, one stage helping to provide a market for the next.

Naturally cottage and small-scale industries require protection from machine-made and imported goods. Therefore, the Janata Party holds that it should be necessary to categorise industries, as between cottage, small, medium and large, on the sound principle that only what cottage industries or handicrafts cannot produce will be granted to small-scale industries and what cannot be done on a small-scale can be turned over to the medium or large scale sectors. It is

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## Youth

Youth requires continuous and special attention. And their voice should be heard in all Councils.

The Janata Party will have a dynamic young men as Cabinet Minister to look after youth affairs at the Centre, and recommend that a similar position be created in every State Government.

## External Affairs

The Congress Government has lost for India many friends in the world. Their neglect of our immediate neighbours in Asia and Africa, and concentration on the glamorous capitals of the world has to be corrected. The over dependence by the Congress Government on our friends in Russia is not in our interest.

The Janata Party will chart for India its own independent course in foreign affairs, with concentration in developing the friendliest of relations with our neighbours.

The Janata Party believes that India must be in the forefront, of securing for the developing countries a fair price for its raw materials and products, and in the establishment of a world aid body to which every nation contributes according to its ability, and from which every nation receives according to its needs.

The Janata Party feels that the only way to establish a lasting peace on the Indian subcontinent is on the basis of sound economic relations, and will take the initiative for the formation of a common market between Pakistan, Nepal, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Bangla Desh, Ceylon and India.

## Defence

We must at all times be prepared to defend our country and reliance by the Congress Government on power blocs for support or supplies has often gone against us, in times of crisis. In the conflicts inflicted upon us, we have always found our enemies better armed than us. The Congress Government appears to be shortsightedly allowing this to happen again.

The Janata Party will launch a comprehensive review of the defence establishment, with a view to obtain for our jawans the very best weaponry available, and also to ensure maximum cost-effectiveness. In purchasing from abroad what we cannot produce, the Janata Party will rely mainly on commercial sources of arms, rather than depend on power blocs who can pressurise us, or let us down, in ~~xx~~ times of crisis.

Thousands of ex-servicemen are demobbed every year. The Janata Party will substantially increase their vocational training while in service, to aid their re-settlement. The Janata Party will also adopt a scheme of re-settlement of ex-servicemen in sensitive areas to increase defence preparedness.

#### Basic needs

Congress socialism has been a miserable failure. For in spite of being in office for over quarter of a century, Congress has been unable to provide the people of India with any one of the three basic necessities— food, clothing and housing.

And this is why every policy of the Janata Party is designed to create full employment. It is only when purchasing power is placed in the hands of the poorest citizen by ensuring that he gets a job, that he can, through his own productive work, make the nation grow, and meet his own needs.

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