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The National Alternative

INDIA'S ONLY HOPE

DRAFT STATEMENT OF POLICY

Rashu

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A NEW PARTY PUBLICATION

The National Alternative

DRAFT STATEMENT OF POLICY

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India is a great country of great people with a great future. In order to achieve its destiny it needs good Government, of good men with good intentions and sound policies. But it languishes because of one party rule without a National Alternative.

The State Of The Nation

India today stands at the crossroads. The road chosen for it by the Father of the Nation and the architect of its freedom along with the founding fathers of the Constitution seems to have reached a dead end.

After 27 years of Independence and self-government the lot of the common man has become worse. Poverty is spreading, prices are rising and unemployment has reached epidemic proportions; the pressure on land has become unbearable, rural development is slow, productivity and movement in industry and agriculture are very low, education has deteriorated, cities are ill-planned and over-crowded, slums abound and people sleep on pavements. There is corruption everywhere and maladministration from top to bottom. Everyone, everywhere and all sections of society are unhappy, disappointed, dejected and frustrated.

We have arrived at a stage in our history when our prestige is at its lowest ebb; when foreign countries can interfere in our internal affairs with impunity; when disruptive forces within the country are busy dismantling the national fabric; when almost every section of our people and every part of the country is engaged in furtherance of its own particular interest oblivious of larger national concern; when almost everyone is clamouring for rights and nobody is conscious of his duties; when standards have collapsed; when purity of means for attaining political ends has become immaterial; when in the race for economic development we have been

left far behind by other nations; when India stands at the bottom of the economic ladder of the world; when unemployment is on the increase and disparities in personal income and expenditure are widening; when people instead of living in hope and dreaming of glory are uncertain and insecure about their future utter despondency has taken hold of the nation.

Four Five Year Plans have failed to satisfy even the basic needs of the people; nor have they succeeded in bringing about a measure of social or distributive justice. The ratio of urban to rural incomes which was already too high has gone up further. Economic pressure have led to distress sales and forced marginal farmers to give up their farms and take to labour.

Malnutrition has played havoc with the health of our nation and the *per capita* calorie intake stands at its lowest since Independence. Many poorer countries have overtaken us in their consumption of calories and proteins.

Even our democratic system is in imminent danger through the mutilation of the Constitution weakening the basic rights of the people, by stifling of public opinion, by subjugating the freedom of the press, by eroding the independence of the judiciary, by undermining the cabinet system, by reducing Parliament itself to irrelevance and by usurping the independence and functions of the President, the Governors of the States, the Attorney General and the Chief Election Commissioner. In short, we are moving towards authoritarian rule.

Already the State has acquired almost complete control over credit, trade and industry. Our internal weakness and the failure of our economy make us an easy prey to exploitation by the super powers.

Attempts are being made to instal a "committed" civil service, committed not to the nation but to the party in power, subverting its interests. At times some civil servants have become indistinguishable from party workers.

The entire electoral process has been vitiated by malpractices which begin with gerrymandering of constituencies, playing the communal equations, creating and fanning religious hostilities, injecting massive amounts of money on which the present Ruling Party has a monopoly, and projecting its propaganda through State-owned or controlled media, the intimi-

dation of the electorate and, when all else fails, the stuffing of ballot boxes. In spite of this, the Ruling Party could not have secured even the meagre success it has, if it had not resorted to the ultimate electoral fraud of actually miscounting the votes the "substituting" of ballot papers carried out through co-incidentally contrived electricity failures during the counting at the appropriate moment.

The most obnoxious practice of the Ruling Party has been to subjugate the press by threatening the owners who have other business interest, corrupting the staff through inducements and controlling production and publication by a series of regulations regarding newsprint quotas and advertisements. The State-owned radio and television have become the propaganda arm of the Ruling Party. Substantial inroads have been made to brainwash the intelligentsia by destroying the autonomy and democratic functioning of universities and other educational institutions.

The Congress Party itself is developing dictatorial tendencies where decision-making at all levels has become centralised through the development of a personality-cult which leaves all decisions to be taken only by the "leader". Even the democratic practice of allowing the State Legislatures to choose their own Chief Ministers has been circumvented by installing the Prime Minister's own nominee in every State. The inevitable consequence of such a policy would surround the leader with men of straw who are bound to be found wanting in the numerous responsible functions expected to be performed by them.

The entire operation of the Congress Party has, as a consequence of this, become money-based requiring enormous funds only to keep the party together, which are collected through very dubious processes by indiscriminately granting licenses, permits and quotas to pliable and "cooperative" businessmen. Another source of collecting funds is by constantly changing and fixing commodity prices, or threatening to do so, and extracting money from manufacturers and dealers. All these funds are collected in the face of the law which prohibits companies from taking political donations. The implications of this policy is obvious: the Congress Party is openly encouraging the creation of black-markets through the use of Government machinery so that it can become a partner in the loot.

"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."

This ideal is best expressed in the following well-known words of Mahatma Gandhi :

"The naked reality of India is half a million villages, devoid of all economic viability, supporting 80 per cent of its 500 million population juxtaposed against urban slums where human pressures in the heat and sweat have overrun whatever urban life existed prior to independence.

The solutions suggested by Marx, for the problems of Western Europe, to cure an exploitative industrial society in the throes of the industrial revolution cannot bring about the emancipation of the Indian village from appalling poverty to a prosperous rural community. Is it any surprise that we have failed ?

The only way to arrest this deteriorating situation and to avert the dangers of a totalitarian takeover is to create a strong National Alternative and also to act as a national corrective to the Ruling Party. Therefore, the National Alternative programme of action to meet the challenge and stem the rot. Such an alternative has to be rooted in the Indian soil both physically and spiritually, take note of Indian realities and draw inspirations and guidance from Indian thought, experience and culture, build an Indian ethos embodied in the teachings and inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi. Such a value system and approach to socio-economic problems must necessarily differ fundamentally from the approach of exploitative capitalism as also from Marx as interpreted and worked out in practice by Lenin and Mao.

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There is need for a National Alternative for yet another reason. The ruling party has been in the saddle since 1952 on the basis of a minority vote. The New Party will prevent splitting of Opposition votes and ensure a Government and an administration which will truly reflect the wishes of the majority.

The main problem for the New Party will be how to take the country to the path of spiritual and material regeneration. It proposes, therefore, to tell the people the stark truth and to educate them in the problems that face them and suggest correct solutions.

Political parties that follow different paths, or no path at all, inscribe on their banner abstract principles and cliches like democracy, socialism, progressivism, Garibi Hatao, etc, without meaning anything. The Congress Party has been clever enough to beg, borrow and steal these expressions and pretend to translate them to represent the new urges of the radicals. In their hands these radical principles and programmes of socialism, equality, progress and change have lost all meaning and content—in fact, they have been soiled with blood and dirt.

India's political thought has become a prisoner of meaningless categories like left and right, progressives and reactionaries, kulaks and proletariat and so on. Opposition parties and other intellectuals are also entrapped in these meaningless words which are reflected in their meaningless speeches. We must learn to shed all labels and see the reality around us in order to change.

The Task

The New Party must, therefore, concretise these principles and present guidelines for action : How to end inequalities in status, reduce inequalities in income to the maximum extent, banish poverty and unemployment, stabilise prices, eliminate corruption, improve morals, encourage growth and build hope and aspiration.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The New Party takes its stand on the four pillars of democracy, nationalism, secularism better expressed in the aphorism Sarva Dharma Sama Bhav and social justice which implies the welfare of the people based on equality and prosperity.

Is it not strange that in almost three decades since Independence the only serious challenge to the ruling Congress has come from within or through regional parties at the State level? Invariably, this challenge has been dissipated with time in the absence of national purpose in the regional

national ethos. regions and religions and evolve a synthesis in the form of a but has to foster unity in diversity, reflect urges of varied nationalisms must not lead to an overbearing centralised State, value policy based on true national interest. However, Indian Needless to say, a belief in nationalism leads to a sound foreign models of both capitalist and communist varieties. It is also the most effective instrument of rejecting guarantee of the strength and unity of any country in modern times. II. Nationalism is the strongest emotion and the surest

The New Party genuinely believes that correct democratic procedures lead to the best policy that means are as significant as ends. Faith in democracy is sustained by the confidence that democratic procedures throw up the right leadership and produce policies to meet any challenge. This basic democratic faith in the wisdom of the people and in their ability to govern themselves sensibly over the entire spread of public life provides the New Party with its prime motivation and reasons for emergence.

I. Democracy is indispensable to a just society. Democracy is not merely a word with vague implications of popular or representative Government but a positive guide for action based on certain principles and the means and methods which will govern the transformation. First of all, it is government by the consent of the governed and not merely the fabrication of brute majorities. It not only guarantees freedom of thought and action but also permits the right of dissent. The successful functioning of democracy demands vocal public debates reported in a free press and other means of mass communication, the fearless independence of the judiciary and the assurance of free and fair elections. It is Government through participation of the people on the largest possible scale as manifested through adult franchise and it also confers the right to take decisions at all levels of society, which means the decentralisation of power to smaller units of direct democracy, the sharing of economic decisions and resources and the participation of a well-informed, but widely dispersed, citizenry.

Consent
People
Freedom
Thought
Press
Participation
Share
Resources
Economic
Decisions

parties. However, regional sentiment is fast spreading all over the nation, less due to unhealthy chauvinism than to the understandable frustrations of large sections of people who feel deprived of participation in the political process.

To ignore the emergence or the potentiality of regional parties and attendant frustration of people denied participation in power is impractical or even dangerous. The New Party is formed in recognition and reconciliation of these urges into a single party. People are not only proud of their regional culture, but are also seeking greater participation in the national life. Attempts to stifle such democratic awakening can endanger the nation's unity and integrity. Only with strong States can one expect a strong Centre, because regional aspirations and national interest are complementary, not contradictory.

The New Party proposes to become a real alternative to the Congress Party by accepting the democratic principle of decentralised development, power and policy-making, as opposed to the imposition of centralised direction as practised by the Congress Government in all aspects of political and economic life. It is only by the sincere application of the federal principle, which promises the fastest development, that genuine democracy and national unity based on participation can be enjoyed by the people. This nation can survive with all its rich cultural variety and democratic traditions only if a proper appreciation is made and satisfaction given to the different tiers of our polity.

As against the five year plan of the Congress Government, the New Party would make provision for only an infra-structural plan at the Central level, allowing within its flexible framework the freedom to each State and every district to make its own plan, raise its own resources, attract its own investment and make optimum use of its own revenue.

The burden thus lightened, the national leadership and Central Government could then concentrate on foreign policy, defence, national infra-structural planning, communications and national integration—all of which have been grievously neglected and mismanaged to the detriment of the country by the Congress Governments of the past.

Mahatma Gandhi had said time and again that India cannot, and should not be industrialised in the Western sense. Despite this, the Ruling Party has tried to follow the

India is passing through an economic crisis. It cannot be corrected merely by *ad hoc* measures, slogans, legislative enactments, administrative reforms, political agitation, amendments to the Constitution, or massive foreign aid without a basic policy change. The New Party intends to do just that.

Any economic policy should promote the welfare of a people as a whole and ensure both an increase in Gross National Product, consistent with social justice, peace and happiness of all.

IV. Social Justice is not an abstract term indicating good intentions, but is a basic philosophy translated into action, leading to the welfare of the masses based on the equality and prosperity of men. Equality implies the opportunity and feasibility to move vertically in one's own profession as also horizontally from one profession to another of one's choice. It implicitly means, a breaking down of social and economic barriers. To overcome the injustice of centuries, it requires, in the immediate, preferential treatment in a wide field of human activity in the matter of education, vocational training and productive jobs on the one hand and understanding, encouragement and trusteeship as adumbrated by Gandhi on the other. Social stigmas and economic oppression can only be eradicated if the inherently clogged channels are cleansed to permit a meaningful share of power, both economic and social, by offering preferential opportunities to participate in trade, industry and the professions, and by the dismantling of the caste system with accelerated recruitments of and promotions for the backward classes. In a society suffering from gross inequalities and social chasms, the ugly spectacle of cringing attitudes and grinding poverty can only be counter-balanced by boycotting conspicuous consumption and individual indulgence.

III. *Sarva Dharma Sama Bhav* stands for equal respect for all religions and ways of life and worship. India is a land of many faiths. Secularism is basically an absence of a state religion and does not stand for the negation of any religion. But the way secularism has been exploited and misused to encourage casteism and communalism in India since freedom has made it necessary to define it as *Sarva Dharma Sama Bhav*.

Soviet pattern of giving preference to industry over agriculture and, as amongst industries, followed the American preference for giving more importance to heavy industry over cottage or small-scale industries. The New Party will reverse these priorities, and invest all available resources in the rural economy with a view to restoring economic viability in the rural areas where 80 per cent of our people live.

Since freedom of thought and free institutions and regimented economic life cannot co-exist, the New Party will work for a system in which the individual has the greatest freedom consistent with social justice. This system would be radically different from the one of mixed economy, socialist pattern or so-called socialism practised by the party in power. A mixed economy mixes the worst of both worlds. The mixed economy in India has neither the efficiency of the private sector nor does it serve the social purpose of delivering goods. The New Party therefore proposes to leave the bulk of economic activities to be performed by decentralised units in villages, towns and dispersed centres rather than big, centralised metropolitan areas. Decentralised production, distribution, exchange and consumption would make the best use of tradition and individual talent and inventiveness as also social organisations. The government shall, however, not fail to set up its own projects for purposes of defence and infrastructure, where necessary. These public sector projects as also the existing ones must be run honestly, efficiently and with a sense of national purpose.

Inflation is the worst kind of concealed taxation. It does not affect the rich, but imposes a crushing burden on the poor. The economy is now racing towards hyper-inflation at an ever-accelerating pace.

There are several contributory causes to inflation—the most direct and avoidable one being the mounting wasteful and unproductive governmental expenditure by the reckless printing of currency notes and other measures of deficit financing. Inflation can be cured only by increasing the production of food and consumer goods. Inflation coupled with high taxes also leads to corruption, driving money underground. This deprives the State of legitimate revenue, forcing it into further deficit financing. An integrated attack on all three fronts can normalise prices within a very short period of time.

Therefore, the New Party is pledged to the eradication of black money and the maintaining of an honest rupee through fiscal and monetary measures.

POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

Clean And Efficient Administration :

First : The New Party aims at an honest and efficient administration where public servants will not only be fair and impartial but will also apply the necessary skill and labour to the performance of their duty, to create an administration in which there will be no delay, no waste and no corruption. It will take ruthless and swift measures against all public servants found guilty of corruption, inefficiency or discrimination. Laws, rules and procedures for transacting public business will be made simpler, more precise and otherwise so amended that discretionary powers are reduced to the minimum without affecting initiative and efficiency.

The New Party holds that the Government will be run in peoples' languages.

The New Party further proposes to establish an organisation of persons specially trained in the functioning of companies, financial institutions and semi-government bodies, which will deal with the "respectable" offender in trade, commerce, business and finance. The ordinary police is normally trained in the ways of the ordinary criminal—the thief, the murderer and the dacoit—but is unable to cope with those miscreants who are guilty of cheating, forgery, embezzlement, tax-evasion, hoarding, smuggling and the manipulation of shares, stocks and foreign exchange on a large scale. As these people are hand-in-glove with corrupt public servants, unscrupulous politicians and even hardened criminals, they usually succeed in escaping the arm of the law, so that there is a general belief that the law of the land does not exist for them.

Among measures to be taken in this sphere, the New Party proposes that returns and assessment order of politicians, businessman and the gazetted public servants are not kept confidential but made available to the public.

Emoluments And Discipline Of Public Servants :

Second : While the New Party would like the public servant to be adequately paid and trusted it would insist on strict observation of discipline in their ranks. The New Party would seek to remove disparities in the salary structure after fixing a

net income and would take steps to ensure that in time salary incomes between the highest and the lowest are brought to a reasonable ratio.

Taxation And Economies :

Third : Prosperity is a function of resource mobilisation of savings and prudent and efficient expenditure of the State. The New Party further aims at creating a just tax structure by simplifying and plugging loopholes in the existing tax laws, making the collection machinery clean and efficient. Today, thousands of crores of rupees of tax remain unassessed and hundreds of crores remain uncollected. At the same time, the New Party will aim at reducing indirect taxes which hit the comparatively poorer sections of the community in a greater measure than the rich.

The New Party will abolish income tax on salaries.

Corruption Among Politicians :

Fourth : 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 in administration cannot possibly be stamped out or even reduced. The New 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, legislators and officials.

Government Aid To Political Parties :

Fifth : The New Party suggests that national political parties should be financed by government in accordance with suitable criteria. The parties should by law be required to get their accounts audited and published annually. Donations by tax-payers, other than companies, should be allowed as a "deduction" from their gross total income subject to certain restrictions.

Electoral Reform :

Sixth : The New Party believes that without free and fair electoral democracy becomes a farce. The New Party therefore will work for reforms in the electoral system.

It is absolutely necessary to evolve a system where the will of the people is more accurately reflected in the seats won in the legislatures. So far minority votes have produced massive majorities, this anomaly must be rectified by adopting or evolving a new system of representation.

It is long being felt that every ruling party enjoys a disproportionate advantage if it continues in power during the elections and therefore the Government should resign the moment an election to the Lok Sabha or to the State Assembly is notified.

With a view to avoid duplication of cost and bogus voting the government should take upon itself the responsibility of issuing identity cards. Ballot papers must be punched and not stamped.

To avoid fraud and manipulations it is imperative to count votes at the polling station immediately on completion of balloting.

To ensure that the elections are impartially supervised, the Chief Election Commission should consist of at least three members appointed by the President at his discretion. None of the members would be permitted after retirement to accept any job or appointment.

Mass media play an important role during elections. Apart from newspapers, All India Radio and Television, the Films Division and the Press Information Bureau of the Centre and States must be insulated against taking a partisan attitude in the elections on the principle that they should treat all parties equally.

The present system by which the Prime Minister can indiscriminately use Air Force planes and helicopters at nominal cost, thereby acquiring immense and unfair advantages for the ruling party, should be stopped forthwith.

Maintenance Of Law And Order :

Seventh : The New Party would maintain law and order in strict accordance with legal enactments and the Constitution, irrespective of persons, parties or any other consideration whatsoever. Without a sense of security and faith in the fairness and impartiality of the administration in the mind of every individual in regard to his life, property, honour and religion, there can be no real peace and security and therefore no happiness in our society.

The New Party would curb with a strong hand all subversive and disintegrating forces.

Protection Of Minorities And Freedom Of Religion :

Eighth : The success of a society depends upon the happiness and security of its minorities. Nor should the majority feel that such progress is being made at its expense. It is only an open and just society functioning according to the rule of law, based on merit, with equality of opportunities for all and due recognition for work and efficiency, which can strike this balance. Governmental action has invariably upset such a balance and has indeed tried to play one against the other for political benefit. The New Party 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 his caste, language, region or religion, so that nationalism or the feeling of a common brotherhood may develop day by day.

While every citizen of India is entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practise and propagate his religion, the New Party will not allow any foreign or local Missionaries to practise conversion from one religion to another through force, or fraud or for material inducements and no orphan will be allowed to be converted at all.

Political Action :

Ninth : All political action should be aimed at reconstructing national life and the expression and organisation of the people's will. The New Party will continually strive to become the spokesman of the people and the organiser of its will, resisting and fighting injustice at all levels. It must be prepared to take part in constructive action to educate popular

The Centre's power to impose President's Rule needs to be abolished. The instability of any State government cannot be determined through a subjective report written by a governor who is beholden to the Central leadership, but must be tested on the floor of the legislature. To prevent any Chief Minister from abusing his authority to call an Assembly into session, the governor may be armed with the power of summoning an Assembly to test the strength of the government, although an Assembly so summoned may not do any legislative business. If the Governor fails to perform this duty, it should be possible

Tenth : While the New Party would like to retain a strong Centre, with residuary powers, to protect the frontiers of the country and the sovereignty and unity of the nation, it does not approve of the present trend which has reduced the States to the position of District Boards or Zilla Parishads. The vast financial resources enjoyed by the Centre coupled with centralised planning and Article 356 of the Constitution which gives the Central Cabinet the right to 'advise' the President to impose his rule by suspending or dissolving the Assembly of a State, have virtually sabotaged all autonomy of the States.

Decentralisation Of Development And Authority :

The traditional debate on the use or non-use of violence in a revolution has today become irrelevant particularly since it has been supplemented by the third choice of civil resistance, as taught to us by Gandhiji. Civil disobedience is eminently justified when a government in power abuses such power and utilises every means, fair and foul, to perpetuate its rule.

Every small and symbolic constructive activity is the life-blood of all genuinely revolutionary action. Revolutionary thought can never restrict itself to parliamentary action alone. While the vote is the supreme expression of the people's will, it is recorded once in several years. Hesitant submission ensues if the vote is not supplemented by recurrent awakening through the invited suffering of civil resistance. Civil resistance is an exercise in power—reducing the power of evil and increasing the power of good. An act of civil resistance must shun expediency and must not make use of lies and violence.

opinion and be enlightened by it in turn. It must indicate by its example and accomplishment what it promises when it forms a government.

for 1/3rd of the members of any legislature to requisition a special session for the purpose.

In the matter of forming governments, the Governor should be duty-bound to call upon the leader of the largest party or group to do so within a fixed stipulated time, and only if he fails to do so, the leader of the second largest party or group should be called, and so on, the leaders of third, fourth, fifth party etc.

Thanks to centralised planning, a great many of the legitimate powers of the States have been misappropriated by the Centre. For example, the basic scheme of the Constitution is that 'Industries' should remain a State subject except those whose control by the Union is expedient in the public interest and must be regulated by the Centre. Accordingly, Parliament passed an Act in 1951, specifying these Industries which in the public interest have to be controlled by the Centre. Subsequent amendments of the Act have, however, transformed 'Industries' into a Union subject.

Similarly, although under the Constitution 'Agriculture', 'Animal Husbandry' and 'Forests' are included in the State list, owing to the financial powers that the Centre possesses and uses as a whip-hand, the States have lost all initiative and control on the choice of projects, their size or priority. For better administration and broader participation, the States' financial powers will have to be increased and their rights over resources and decision making will have to be restored.

Inter-State Disputes :

Eleventh : There are several disputes pending between States which are allowed to drag on and finally settled after much bloodshed and violence on an *ad hoc* basis, keeping in mind only the political benefits that will accrue to the ruling party. This trend to suppress local urges and aspirations vitiates the atmosphere and militates against national integration and unity. The New Party would, therefore, immediately appoint a permanent commission as envisaged in Article 363 of the Constitution created precisely for the purpose of solving such disputes. All inter-State disputes whether on boundary or the sharing of river waters, electricity etc. will be referred to such a commission whose ruling would not only be final but binding on all parties concerned, including the Central Government.

Autonomy Of Local Bodies :

Twelfth : Local self-government, though introduced some time back, has remained largely ineffective. Panchayats, District Boards, Municipalities and Corporations are entirely at the mercy of State Governments which are using them as pawns in a political game. They are expected to perform functions but are not given the necessary powers and resources to do so. With the result that the work supposed to be done by them largely remains undone. The New party intends to give these bodies constitutional status, and, if necessary, is prepared to amend the Constitution accordingly.

Reform And Independence Of Judiciary :

Thirteenth : There is no better test of the excellence of a Government than the independence, efficiency and impartiality of its judicial system. Justice delayed is justice denied. The existing system which we inherited from the British needs radical change to make it quick, efficient and easily available to the common man. While retaining the advantages of the present system, the New Party proposes to overhaul the procedural law also, so that justice is not only done but also seems to have been done, and delay, perjury, corruption and undue expenditure are avoided and the guilty punished. Laws which are complicated will be simplified, ambiguities removed and brought in line with current needs.

The New Party readily concedes the right of the judiciary to interpret the law and the Constitution according to its own lights, untrammelled by the "social philosophy" of the Government in power or any outside authority and will willingly abide by its judgment. It is of the firm belief that judges "committed" to interpret the law and the Constitution in a particular manner will toll the end of democracy in the country.

Frequently cases arise which involve political issues and excite party feelings. It is then that the courage and uprightness of the judges become supremely valuable to the private citizen and conducive to the smooth working of free Government than general confidence in the pure and efficient administration of justice between the individual and the State as well as between man and man.

In the appointment and promotion of judges, all considerations other than those of ability, integrity will be excluded. No judge after retirement employed in any capacity whatsoever, to compensate which his retirement and other benefits will be enhanced.

For public convenience and better administration, the New Party would require that Munsiffs and Sub-Divisional Magistrates reside and hold their Courts at the sub divisional headquarters, and not only at the headquarters of the districts, as at present.

Economic Philosophy :

Fourteenth : The New Party does not believe in a system under which individuals enjoy an unrestricted freedom to exploit the economic needs of others nor does it stand for the State possessing unlimited powers to curb initiative, restrict economic freedom, thereby creating a monopoly for itself.

The New Party believes that the widest dispersal of ownership of property and means of production is the only assurance and safeguard of democracy. The New Party is opposed to all concentration of economic power, whether it be in the hands of a few capitalists or the State itself.

Both Capitalism and Communism are equally irrelevant in the context of the social and economic development of India. Therefore, the New Party believes in treading the Gandhian Path, creating an economy based overwhelmingly on self-employment.

It is the poor and the dispossessed in this country who need the protection of the Government and not the industrialists and traders who are made to run after licenses and thereafter enjoy monopolies which deprives the consumer of a free choice of quality products at reasonable prices.

The present system of nationalisation and State controls produces State monopolies and private monopolies. Licenses, permits and quotas lead to bribery and corruption. It is the collusion of the government and big business that creates black money which thereafter cannot openly be put to productive use and hence lies or is invested in less productive channels or even used up in non-essential conspicuous con-

The economic strategy of the Party envisages that our abundant labour power is fully utilised, as labour is the principal untapped source in capital formation. The total labour

The New Party believes in decentralised production. In pursuance of this belief it will work for the establishment of an economy largely based on small properly operated through self-employed persons, which gives more production and employment per unit of land in the field of agriculture, and more production and employment per unit of capital invested in industry. The new strategy must reduce inequalities in incomes between one man and another, as wide disparities will lead to social tensions and exploitation of man by man. Economic exploitation leads to political exploitation which militates against democracy.

Fifteenth: In the sphere of economic production, the New Party's priorities will be agriculture first, cottage and small-scale second, and heavy and large-scale industry last.

Economic Priorities And Development Strategy :

It is only a New Party in Government that can and will do all this and more.

It is the function of Government to ensure competition, it is the duty of the State to break monopolies and cartels, and it is the first charge on any administration to protect the consumer.

It is only healthy competition and the free-functioning consumer-oriented market economy that will make business-men in trade and industry behave themselves and eliminate black market, fiercely competing with each other, subject to a certain measure of social regulation, for their share of the market through improved quality and reduced prices. It is only then that the common man, the consumer, will benefit.

These policies instil fear in trade and industry and it is this fear that makes it possible for the ruling party to extort vast sums of black money for political purposes, vitiating the democratic process. Today there is collusion between Government and business to the detriment of the common man. At present trade and industry is not consumer-oriented and, therefore, against the interests of the common man.

force cannot be productively absorbed in agriculture alone. Surplus labour must, therefore, be shifted to non-agricultural sectors like industry, trade and the professions. This requires special training facilities, based on science and technology, and a radical reform in education. Apart from scarcity of capital, India is short of the right type of labour, even though enough hands are available. Therefore, a new technology must be evolved which makes the maximum use of labour with the fullest utilisation of capital.

Size Of Farm :

Sixteenth : Several reports have been produced to study the land-man ratio on the basis of the most prevalent technology of non-mechanised farming by manual and animal labour. These reports indicate that one unit of man power can get the maximum yield as the size of his farm increases to 27.5 acres. This means that a 2.5-acre farm produces the maximum yield per acre of land and a 27.5-acre farm produces the maximum output per unit of labour. Below 27.5 acres, production per man begins to fall off as the area decreases, although production per acre continues to increase till land per man is reduced to a point in the neighbourhood of 2.5 acres. So that if the area a man possesses amounts to more than 27.5 acres, land is not fully utilised because of insufficient labour, and, if it is less than 2.5 acres per worker, labour is not fully employed because of lack of sufficient land. Between these two levels, the more land a man has the better for him, as his total production will rise with every acre added to his holding, and, the less land he has, the better for the country as the country's total production will rise with every acre taken away from the holding.

In India where land is limited and labour abundant, where the average holding is barely 7 acres and constantly going down due to population growth, inheritance and slow industrial off-take, it is in the interest of the country that a law relating to transfer and partition of land in future is so amended that the area of land per worker is not reduced below 2.5 acres.

Agricultural Production :

Seventeenth : The New Party will give first priority to the development of agriculture. Without it there will be no

Small irrigation works are preferable to large ones. Steps

The New Party will, therefore, try to reach as much capital in the form of rural credit, improved seeds, fertilisers and irrigation at reasonable rate, along with as much scientific knowledge as may be available with the Government, to the largest number of peasants.

If our aim is to bring about parity of incomes between agricultural and non-agricultural occupations, this industrial off-take must continue till agricultural workers start earning the same as their urban counterparts.

Apart from the question of employment, there is good reason why the rural labour force should be diverted to non-agricultural occupations. More goods and services are produced for mass consumption. What is more, as more agricultural occupations are better paid, it raises the standard of living in the country as a whole.

Land is constant and cannot be increased. Labour is surplus and with more modern non-mechanised techniques more labour could currently be employed in agriculture. But there is a limit. On the other hand, there is no limiting factor in industry or services which will impede the realisation of increasing returns. Which means that, in the ultimate analysis, more men must find employment in other than agricultural occupations.

Agricultural production would go up if even one of three factors of production, land, labour or capital, is increased, or an innovation is effected in the farming techniques.

end to food imports which have drained the country not only of its wealth, to the tune of around Rs 10,000 crores at today's prices, but also of its self-respect. If this money had been ploughed into our agriculture, India today would have been surplus in food. Without producing agricultural surplus, there can be no economic development of the country or eradication of its poverty. Only a prosperous agriculture can provide raw materials to feed the wheels of industry, provide markets for non-agricultural goods and services through increased purchasing power in the hands of farmers and, finally, release foreign exchange to finance necessary and unavoidable imports of non-agricultural goods and machinery.

will be taken to see that all available organic manure is utilised towards increased agricultural production. Alternative fuel in the villages will have to be provided in order that cattle-dung is released from the hearths or *choolas* for use in the fields. In any case, improvements in our existing *choolas* 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.

With a view to securing better utilisation of land, labour and capital, schemes for the consolidation of scattered fields belonging to a farmer into one compact block will be initiated and pursued with vigour.

In the past, little or no attention had been paid to the prevention of soil erosion which, if it continues at the present rate, will exhaust our soil completely and make it unsuitable for cultivation. This must stop forthwith. Soil conservation is even more important than soil utilisation. Therefore, the New Party will take immediate steps to launch a massive programme of afforestation and soil conservation.

Finally, the New Party proposes to reach electric energy to every village so that with its aid, agricultural production is increased, more and more villages take to non-agricultural occupations on a whole time or part time basis and extend modern amenities to village life.

Abolition Of Landlordism :

Eighteenth : The New Party believes that besides capital investment and innovations in farming techniques, there is yet another factor which can raise production: it is the psychology of the man behind the plough. His mind will be yoked in the interest of increased production if he is made proprietor of his patch of land. The feeling that he is his own master, subject to no outside control and has free, exclusive and untrammelled use of his land, prompts him to greater effort. He receives a psychological fillip which vitalises his attachment and devotion to the land. The New Party, therefore, stands for the replacement of farm tenancy by peasant-proprietorship and the conversion of 'new' tenure to 'old' tenure, giving him the necessary rights and security. It stands for the abolition of landlordism lock, stock and barrel, wherever it still lingers in the country. Every cultivator of the soil, irrespective of his status under the existing law, will be given permanent rights and

As the capital-labour ratio improves, the economy will gradually evolve from cottage or small-scale industries to

needed to be located in urban centres. Industries using costly automatic machines which necessarily dispersed over the country-side, in preference to large-scale enterprises using labour intensive, capital-saving techniques, Our economy, therefore, must depend on small-machines. are lower than the interest on capital, labour is cheaper than must be conserved while labour is almost unlimited. As wages whatever is surplus. In our country, capital is scarce and the pattern of industrialisation in a country must exploit materials that are converted by machines into finished goods, situation of machines for human labour and requires raw

Twentieth : Inasmuch as industrialisation involves sub- **Pattern, Of Industrialisation And Employment :**

community to be catered to by the trade. out of the foodgrains thus acquired, leaving the rest of the shall be fed by Government, if necessary, at subsidised rates imported foodgrains. The poorer sections of our population of inputs and shall not ordinarily be lower than the cost of price paid to the farmer shall be fixed having regard to the price of levy, leaving the balance to be handled by the trade. The comparatively large farmers may be secured through imposition ses of buffer stock part of the surplus available with the Party proposes that only in times of scarcity and for the purpose of food, the New

Nineteenth : **On Foodgrains :**

New Party proposes to make them owners of their sites. and harassments by Government and private landlords. The persons are owners of the sites on which their houses stand. In some of the urban areas within the country, not all

carrying on cultivation. and those of unsound mind or physically handicapped from widows, minors and members of the armed forces of the Union, tion. No farmer will be allowed to lease out land except will be permitted to resume land from tenants for self-cultivation. brought into direct relationship with the State. No intermediary

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 New Party holds that it should be necessary to stratify and categorise industries, as between cottage small, medium and large, on the sound principle that only what cottage industries 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 only through such demarcation, allotting to each strata its own production technique, that optimum employment can be created. It must be borne in mind that the ratio of employment between cottage and small-scale industry and large-scale industry can be as high as 12:1.

Cottage and small-scale industrial units will be provided protection against competition from large-scale units by progressively diverting the production of the latter to the export market.

In short, the New Party believes in production by the masses rather than mass production by a few till full employment is reached.

Cooperation :

Twenty First : While firmly believing in its utility, the New Party does not think that the cooperative movement can be run through a Government department. In order that it may be able to serve its aim, cooperation has to come about through an inner urge as an instrument of satisfaction or fulfilment of a common need and not as a command-performance in pursuance of an official or political whip.

Cooperation is not a synonym for collectivisation. While the New Party stands for Farming and Industrial cooperatives, it is proposed to cooperative farms and industries where labour and fixed assets, i. e., land and machinery, are not owned by the workers themselves.

Labour Policy :

Twenty Second : The New Party recognises that one of the major causes of indiscipline in production and productivity is the existence of multiple politicalised trade unions in differ-

To give a fair deal to labour, the New Party will appoint separate wage boards for various industries in the organised sector, set up minimum wage committees to cover the unorganised sector, link dearness allowance with the cost of living and productivity, and revise the code of conduct rules for Government and semi-Government employees. It will also pass

It is essential for labour to remember that where the freedom of the individual has been abridged, the rights of the working classes have disappeared.

In a controlled society, workers are considered to be the fodder for political movements and used as tools for the ruling party. There cannot be a free labour movement without individual freedom and Fundamental Rights. Labour must understand that if the freedom of the citizen can be taken away by illegal constitutional amendments, the freedom of labour cannot remain untrampled.

In a totalitarian society, people live in fear and are afraid to express opinions which are contrary to official thinking. Everyone works for the Government. Trade Unions, if any, exist only in name and the right to strike is non-existent. The Congress Government's handling of labour problems is revealing. It has consistently chosen to employ a double standard in so far as industrial relations in the public and private sectors are concerned. The Government being the single biggest employer in the country has not merely failed to be an ideal employer but has used its governmental powers to protect its interests as an employer. Government has not even succeeded in associating labour with management in public sector enterprises nor has it been able to persuade private management to accept its desirability. Such double standards cannot co-exist for long. Labour's right to organise, bargain and strike, as also its right to be associated with management in a meaningful manner should remain unfettered. Every effort should be made to strengthen an independent trade union movement, run and organised by the workers themselves, and the politically motivated exploitation of labour must stop forthwith.

ent industrial or commercial ventures, whether in Government, the public sector or in private industry. Therefore, the New Party will introduce legislation to ensure that there is only one union in one industry, the recognition of that union being determined through secret ballot periodically.

comprehensive legislation providing for the compulsory recognition of unions, the protection from arbitrary suspensions and terminations of service, and on-the-job training to facilitate increased recruitment to managerial cadres from the ranks of the working class.

Quality Of Human Factor :

Twenty Third : The total real income of a country is roughly a function of the size and efficiency of its labour of working force relative to the size and quality of its material resources. Though India has not been so happily endowed with *per capita* natural resources, many countries being more fortunate on this score, India has a great opportunity of making up this deficiency through the size of its large working force, provided it is given the necessary training. The quality of man depends largely on historical and cultural factors, social environment, health and the quality of education and also the kind of leadership provided by the Government. These are not mere abstract ideas but something that wise governments must actively pursue in order to redress the deficiency in our *per capita* natural resources.

Need For Change In Mental Attitudes :

Twenty Fourth : Every society needs to create for itself certain values worth striving for. After 27 years of Independence, we stand to-day devoid of all 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. One cannot have something for nothing; and if we have to develop our society, prices will have to be paid, whether we live in a democracy or in a dictatorship. The difference being that in a democracy costs are willingly borne, whereas in a dictatorship they are extracted. In India, the cost will have to be paid through hard work, discipline, integrity and the honest payment of taxes so that the burden is equitably distributed.

In place of fatalistic pre-determination, we will have to substitute the work ethic. This transformation requires the creation of hope in every heart. It is only a society based on merit which can give the necessary confidence and impetus to the citizen that the only ceiling on his achievement are the limitations of his own ability and character. Today, even the most

accomplished and intelligent man feels that he cannot succeed unless he is well connected or capable of securing a push or a recommendation.

The only way of curing this disease of nepotism, favouritism and mediocrity is by creating a society based on election by merit where everyone stands an equal chance without reference of his caste or creed except where it concerns socially backward classes.

Spirit Of Self Reliance :

Twenty Fifth : The spirit of self-reliance is a motivating force for future progress. It does not mean shutting out of the outside world but a greater realisation of indigenous potential. Unfortunately, the Congress Government has sought to make up its inadequacies on this score by indiscriminately borrowing from abroad. When the country achieved Independence in 1947, we had a sterling balance amounting to Rs 3,400 crores whereas in 1973, the country is indebted to the tune of Rs 8,000 crores. The unfortunate aspect of foreign aid is that it tends to create problems, which have become too large and insoluble due to decades of neglect, instead of creating new opportunities for development. Although foreign capital costs more than foreign aid, it comes at its own risk, with no obligation of repayment. The tendency in the past has been to encourage foreign aid merely because it flows through Government channels giving the rulers greater authority and control.

Barriers to foreign trade, in particular exchange control, are amongst the worst forms of economic intervention. The New Party, therefore, will withdraw protection from those large-scale industries which have been enjoying it for too long and extend only limited protection against international competition to new or difficult industries on a temporary basis. Of course, complete protection will be afforded to cottage and small-scale industries.

Education :

Twenty Sixth : Since all revolutions are made in the mind of man, informed and educated manpower is the real asset of any country. This is particularly so in a democracy in which the people have to participate in decision-making at all levels.

The system of education introduced by the British to produce clerks to man the lower rungs of their administration has continued with minor changes even 27 years after Freedom. It is lopsided and out of tune with the fast changing situation in India. While it gives top priority to higher education, the base of the educational pyramid, the primary education, continues to be neglected. Because of domination of English in education as in administration education has become a factor of disintegration of the Indian society. A yawning gap has been created between the educated few and the masses.

The New Party will take steps to re-orient, reorganise and universalise education and towards that end will take these steps:—

It will give top priority to universal uniform primary education which is the base of the education pyramid. The standard of primary education and the primary teacher will be raised. To create a sense of social cohesion and give substance to the constitutional directive about equality of opportunity, a system of neighbourhood schools will be enforced, and all children of a locality, rich or poor, will have to study in the same school. Standard of such schools will be improved with the cooperation of the citizens of the locality. All fancy schools will be closed.

Effective steps will be taken to step up adult education for those who have passed the school-going age. The number of such people in the age-group 16-44 in India in 1971 stood at 16 crores. It is essential to impart adult education to make the whole population at least literate.

Secondary education will be vocationalised and its standard raised. It shall be made the passport for entry into all services and professions so that the craze for higher/ college/ university education is checked. Provision for part-time study and examination as private students will be made to provide an opportunity to those who want to improve their educational qualifications.

Special attention will be paid to vocational and technical education and training. Provision for part-time study and training in professional and technical courses will be made so that the technicians and workers may improve their qualifications while working.

Universities and institutions of higher learning will be made centres of specialisation in fields of different sciences and disciplines, and entry into them will be governed by merit. The State shall bear the expenses of the meritorious but poor students getting admission into such institutions of high learning.

Steps will be taken to add moral and national content to the courses of study, particularly the primary and secondary stages, so that education may become the means to turn out good citizens.

Regional language will be made the medium of education at all stages, all possible steps will be taken to develop and enrich them.

A common script will be developed for all the Indian languages, as also a dictionary of common Indian words.

As provided by the Constitution, all sections of the people who regard a particular language as distinctly their own will have the right to conserve it. All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Government manned by the New Party will extend all aid to the minorities in establishing and maintaining such institutions.

In particular, the party is concerned about the Urdu language which has suffered due to official neglect. Urdu has not even received protection to the extent envisaged in the Constitution. The Party is determined to do the same.

Youth And Politics :

Twenty Seventh : The New Party pledges to give a vote to all those above the age of 18. The Party abhors the incursion of politics on campus, universities and other educational institutions. Educational institutions are temples of learning, and should serve as Centres for independent study, scholarship and dissent or debate, but not as battle-grounds for political power. However, political awareness and participation of the youth of any generation in the political life of the country is essential. Therefore, the New Party will foster and encourage youth to participate at every level of political activity through fronts, forums and programmes.

Health :

Twenty Eighth : Disease and ill health not only result in loss of working hours but also sap the energy and induce lethargy, resulting in lower receptivity to new ideas. This leads to great economic wastage or decrease in output and contributes to our poverty. Besides ensuring production of additional quantities of food which will improve the nutrition level of our people, the New Party will work for more medical facilities, whether Ayurvedic, Unani, Allopathic, Homoeopathic or Naturopathic and for an increase in their efficiency. It will pay particular attention to the training of midwives and in establishing maternity homes in rural areas.

Sanitary conditions, particularly in villages, are appalling; and the New Party will take preventive and curative measures to remove this blemish on our society at the earliest.

The New Party is acutely aware that large-scale adulteration is ruining the health of the nation and will take firm steps to ensure that pure articles of food and pure medicines are available at reasonable prices.

The unrestricted use of intoxicants, particularly alcohol, dulls the mind and leads to crime, poverty, broken homes, decline in health and erosion of moral values. As past experience has proved that total prohibition by law is impracticable, the New Party would rely on education and propaganda to discourage the use of alcohol and resort to law with a view to control the spread of this evil.

Birth Control :

Twenty Ninth : Although man can do nothing about the existing size of population, at least its rate of growth can be checked to improve our economic conditions.

Today our population is increasing at the rate of 2.5 per cent. Or some 14.5 million persons a year. Barring Ceylon, and Bangla Desh, the density of population per unit of useable land area, as also the rate of population growth, are the highest in the world. India, therefore, needs to practise birth control. The objective can be best achieved by intensifying our existing Family Planning Programmes, giving incentives to those who conform, and statutorily enhancing the marriageable age.

Eradication Of Injustice—Social, Political, Economic And Regional :

Thirteenth : The first task facing our society is the eradication of injustice. A feeling of injustice leads to a feeling of insecurity, frustration and revengefulness. During our 27 years of Freedom, this feeling has spread to the remotest corners of our country, vertically and horizontally. Frustration makes a man less productive and deprives him of his potential capabilities. Every man has the right to feel and know within himself that there are no barriers, social or political, which will deprive him of attaining his full realisation. This can be done only in a just society, free of injustice, where the Rule of Law prevails. The New Party is committed to creating such a society.

Caste based on birth has resulted in a centuries-old social system which has divided people into water-tight compartments, giving rise to the problem of untouchability and scheduled or backward classes which plague our society so irretrievably.

This system runs counter to the concept of the dignity of labour and creates an environment where manual work is considered degrading. Further, the caste system, based as it is on the principle of absolute inequality in social relations, militates against the successful functioning of democracy, the first postulate of which is the equality of man. It also restricts their freedom of economic opportunities. What is more, caste is immutable; one can change one's religion, but not one's caste.

The New Party will take steps to gradually loosen the hold of caste on our society till it disappears altogether. With this end in view, the New Party proposes to give preference in recruitment to gazetted services to those young men who have married or are prepared to marry outside their own caste, religion or language.

The New Party will pay special attention to the upliftment of Harijans and scheduled castes and tribes to whom justice has been denied for long. As atrocities recently committed on the Harijans and Adivasis all over the country have shown, mere enactment of legal and constitutional provision is not adequate. Positive steps will have to be taken to ensure that the law is actually implemented.

So far as their economic welfare is concerned, while all cultivable land found surplus as a result of ceilings, or surplus to the needs of a village community or forests, may be allotted to Harijans and Adivasis, it must not be forgotten that the ultimate solution to their economic and social problems will depend on the development of non-agricultural resources and a change in our mental attitudes or a transformation of our national psychology. However, as an interim measure, the New Party proposes that 20 per cent of jobs are reserved in all factories, both in public and private sectors, as also of the permits or licenses in the gift of Government which do not require any technical skill to exploit, shall be reserved for members belonging to these suppressed sections of our society. The minimum qualifying marks for admissions to higher and technical education shall be lowered by 10 per cent for Harijans and Adivasis. The Harijan and Adivasi problem is a national problem. To tackle it, the New Party will create a separate ministry both at the Centre and State levels. Educational institutions bearing caste names will not be given Government aid.

The New Party stands for the abolition of caste within a stipulated time. This step will restore to the Harijans their rightful status in society, the deprivation of which has rankled so bitterly in their hearts for centuries.

Further, through legislation, propaganda and education, the New Party will try to eradicate all customs and practices that go counter to the principles of social equality.

For democracy to be meaningful, rapport has to be established between what are referred to as the elite or intelligentsia on the one hand, and the masses on the other. Life in India has continued at two levels. The upper class, the educated and articulate sections of the people, who provide the bulk of the political and the administrative leadership of the country, have adopted a life style of their own and are living far removed from the large masses of people who are illiterate, hungry and living in intolerable misery and squalor. Each is oblivious of the other and unaware of each other's problems, resulting in a tremendous communication gap. The policies of the Congress Government have merely enhanced the chasm and accentuated the differences.

In its attempts to abridge these barriers, the New Party is

All forms of colonialism, traditional, communist or neo-colonial, are a blemish on mankind and a serious impediment to the growth of a new world order based on equality and

The New Party's foreign policy, therefore, would be truly independent of the Super Powers and oriented to the promotion of national objectives concretely stated from time to time. India's immediate tasks are to develop close relations with its immediate neighbours and to extend cooperation to the countries of South East Asia, securing just and favourable terms of trade with the developed countries, reducing the technological gap between the developed and the developing world, opposing colonialism and imperialism of all descriptions, and propagating universal disarmament and the settlement of disputes by peaceful negotiations.

Thirty First : In the sphere of international relations, India has lost many valued friends, and it does not command any respect in the family of nations. During the last 27 years of its independent existence its frontiers have shrunk and a large chunk of its territory still remains under foreign occupation. The main purpose of India's foreign policy, as pursued by the Congress, has been to seek foreign aid, economic and military, particularly from the Super Powers. The policy of non-alignment, ideally suited to the cold war, has been in reality a policy of alternate alignments with the Super Powers. Of late, India has been relying much on the Soviet Union. This policy is proving disastrous to the country. We have failed to protect even the legitimate interests of the persons of Indian origin abroad.

Defence And Foreign Policy :

pledged to create a system of reservation of jobs. Although reservation of any kind is a vicious principle and repugnant to democratic practice, in this particular case there seems to be no other way but to reserve about 25 per cent of Government jobs for the backward classes, as recommended by the Backward Classes Commission, 1953. What is more, it is necessary for the substance of power to vest with these deprived sections of the population to eradicate the injustice of centuries. For the same reasons regional imbalances, created through faulty planning at the Central level, will be reduced by giving these areas a greater share of decentralised resources as envisaged in our scheme of things.

fraternity, where there is no exploitation of man by man, one nation by another.

True and effective disarmament can be achieved only when the world becomes economically and politically stable. Gross disparities in productive capacity between the developed one-third and the under-developed two-thirds of mankind produces a serious economic imbalance, giving rise to various forms of conflicts including economic exploitation and a mad race for armaments, the partition of many countries and cultures with constant tension among the power blocks.

Aid to under-developed countries must come through a World Development Authority to which every nation contributes according to its ability and from every nation receives according to its needs.

In the area complex of the Indian sub-continent that was Hindustan, the people of India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh would be brought together through a closer understanding of their mutual problems and interests so as to wash away the tragic memories of recent history, and gradually erode the corrosive effects of artificial hostility deliberately created. The process could begin with the immediate restoration of diplomatic relations between India and Pakistan, the creation of a common market, a joint communication system, unhindered travel facilities, complimentary foreign and defence policies, an equality of citizenship, ultimately leading to firm friendship with collaboration at every level—political, technical and international.

With a vast coastal frontier, it is a matter of deep shame that the Indian Ocean remains infested with all kinds of war-ships and bases, and the present Government can do nothing more than to complain about the one at the behest of the other. The New Party shall strive to convert India into a strong maritime power with a large mercantile navy, in keeping with its rich history and tradition.

A National Commission will be appointed to study defence Co-ordination, cost effectiveness and needs and to suggest defence requirements to civilian authority. It will also recommend a programme for the full utilisation and settlement of the trained and disciplined man-power of ex-sericemen.

... All farmers would benefit through the development of the rural economy and infra-structure and be assured of receiving

... The landless labourer would get full employment at higher wages by virtue of the productivity he has acquired.

... Harijans and other depressed classes would look forward to receiving preferential treatment to achieve equality, a ready job and the disappearance of social stigmas.

... The economically backward third of the population would see a glimpse of hope which makes life tolerable by virtue of assured employment, better education, greater skills and a large choice of vocations.

It is to be understood by us and explained to the people that if these policies are implemented, and the Government of India run along the lines described, the nation would surge forward, breaking through the existing *status quo*, reaching out for new horizons of hope in which...

CONCLUSION

Even while protecting its legitimate interest, India cannot abdicate the unique position that it has acquired through the heritage of Gandhiji. India's role in world politics must remain a moral force. The mere acquisition of military power would not enable India to solve any of its problems. Nor would unilateral disarmament, in the present circumstances, be a practical policy for India. But to fall into the rut of an arms race, nuclear or otherwise, would amount to the abandonment of India's destined role in history.

The New Party would zealously protect every bit of its territory and strive for the recovery of all those territories lost by an incompetent Congress Government. The New Party would insist that every care is taken to ensure national security, and integrity is maintained against external aggression, and would try to improve its defence forces.

The United Nations has failed because of the veto of the Five Powers. Therefore, the New Party will make every endeavour to turn the United Nations into a meaningful instrument of a new world order based on the equality of nations.

ing higher and better inputs, particularly irrigation. So that the farmer is protected at all times, it is necessary to establish the right of every farmer to sell his produce wherever he likes at remunerative prices.

... The industrial worker would be better off because of higher wages for productivity and greater job opportunities, giving him a choice of selecting his job or employer.

... The middle class and white-collar worker would enjoy a higher standard of living through reduced taxation and stable prices.

It is man who is capable of infinite achievement. It is man who is capable of accomplishing the most impossible tasks. It is man who is capable of great feats of endurance. It is man who is capable of absorbing and changing. The capacity of a machine can be rated; the capacity of man knows no limitations. It is for these reasons that the New Party believes in individual worth, where man is the central figure and Government should be so organised as to give every citizen the fullest opportunity for realising his optimum potential.

And so, the New Party affirms its principles and states its policies and solemnly pledges in the name of the Father of the Nation that it will truly and sincerely strive for a society based on the policy of prosperity through social justice and freedom.

1. Weak Control
 2. Less + Many Power - atmosphere of Confusion
 3. No discipline
 4. Weak character - Educated
- (a) Students
(b) Labour
(c) Employers
- Side ?

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RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETING OF THE SWATANTRA PARTY HELD IN NEW DELHI ON APRIL THE 6TH & 7TH, 1974

1. The State of the Nation

The very existence of India as a civilised and democratic nation is at stake. Rising prices, spreading unemployment, massive corruption, acute shortages, and universal injustice - economic, social and political - have put an excruciating burden on the poor man, yet the only concern of the Congress leadership is to absolve itself of any responsibilities and shift the blame for the present situation on some opposition parties and foreign agencies that, according to them, have combined for political motivation.

The greater the failure of the Government, the more frantic becomes its search for scapegoats with the result that the Ruling Party has been paralysed into inactivity, lethargy and even inertia.

The present crisis has created untold confusion in the minds of the intelligentsia and brought unprecedented hardships on the common man, whose condition is steadily deteriorating and his temper is likely to erupt in any number of violent ways.

The recent events in Gujarat and Bihar bear eloquent testimony of the rising anger of the people against Government's ineptitude to tackle even the simplest problems.

Another reason for these violent eruptions is the near impossibility of registering any institutional complaint, the ineffectiveness of opposition parties and the deprivation of legitimate rights of protest either through demonstration or through the ballot box.

The entire electoral process has been vitiated by mal-practices which begin with gerrymandering of constituencies, playing the communal equations, creating and fanning religious hostilities, injecting massive amounts of money on which the Ruling Party has a monopoly, and projecting its propaganda through state-owned or controlled media, the intimidation of the electorate and when all else fails, the stuffing of ballot boxes. In spite of this the Ruling Party could not have secured even the meagre success it had in UP and Orissa, if it had not resorted to the ultimate electoral fraud of actually miscounting the votes and/or the substituting of ballot papers carried out through coincidental contrived electricity failures during the counting at the appropriate moment.

It is only when the natural anger of the people cannot find its way through the ballot box, that the student community have to come forward and show us the way to political emancipation.

Having lost their natural safety valve by which the people could ventilate their grievances at the polls, the electoral process having been divorced and insulated from all other activities, it becomes incumbent on all decent and law abiding Indians to deprive the Congress of its right to rule.

Today the Congress is like a rudderless ship, devoid of ideology, devoid of principle and devoid of policies. Even its recent backtrack on taxation, takeover of the wheat trade and the relaxation of import policy does not arise out of conviction that they are striking a new path which is right and proper, but out of fear of having done something that just could not work, and therefore, something else had to be tried. Because had they realised the magnitude of the situation and admitted the monumental follies of the past, they could have taken certain bold and fearless decisions in re-orienting the economy.

It is quite evident from the above that the Congress has been working under pressures: the external pressure of the Soviet Union, the opposition pressure of the CPI and the internal pressures created by Communist infiltrations creating internal dissensions within the Congress Party.

Such a Party cannot last, much less govern for long, and the Swatantra Party must prepare itself whole-heartedly to present an alternative to the country.

2. Programmes of Action

- a) To do so, the Party must build its cadres in every village and city of India through programmes to motivate the people and particularly the youth into the nation building activities and constructive thought based on the sound and integrated principles, policies and programmes of the Swatantra Party.
- b) At the same time the Party must continue to educate the Government and other authorities into accepting pragmatic postures, discarding dogma, and into mobilising the necessary energy and wisdom to administer efficiently and to root out corruption.
- c) The Party will continue to explore all possibilities to bring about a two-party system in India with a view to remove the chaos prevailing in our political life and the confusion created in the minds of the electorate. In this connection the Swatantra Party urges all political parties and politicians to cooperate in this endeavour and to work for the common good.
- d) The Swatantra Party accuses the Congress Party for having defrauded the electorate from exercising its freedom of choice by vitiating the electoral process and resolves to try by all means available to it to ensure fair and free elections. There is also a need for basic electoral reform which will bring the Indian electoral system into greater harmony with the Indian reality.
- e) In case the Government and the Congress Party fails to respond to our efforts to restore free and fair elections, the Swatantra Party must start thinking in terms of finding new methods to prevent the breakdown of constitutional and democratic processes and appeals to the youth of India to strengthen its hands through non-violent movements.

3. Resolution on Economic Recovery

The Swatantra Party warns the people that our present economic crisis can never be resolved by the present economic policies.

Rising prices, uncontrolled unemployment, blatant corruption, acute shortages and cynical injustice are all man-made phenomena induced by following faulty imported economic ideas.

The only way we can break through this vicious situation or crisis is by a drastic surgical operation on the economy, which requires:

- a) Making the Public Sector perform efficiently on commercial lines within a stipulated time, and if it fails to do so, dispossess the unit and save the tax payer from carrying this unbearable burden;
- b) A drastic reduction in taxes, both direct and indirect, to curb tax evasion, to bring prices down and to stimulate production and therefore employment;
- c) Delicensing of the economy to stimulate growth, speed up economic recovery and eliminate institutionalised corruption;
- d) Float the Rupee and allow it to find its international economic value to eliminate smuggling and remove the distortions arising out of the partiality inherent in foreign exchange control and the economic distortions it creates;
- e) Invest all available resources in the rural economy with a view to restoring economic viability in the rural areas through a vigorous programme of infra-structure activities like roads, railways, afforestation, agro-industries, rural electrification, and minor irrigation, contouring, bunding, terracing, drainage and water conservation;
- f) A complete revamping of our educational system, making it more meaningful, more job-oriented and more on the basis of science and technology available in the country at any particular time.

4. Resolution on Gujarat and Bihar Affairs

The Swatantra Party congratulates the youth of Gujarat for their heroic efforts and sacrifice to fight corruption and rising prices. Their sincerity and dedication which won for them the silent support of all sections of the people and finally enabled them to secure the resignation of the corrupt government and the dissolution of the Gujarat State Assembly.

The Swatantra Party extends its full support and expresses its solidarity with the youth of Bihar who have pledged themselves to fight the cancer of corruption in the Government. It welcomes the statement of Jaiprakash Narain, giving his whole-hearted approval of this movement and trusts that his inspiring leadership will enable the students to achieve their objective speedily.

The Swatantra Party strongly condemns the destruction and burning of the office of 'Searchlight' and its press, reportedly by anti-social elements encouraged and backed by the Congress and the Communists. The Swatantra Party would advise the Government of India to have the entire series of events connected with the incident inquired into by a judicial commission.

The Swatantra Party unreservedly deplores and condemns the action of the Government of Bihar in deporting Raj Narain and Biju Patnaik from the State of Bihar on a specious plea of maintenance of law and order. The Swatantra Party would urge the Government of Bihar to cancel their deportation orders forthwith.

5. Resolution on Impending Railway Strike

The Swatantra Party sympathises with the demands of the Railway employees and condemns the Government for the endless procrastination in fulfilling their legitimate demands and calls upon the Government to arrive at an understanding to avert the strike.

In this connection the Swatantra Party will recall to the Government its appeal voiced in Parliament asking the Government to create a special machinery to deal with problems connected with the staff of essential services expeditiously.

Government have no moral right to talk about the disastrous effect of a railway strike having themselves pushed the railwaymen to a position where they are left with no alternative to go on a strike. In such a situation and having regard to the great consequences of a national railway strike, the Swatantra Party considers that it is the duty of the Government to take the initiative and to do everything possible to avert the strike in the larger interest of the nation.
