

M. Masam

ELECTION MANIFESTO

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BHARATIYA KRANTI DAL

UTTAR PRADESH

BKD'S ELECTION MANIFESTO

1- General

BKD has arrived on the national stage at a time when our country's prestige is at its lowest ebb; when instead of vacating the aggression on our territory they had already committed, China and Pakistan are poised on our frontiers for yet another attack; when foreign countries interfere in our internal affairs and the country suffers the interference in silence; when disruptive forces within the country are busy dismantling the national fabric and those saddled with responsibility seem to lack the will to curb them; when the country is merely drifting and not being led; when breach of law is openly preached and practised by almost every political party in the land; when indiscipline amongst students and public servants is freely encouraged; when almost every section of our people and every part of the country is engaged in furtherance of its own particular interest oblivious of the larger national interest altogether; when everybody is clamouring for rights and nobody is conscious of his duties; when moral standards have fallen all around and corruption of every kind shows an upward trend; when in the race for economic development, we have been left far behind by other nations—more behind than we were in 1947; when unemployment is on the increase and disparities in personal incomes are widening; and, finally, when people, instead of hopefully indulging in dreams of glory that they used to, even in days of slavery, have begun to entertain doubts about the future of their Motherland, that is, when despondency has taken hold of the nation.

It is a gloomy picture, indeed, but only too true. The responsibility of BKD, therefore, is great: it is monumental. It is not the people who are to blame. It is the political leadership which has let them down—which has misled them in order to get their vote, that is at fault. BKD proposes to tell the people the stark truth, to educate them in the problems that face them and their correct solutions. In the process they will have to shed many an illusion fostered long by political

parties. BKD believes that the country can still be salvaged but by treading, by and large, the path that Gandhi showed us. It believes in no *tantrums*, in no short-cuts to greatness and prosperity, but in hard work, integrity and sacrifice on the part of all the citizens of the country. The problem for India is to bring it back to the path of realism. BKD proposes to apply itself to this historic task, some of its aims and principles being :

FIRST : BKD aims, above everything else, at an honest and efficient administration where public servants and others entrusted with responsibility in regard to public affairs will not only be clean and impartial but will also apply the necessary skill and labour to the performance of their duty—an administration in which there will be no delay, no waste and no corruption.

We had begun our independent existence with the clear understanding that, in our great poverty, we would need to make every pie work for economic development. Our money, however, has been largely mis-spent. The damage : inflation and, worse, demoralization—the destruction of a large capital we had in the honesty of our people.

With a view to ensuring good administration and proper expenditure of public funds, therefore, BKD will take ruthless measures against all public servants who are found guilty of corruption, inefficiency or discrimination. So far as public men or political workers are concerned, it will re-enact the U. P. Publicmen's Inquiries Ordinance, 1967, to deal with their misconduct. This Ordinance was repealed at the instance of Congressmen as soon as Presidential rule was imposed in U. P. in April 1968.

BKD further proposes to establish a special wing in the police or, if necessary, a separate organization by itself, of persons specially trained in the laws and procedures relating to functioning of companies, financial institutions and semi-governmental bodies which will deal with the 'respectable' offenders in the world of trade, commerce, business and finance. The ordinary police is usually trained or experienced only in the ways of the ordinary criminal—the thief, the murderer and the dacoit—but is unable to cope with these miscreants who are guilty of cheating, forgery, embezzlement, tax-evasion, hoard-

ing, black-marketing, smuggling and manipulation of shares, stocks and foreign exchange on a large scale. Inasmuch as, *inter alia*, these people are hands-in-glove with corrupt public servants, unscrupulous politicians and even hardened criminals, they usually succeed in escaping the arm of the law, so that the people in general have come to believe that the law of the land does not exist for them.

SECOND : It aims, again, at an administration where law and order are firmly maintained in accordance with legal enactments and the Constitution—without consideration of persons and parties or their position in public life. For, without a sense of absolute security in the mind of every individual in regard to his life, property, honour and his religion, there can be little economic or any other kind of development in the country. According to BKD, the so-called *Senas* or private, militant organizations, formed to advance narrow interests, shall have no place in the country.

THIRD : BKD aims at a radical change in the existing judicial system in the country taken from the British. While retaining the advantage of the present system in regard to full opportunity to both the parties to a legal proceeding, to establish their case, BKD proposes to overhaul both the substantive and the procedural law, particularly, the latter in order that justice is really done and the guilty punished, and that delay, perjury, corruption and undue expenditure are avoided.

FOURTH : While BKD would like public servants to be well paid and trusted, it will insist on strict maintenance of discipline in their ranks. Otherwise, they will not be able to effectively serve the people—the purpose for which alone they are recruited and maintained. So far as payment of dearness allowance is concerned, BKD believes in higher rates for those at the lowest rungs, with the rates falling as the salary rises, and none at all for those drawing salaries above a certain limit.

FIFTH : BKD stands for preservation and strengthening of democracy or rule of law in the country. It does not believe in methods of political agitation and propaganda which are not based strictly on Gandhian principles of truth and non-violence. Methods like fast-unto-death, *dharna* and civil disobedience, that is, breach of law on

a mass scale, and a recent variant the *gherao*, which are being passed off as forms of Satyagraha—though based on or associated with untruth, violence and hatred as they almost invariably are—gradually lead to disrespect for law in the minds of the people and are the surest invitation to chaos and, eventually to imposition of a dictatorship. So far as civil disobedience, in particular, is concerned, Mahatma Gandhi himself regarded it “only as a substitute for an armed revolt”: it can, therefore, have no place in the public life of India today. In case of a difference of opinion with the Government of the day on issues of general importance, BKD will educate public opinion so that it may be returned in a majority in the next general election.

SIXTH : BKD stands for curbing with a strong hand of all subversive and disintegrating tendencies whether they raise their head in the name of political ideology, or region, language and community. Preservation of integrity of the country and welding of various elements of our national life into a closer and still closer bond, must be the prime concern of all governments and all political parties in the country.

SEVENTH : BKD believes in, and will work for, an economy

which—

- (a) gives more production per unit of land in the field of agriculture as land is the limiting factor in our conditions and, therefore, more valuable than labour or capital—and gives more production per unit of capital investment in the field of industry as capital is comparatively scarce and, therefore, more valuable than labour ;
- (b) gives more employment per unit of land in agriculture and per unit of capital investment in industry, as we have a huge population to support and unemployment is on the increase ;
- (c) serves to reduce inequalities in incomes between one man and another, as wide disparities lead to tensions in the society ;

and

- (d) serves to avoid exploitation of man by man to the maximum extent possible, as economic exploitation leads to political exploitation and militates against democracy.

These tests are eminently met by small farms and handicrafts or small industries of low capital-intensity.

In reason as also in justice, the upper limit to the area of land that any one man or agricultural worker may possess in our country, should be governed by the fact that, if he holds more, the land will not be gainfully utilised and the man shall not get more in the total, and the lower limit by the fact that, if he holds less, his labour will not be fully employed and the land per unit will not produce more. Experiments made elsewhere indicate that, under conditions of bullock or non-mechanised farming, the upper limit is reached in the neighbourhood of 27.5 acres, and the lower, of 2.5 acres. In between these two limits, the more land a man has, the better for him, because his total production will rise with every acre added to the farm; the less land he has, the better for the country, because production per acre will rise with every acre taken away from the farm.

A small industry may be defined as one that employs less than twenty persons if it is hand-operated and less than ten persons if power-driven. Capital-intensive or large-scale mechanised undertakings may, however, be set up or allowed to be set up for such purposes as cannot be carried out, or, for production of such things as cannot be manufactured, on a small scale. All these and such other projects or industries as the defence and research needs of the country may require, shall be either owned or controlled by the state. A law demarcating the sphere of various industries will be placed on the Statute-Book.

In the present conditions of India, BKD is opposed to the introduction of automation and the use of electro-computer except, perhaps, in special cases where speed and accuracy are essential.

Further, subject to unavoidable exceptions in the larger national interest, such as production of steel and electric energy, heavy, or large-scale mechanised industries should come, in course of time, as the apex of an economy with agriculture and handicrafts or village industries as the base, and not *vice-versa*, as Congress has attempted to do during the last 20 years. The process of growth will be generated from below—as incomes increase and technologies improve—through small-scale industries, then light or medium industries and, finally, to heavy industries. Heavy industry has to grow on the basis of consumer goods industries, responding to their demand and adjusting itself to their needs. This sequence is all the more desirable because one stage helps provide market for the next.

EIGHTH : BKD will give first priority to development of agriculture. Without it there is no stopping of food imports which have drained the country not only of its wealth but also its self-respect, and without it there can be no economic development of the country or eradication of its poverty. A prosperous or developing agriculture alone can :

- (a) provide raw materials to feed the wheels of manufacturing industry;
- (b) release workers to man the factories, commerce, transport and other services like power and education and to construct roads, railways, harbours and factories;
- (c) produce food to feed the workers engaged in the various services and industries above;
- (d) provide the market for non-agricultural goods and services inasmuch as increased agricultural production will put more and more purchasing-power into the hands of farmers;

and, finally,

- (e) provide foreign exchange to finance necessary or unavoidable imports of non-agricultural goods and machinery.

Now, agricultural production will go up if even one of the three factors of production, viz., land, labour and capital, is increased and/or if this is not possible, an improvement is made in the method or methods of utilising the factors of production, that is, an innovation is effected in the farming techniques.

So far as land is concerned, it is a constant or fixed quantity and cannot be increased; emigration to other countries is not possible and reclamation is going to make no dent on the problem.

Labour can certainly be increased, but our agriculture is already labour-surplus, that is, it contains or hides more labour than is necessary. While there is virtually no limit to the number and amount of non-agricultural resources and opportunities that a country may create or expand and, therefore, no limit to the number of persons that can be employed in non-agricultural occupations, there is a limit to the area of land that a country possesses or can possess and, therefore, a limit to the number of persons that land or agriculture can gainfully and directly employ. This limit or the limit of workers that our land can carry, has, in most parts of the country, already been reached or over-stepped.

We need, therefore, to draw away more and more workers from agriculture and to employ them in non-agricultural pursuits. Apart from the question of employment there are two simple and good reasons in favour of this course :

- (a) It will lead to an increase in the output of goods and services which are required to meet the varied wants of a civilised people and, thus, raise their living standards;

and

- (b) In nearly all the countries today agricultural workers earn less—those in the less developed countries markedly so—than non-agricultural workers. In other words, countries with a low proportion of the working population engaged in the primary or agriculture sector and, as a corollary, a high proportion engaged in the secondary or industry and the tertiary or service sectors, are found to enjoy a higher average level of income per head than where contrary is the case, that is, agricultural workers are more numerous than non-agricultural.

So that if both prosperity and parity of incomes between the various classes are to be our aims, workers from agricultural pursuits with lower incomes should shift to non-agricultural pursuits with higher incomes, and go on shifting, till an agricultural worker comes to earn the same return as his countryman in the other two sectors. In communist countries, people shift under compulsion; in democracies, of their own choice.

Increase in land area not being possible and, as we have just seen, employment of more labour in agriculture not being in the interest of our people individually or as a whole, the land that Nature has given to us, has to be made to yield more and more produce, in other words, the effect of the declining land: man ratio in the country offset, or, cancelled, by investment of more and more capital and unceasing improvement in farming techniques brought about as a result of ever-advancing scientific knowledge. This is what a developing agriculture means—agriculture which makes it possible to secure the production of more and more food and raw materials with fewer and still fewer men on the soil and thus release man-power required for running the industry and service sectors—till a balance between agricultural and non-agricultural incomes has been achieved.

BKD will, therefore, try to reach as much capital, whether in the form of resource facilities (such as improved seeds, fertilizers and means

of irrigation) or otherwise, and as much scientific knowledge as may be available with the Government, to the largest number of the peasantry, and otherwise bend all its energies towards development of agriculture.

It will prefer small irrigation works to large ones and take such measures that all available organic manure is utilized or made to contribute towards increased agricultural production. Alternative fuel in the villages will have to be provided in order that cattle-dung may be released from the hearths or *choolhas* for use in the fields. In any case, improvements in our existing *choolhas* will have to be effected so that whatever fuel is used, is economised. Today, a large part of the energy that is generated, goes waste.

Finally, in this connection, BKD proposes to reach electric energy to every village so that, with its aid, agricultural production is increased, more and more farmers and other persons take to non-agricultural occupations either as a whole-time or subsidiary employment, and modern amenities become available to the villagers.

NINTH : BKD believes that, besides capital investment and innovations in farming techniques, there is yet another element or factor which will raise production, viz., psychology of the man behind the plough. His mind can be yoked in the interest of increased production if he can be made the proprietor of his patch of land. The feeling that he is now his own master, subject to no outside control, and has free, exclusive and untrammelled use of his land drives him to greater and greater effort. He receives a psychological fillip which vitalizes his attachment and devotion to the land. BKD, therefore, stands for replacement of farm tenancy by peasant-proprietorship which means that it stands for abolition of landlordism lock, stock and barrel wherever it still lingers. Every cultivator of the soil, irrespective of his status under the existing law, will be given permanent rights and brought into direct relationship with the state. A limit shall be placed on future acquisitions of land as also, where necessary, a ceiling on present possessions.

In Uttar Pradesh, however, land reforms have been completed and all that remains to be done is, first, to extend the ZALR Act, 1951, to the Tarai and Bahbar areas of the State, or, if necessary,

enact a new law on the lines of this Act, second, to ensure that lands vested in the village community are properly managed, and, third, to pursue with vigour the consolidation of holdings and soil conservation schemes that are already under way. Soil conservation is, in a way, even more important than soil utilization, for soil exhaustion is one of the major causes of the decline of a country.

TENTH : As regards the instant problem of food, BKD believes that till the time our agricultural production has sufficiently gone up, we can succeed in containing the problem with the aid of surplus grains procured within the country itself—supplemented by food imports only in the years when our production is particularly low. A levy will, therefore, have to be charged on big cultivators in consideration of remunerative price. This is necessary in order that non-agriculturist sections of our society may continue to have assurance of food—the first necessity of man. The levy will be realized directly by Government or by the FCI, but not through the traders. At the same time, in order that traders may not fleece the consumer and thus hold the general community to ransom, Government will take all anti-hoarding and anti-profiteering measures that may be open to it under the Constitution—and enforce them with serverity.

BKD further holds in this connection that the food zones should be abolished and the entire country should form one unit.

ELEVENTH : Small farms and industries that the BKD envisages, will be linked together by the principle of cooperation. But, while firmly believing in its utility, BKD does not consider the cooperative movement a fit subject or policy to be executed through a Government department. In order that it may be able to serve its aim, cooperation has to come about as a result of an urge from within the people themselves—as an instrument of satisfaction or fulfilment of a common need of theirs and not as a command-performance or in pursuance of an official or political whip.

Cooperation is not a synonym for merger. Which means that while BKD stands for farming and industrial cooperatives, it is opposed to cooperative farms and cooperative industries where labour and fixed assets, that is, land and machinery are pooled together. These, the latter will simply not work.

TWELFTH : Under an industrial economy of small units that BKD envisages, there will not be much occasion left for the kind of employer-employee troubles we witness today. However, while BKD will not allow workers to be ill-treated and exploited and will impose heavy taxation on that part of the employer's profits which is not ploughed back into the economy, it will so re-fashion the labour policy that industrial costs are not inflated, or, which is the same thing, prices of industrial goods do not rise beyond the means of the mass of our countrymen; otherwise, internal consumption as also the exports will decline, industrialisation will be retarded and employment opportunities, instead of being widened, will be further restricted. The melancholy fact must be recorded that, under given or similar circumstances, the output per head of our workers is low as compared with most other countries. BKD will impress upon the workers that, if industrial production has to rise, a change in their attitudes towards work is vital.

THIRTEENTH : The total real income of a country is roughly a function of the size and efficiency of its labour or working force relative to the size and quality of its natural resources. Unhappily, barring very few countries, indeed, we do not compare favourably with most others in regard to the quantity of our natural resources per capita and the quality of our people. Happily, however, while the quantity and quality of natural resources are a gift of God or Nature and almost beyond human control, the quality or degree of excellence of a people (along with its quantity) is very much of its own making. And, happily, again, as the example of Japan has shown, deficiency in quality and quantity of natural resources can, to a great degree, be overcome by the quality of the working population. This quality depends upon historical and cultural factors, social environment, quality of health and education as also the kind of leadership provided by Government.

BKD, therefore, will do all that lies in its power to improve the quality of our people.

FOURTEENTH : It will work for a change in such of the values, attitudes and motivations of our people as stand in the way of economic development; for example, that the world is an illusion and man is governed by an inexorable fate. As a result, large sections of our

society lack the urge to improve their condition by their own efforts. BKD will impress upon the people by all possible means and media that the world is very much real and man very largely the captain of his fate. If we remain steeped in beliefs such as these, the country will remain poor and may even lose its freedom.

The people have also to be made to realise that, as Mahatma Gandhi taught us, rights flow only out of duties well performed. No individual or nation on earth can possibly have something for nothing. We will have to pay the costs for economic development whether we live in a democratic society or are governed by a dictatorship. The only difference is that in a democracy the costs are willingly borne and in a dictatorship, they are extracted. These costs will have to be paid in the form of hard work, integrity in the widest sense of the term and taxes whose burden, of course, will be equitably distributed.

FIFTEENTH : BKD would inculcate in the people a spirit of reliance on our own mental and physical resources so that the country did not look for outside aid on every conceivable opportunity or little difficulty arising. A grim determination to stand on our own feet and to solve our national problems in accordance with our own genius and economic circumstances, alone, will entitle us to the respect of the world.

SIXTEENTH : Caste based on birth, one of our major inheritances, has resulted in a social system which has divided our people into water-tight compartments—divided them from one another into high and low, through endless centuries, and exposed us to foreign conquests, which have left us weak and poor. In the ultimate analysis it is this system, again, which is largely responsible for partition of the country. It lies at the root of the problem of scheduled castes and backward classes. It runs counter to the conception of dignity of labour and creates an environment where manual work is considered degrading.

Further, in the context of today, the caste system militates against democracy, the first postulate of which is equality of one man with another, and against freedom of economic opportunity without which no country can progress. BKD will, therefore, take steps to see that the hold of caste on our society is loosened as early as possible.

SEVENTEENTH : BKD will pay special attention to uplift of Harijans, or, scheduled castes to whom justice has been denied for long. Particular care will be taken to see that legal and constitutional provisions in regard to protection and furtherance of their interests are scrupulously followed. So far as their economic welfare is concerned, while all cultivable land that is found surplus as a result of imposition of ceilings on large holdings or surplus to the needs of the village community or the forest and other needs of the state, may be allotted to Harijans, it must not be forgotten that the ultimate solution of their economic problem (as also of millions of other landless or unemployed and under-employed persons) will depend, by and large, on development of non-agricultural resources of the country—which will, in its turn, depend on increased agricultural production and a change in our mental attitudes or a transformation of our national psychology.

EIGHTEENTH : Disease and ill-health not only result in loss of working time but also sap energy and induce lethargy as also lower receptivity to new ideas. BKD will, therefore, work for more medical facilities, whether Ayurvedic, Unani, allopathic, homoeopathic or naturopathic, and for an increase in their efficiency.

Preventive measure will also have to be taken along with curative ones. Sanitary conditions, particularly, in villages need looking after : usually there are no latrines even for women, whether public or private. BKD will strive to remove or abolish this stain on our society at the earliest.

BKD will also take steps, particularly, in the towns to ensure that pure articles of food and medicines are available and that adulteration is put down with a strong hand.

NINETEENTH : Inasmuch as improvement of their skills and capacities increases the productivity of the people, expenditure on education is but a form of investment for future production. But as our financial resources are limited BKD will concentrate on enforcing universal compulsory primary education, organizing technical education so as to produce the necessary personnel for technical jobs, and making provisions for scientific research. Higher as also secondary education—atleast, for some time to come—shall be left to private initiative and effort with the minimum public assistance, needed to induce and

supplement such efforts. Increasing social controls will be applied on all privately-run educational institutions with a view to improving the quality of education and service conditions of teachers and, except where the needs of a region or a district vitally demand it, institutions for higher education shall not be allowed to multiply.

BKD proposes to take all necessary steps for preparation of Hindi text-books on scientific, technical and other subjects for higher studies as soon as possible.

Text-books will lay more stress on patriotism, hard work, courage, integrity, performance of one's duty and other moral values than has been done hitherto. For, without these qualities, no human being can make a good citizen and without good citizens no country can make real progress.

Short of making it a second official language, in which event its teaching will have to be made compulsory for every student, BKD stands for giving all encouragement to Urdu.

BKD abhors the incursion of politics in Universities and other educational institutions. It is not a function of students by themselves to produce social or political change. Educational institutions are temples of learning and should serve merely as centres for independent study, scholarship and dissent or debate—but not as a battle-ground for political power.

TWENTIETH : Today our population is increasing at the rate of 2.45 per cent or thirteen million persons a year. Barring Ceylon and Pakistan whose density of population per unit of usable land area as also the rate of population growth are higher than India's, and also barring China whose density of population and rate of growth are the same as that of India, every other country in the world is in a fortunate position as compared with our country. Four countries, viz., Australia, Canada, USA and USSR, have both their population density and rate of growth lower than India's. As for the rest : If their population density is higher today, their rate of population growth is lower and if their rate of growth is higher, their density is lower.

India, therefore, needs to practise birth control. With a large increase in population every year, land area as also other natural resources per capita are decreasing and, with such a decrease, the coun-

try's potential for economic progress also decreases. There is a limit to what the ultimate factor, the land, can produce—a limit to the extent to which labour and improvements brought about by scientific knowledge and capital investments can take the place of land or be substituted for it.

BKD holds, therefore, that while we will, and should, make all efforts to increase our agricultural and industrial production, we shall have to so plan that our population does not increase at a rate which negates or largely negates these efforts. Work in the sphere of economic production and population control shall have to go on simultaneously, both being equally important.

Control on population growth being in the interest of the nation, BKD will so frame a law or devise a programme that all classes and sections of our people make an equal contribution. The control or the contraceptive is confined almost wholly to the intelligentsia today.

TWENTY-FIRST : The use of alcohol and other intoxicants leads to crime, poverty, breaking up of homes, decline of health and erosion of moral values. BKD, therefore, believes in gradual prohibition of the use of all intoxicants by persuasion and education as also by law.

TWENTY-SECOND : In case it is returned to power, BKD will take steps to amend the law relating to municipal administration and gaon panchayats, particularly, in regard to election and removal of members and the Chairman or the *sabhapati*. Our municipalities are reeking with intrigue and corruption today and panchayats have proved a curse, rather than a blessing to the villages.

TWENTY-THIRD : In urban areas, there are numerous persons who are not owners of the sites on which their houses stand and are, therefore, subject to all sorts of exactions by private landlords. BKD proposes to make them owners of their sites as well.

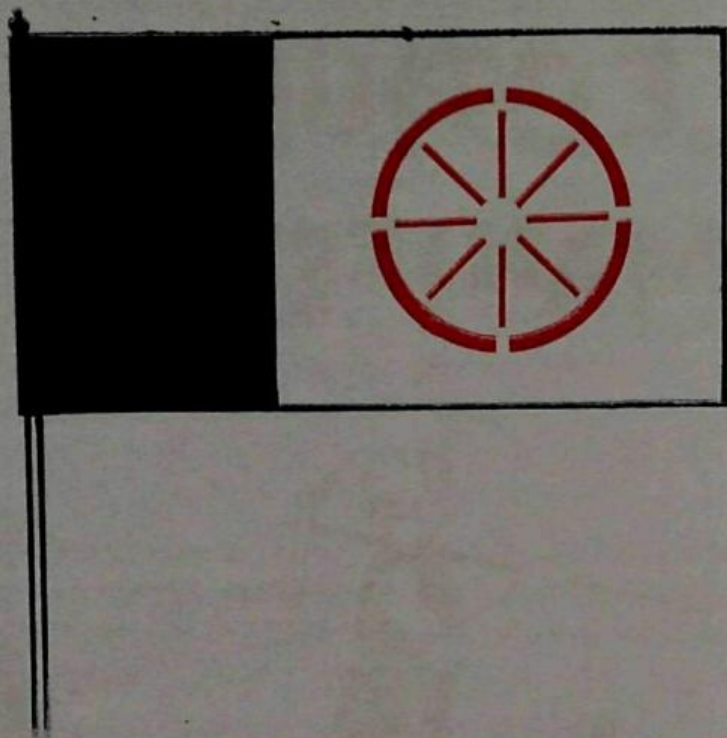
TWENTY-FOURTH : BKD will work for the removal of all discrimination in matters of social, political and economic behaviour between one citizen and another, on the ground of one's caste, language, region or religion so that nationalism or the feeling of a common Indian brotherhood gets strengthened day by day.

TWENTY-FIFTH : In the sphere of external affairs, BKD will support a policy which conduces to a world order wherein there is no exploitation of one nation by another and international disputes are solved by mutual discussion and negotiation, or, through mediation and arbitration of an international authority—so that war and consequent human misery are avoided.

But this policy has, at the same time, to subserve our national interest—which the policy followed hitherto, based largely on non-alignment, has failed to do. There is more than one example of countries whom we have gone out of our way to support, but which have either opposed our stand or remained neutral when we were in need of friends. Congress Governments at the Centre since 1947 have bound themselves in a web of slogans which have no relation to the realities of human conduct or the behaviour of other nations. Every nation looks to its interest first, whereas the Government of our country has taken upon itself the role of a world teacher or moraliser. So that we find ourselves militarily weak and friendless today—an object of pity for whosoever would sympathize with us.

The country must, therefore, forge alliances such as our national interest may dictate and build up such armed strength as maintenance of its honour and preservation of its frontiers may demand. BKD is further of the opinion that it is time we thought of arming ourselves with nuclear weapons.

LUCKNOW :
26th September, 1968.



For

Honest and Efficient
administration

Support

BHARTIYA KRANTI DAL

Luxman Singh

शिवस्वरूप सिंह महामन्त्री द्वारा भारतीय क्रान्तिदल उत्तर प्रदेश
६ त्रिलोकनाथ मार्ग लखनऊ के लिये प्रकाशित ।

मुद्रक— विकास प्रिंटिंग प्रेस जगतनारायण रोड, लखनऊ