

I. GENERAL



SWATANTRA PARTY MANIFESTO

TO PROSPERITY THROUGH FREEDOM

1. Once or twice in a generation the call comes to a free people to make a momentous decision. Such a challenge to democracy will come in February 1967 when the people of India will have an opportunity to choose a new Parliament and a new Government and State Legislatures, which may more fully and faithfully reflect their needs and their aspirations and which may be capable of evoking the best that is in the people.

2. After eighteen years of national independence, the Indian people experience a sense of deep disappointment. They feel the need for a clean and efficient administration. They feel that they are not free but are at the mercy of officials and partymen. Those who are engaged in productive and distributive activities wish to be released from the fetters of bureaucracy so that their dynamism may take the country forward faster and more happily than is now the case. They want to see an end to the growing statism of the ruling party, the maladministration, the manoeuvres and intrigues of those in office, their

I. General. - For the people of India, eager to herald a new era in independent India's political history, the Fourth General Elections present a great opportunity, and a challenge. The Congress party has been in office for the last twenty years. It has lost the confidence of the people. It has been unable to manifest the nation's zeal strength, act in conformity with its self-respect and ensure the fruition of the people's efforts. The Government's posture has failed to reflect the valour and sacrifices of the people and jawans. It has betrayed an unawareness of the nation's basic unity and integrity, ignored people's sentiments and has been callously indifferent to the common man's welfare. Instead of achieving all-round self-reliance, prosperity and respect, the country, under Congress' aegis, has arrived at the brink of political subservience, economic bankruptcy and national humiliation. The nation's centuries-long struggle for Swadesh, Swadharma and Swatantrata cannot thus be allowed to be frustrated under Swaraj. The people cannot suffer this Congress Government. It has to be changed.

2. The country wants today an alternative party. The party must be one which has sound principles, clear policies and a definite programme; which has deep in the soil and a country wide organisation, which has a cadre of devote, selfless and disciplined workers & which with its eyes fixed on the goal,

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

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indifference to grievances, the destruction of social bonds by thoughtless legislation, the neglect of the religious spirit which inspires selfless conduct, the deterioration of law and order in various parts of the country, and, above all, the added humiliation of Chinese occupation of part of our soil.

Need for an Opposition

3. Clean and efficient government, which the people need and deserve but which they do not today enjoy, requires not only a good party in office but a strong and vigilant Opposition. Any government however good it is to start with, must inevitably become irresponsible and arbitrary if it is not subjected to the criticism of an effective opposition and its readiness to replace it. The degeneration of the Congress government over the past eighteen years is largely the result of the absence of such an opposition. Parties like the Socialist parties and Fifth Column like the Communist Party cannot provide such an Opposition.

4. Led by the veteran patriot, Rajaji, the Swatantra Party was organised to provide this missing component in the democratic framework of our national life. If the electorate gives it a mandate, the country will be equipped, for the first time, with an Opposition with a clear-cut alternative way of governance which can take over from the present ruling party whenever the people call upon it to do so. Every voter who realises the importance of such an Opposition and who does not want the all-embracing statism of the Congress Party cannot but vote for the Swatantra Party candidate in every constituency where one is put up.

5. One of the significant principles of the Swatantra Party is that it will not seek to curb the freedom of its members, whether in the legislatures or outside, to give expression to their personal convictions in any matter not included in the Party's Statement of Policy

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has a pragmatic approach to all problems. It was to fulfil this expectation that the Bharatiya Jana Sangh came into existence. The Jana Sangh has increasingly earned the cooperation and confidence of the people. Its policies have stood the test of time. Its outlook has been constructive. As an opposition party, it has acted as the watch-dog of people's rights and interests. While on the one hand, it has been opposing fearlessly the wrong policies of the Government, it has, on the other hand, never omitted to extend active cooperation to the Government in defending the country and promoting the welfare of the people.

In this period of crisis through which the country is passing the people expect much from the Jana Sangh. Jana Sangh is conscious of its responsibilities. It is entering the general elections resolved to discharge these obligations.

3. Subject to the Party's stand, as expounded in the document 'Principles and Policies', we place the following programme of Government for the next five years for the consideration of the people and approval of the electorate.

4. The situation is grave. There is a growing threat of external aggression and internal subversion. The economy is weak and under serious strains. The administration has become corrupt, inefficient and effete. Far from realising our dreams of peace, prosperity

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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:

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or Manifesto. This would guarantee that national views will prevail and not those of the majority within the ruling party as is now happening under the Congress regime.

6. The Swatantra Party is a new party—only five years old. It is severely limited in the way of material resources by reason of the lack of vision, suicidal short-term selfishness and surrender to intimidation on the part of the vast majority of those with means. It will, none the less, do its best within its capabilities to give a substantial part of the electorate an opportunity to exercise a choice between the two distinct ways of life and governance represented by the Congress Party and the Swatantra Party.

Clear-cut Alternative

7. The Congress Party claims special credit for all things done by the Government during these past fourteen years. Much of it is obviously what any government which collects taxes and has undertaken the duties of administration must do. Such achievements cannot be claimed as a special merit of the Congress Party.

8. The Congress Party as now led stands for a system where all real political and economic power and all responsibility is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a party in office. This has resulted in a tyrannical regulation of national life through controls, permits and licences, progressively denying opportunities to the people to participate in the country's economic development. It has meant heavy and oppressive taxes and higher and yet higher prices. It has meant reckless and wasteful expenditure, spiralling inflation and black-markets. A reduction in even the miserable standard of subsistence of the people in order to make possible indulgence in wasteful projects marked by gigantism is inherent in the planning of the party in power. It has sacrificed the immediate

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and happiness, we find even our political independence in danger. It is imperative that immediate steps are taken to save the situation. It is painful that at this hour of crisis, the Congress and other parties instead of making a realistic appraisal of the situation are engrossed in polemic discussions. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not bound by any 'ism' so far as the question of defending the integrity of the motherland, maintenance of law and order and providing the minimum needs of the people are concerned. These 'isms' can neither feed the hungry nor expel the invader. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will solve these problems in a pragmatic way keeping the interests of the nation supermost in mind.

National Unity.— There are forces in the country which are working as fifth columnists of the enemies and have been threatening India's integrity and sovereignty. They should be put down with a firm hand. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will enact a law of treason and deal with these anti-national elements under the provisions of this law.

The Eastern Frontier Zone of the country will be politically reorganised, taking into consideration the following factors:

Defence, Administration, Economic development and Geography.

Positive steps will be taken to strengthen sentiments of national unity. The present Constitution does not manifest the country's basic unity. Jana Sangh will amend it and declare India a Unitary State.

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interests of the common man to near-communist planning by subordinating his interests to spectacular long-term projects. It has, by its erroneous policy of putting citizens at the mercy of officials, ministers and party bosses, fostered widespread corruption resulting in the breakdown of moral values.

9. The Swatantra Party's way of governance, in contrast, is based on faith in the people leading to ordered progress. It keeps the individual citizen with his unquenchable impulse towards self-expression in the centre of the picture. All governance must subserve this end. The Swatantra Party stands for the principles Mahatma Gandhi always pleaded for, that government is best which governs the least, and the diffusion of power provides the best climate for the citizen's freedom, so that the people may grow to their full stature.

10. The Swatantra Party pledges itself, given the opportunity, to work for the following objectives and policies:

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A High Power Commission will be set up to enquire into and arbitrate on all disputes between one province and another and between a province and the Centre. Its decisions will be Binding.

Restrictions will be imposed on the activities of foreign Missionaries in accordance with the recommendations of the Neogi and Rege Committees.

In order to bring the State of Jammu & Kashmir at par with other provinces and to give to its residents all the rights and privileges under the Constitution Jana Sangh will delete Article 370.

Jana Sangh will take steps to integrate territories liberated from the Portugues and French into adjoining provinces in accordance with the criteria accepted for reorganisation of States.

Equality - The Indian Constitution has recognised one citizenship and given equal rights to all the people of India. Against the spirit of the Constitution and the principle of one nationhood, some people have been from time to time putting forward separatist demands claiming special privileges and protection on the basis of province, religion, caste or language. There are allegations also of discrimination.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will put an end to all separatist demands and discriminatory practices.

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Bharatiya Jana Sangh will formulate a programme to bring the backward classes of society in line with other sections within a specified time. However, in case of sections which have already come up, a vested interest in backwardness will not be allowed to develop. People with low income will get all facilities enjoyed by backward classes.

A uniform civil code will be enacted to govern the laws of marriage, adoption, inheritance, etc. of all Indian citizens.

Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons & Compensation

There has been a continuous exodus of non-Muslims, particularly Hindus, from Pakistan due to its anti-Hindu policy and occasional programmes of squeezing them out by inciting large scale riots. By now more than 1 crore people have migrated to India. It is the Government's responsibility to rehabilitate and compensate them. But not much has been done so far. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will expeditiously implement the various schemes made in this regard. Cooperation of local residents as in Dandakaranya area will be secured so that there remains no gulf and lack of integration between the new settlers and the local people.

Citizenship rights will be conferred in the course of rehabilitation.

The Government will pay full compensation for the properties left behind in Pakistan. Compensation and rehabilitation dues will be realised

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from Pakistan. Land will be demanded
from Pakistan to rehabilitate these
displaced persons.

II

The Common Man

11. In pursuance of its fundamental policies, the Swatantra Party stands, first and foremost, for the common man, for providing him with food, clothing and shelter, as the primary obligation of government; for fuller employment, production of more foodgrains, more small irrigation works, more schools, and more small industries producing goods which the common man consumes.

12. Top priority will be given to the supply of clean drinking water in rural areas and to housing not only in urban and suburban areas but also in the countryside.

II. THE COMMON MAN

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

13. The Party recognises the supreme importance of the development of roads, culverts and bridges and of road and inland water transport.

14. Mobile ambulance facilities will be organised so as to enable the rural population to obtain the services of well-equipped medical institutions without hardship or loss of time.

15. These objectives are within the easy reach of the country if funds now being spent on spectacular and gigantic projects unrelated to the immediate needs of the people or in great part being wasted in their application to unproductive enterprises are diverted to a programme of cheap clothing and the stimulation of small-scale modernised industries which provide gainful employment to a large body of labour at low capital cost, making it possible for all able-bodied persons in the country to find employment.

End Inflation

16. An honest rupee and stable prices are the best friends of the common man. Without them the common man is on the way to ruin and the middle classes are doomed. The Congress Party has milched from the poor man the hard-earned rewards of his labour and enterprise by letting inflation loose on the country, resulting in a continuously steep rise in prices from year to year during the last five years. The Swatantra Party will reverse the ruinous policies that have brought this about.

Reduce Taxation

17. The Party will enforce a drastic reduction in the present excessive burden of taxes which hampers production and employment, including *inter alia* the reorganisation and reform of the Sales Tax so as to minimise harassment and bring it in harmony with the conditions of the small traders in our country. A

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.

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,

reduction in indirect taxation will bring down the prices of commodities in daily use by the people. Direct taxes will be so regulated as to release the creative genius of our people for productive purposes which will meet the country's needs and raise its level of prosperity.

18. Though such policies alone would, the real income and standard of life of the bulk of the peasants and agricultural labour in the villages and the middle and working classes in the cities which have been stagnating throughout the past decade, be enabled to rise. The energies of the Indian people cannot be harnessed in furtherance of the policy embodied in the current pattern of planning which sanctifies misery in the name of progress and tries to build the uncertain prosperity of a distant future on the privations of today, a policy which has been borrowed from countries under totalitarian dictatorship.

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.

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 formed. 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

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burden, of course, will be equitably distributed.

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.

III

Agriculture

19. Agriculture will receive priority and be put on a sound basis, automatically leading to the emergence of a viable industrial sector.

20. The Swatantra Party is convinced that, in a predominantly agricultural country like ours, the people can advance only if the village economy is restored to its self-generating vitality on the basis of peasant proprietorship. The party will respect the property rights of the peasants in their holdings, big or small, and thereby remove uncertainties and provide incentives.

Self-Employed Peasantry

21. The Party stands for the independent and self-employed farmer, who should be provided with facilities for the intensive cultivation of his land in the

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III. Agriculture

Food policy - shortage of food grains, fall in the purchasing power of the people and maladministration are responsible for the present food problem. The measures adopted by the Congress Government have further complicated the problem. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will take the following steps:

- (i) Farmers will be encouraged to increase food production. They will be provided fertilizer, seeds, bullocks and implements at subsidised rates. There will be a remission in the land revenue and irrigation charges for food crops.
- (ii) Remunerative and incentive prices will be assured for food crops. The system of levy and monopoly purchase will be abolished.
- (iii) The Food Corporation will open branches in all provinces. It will act as a competitive trader and make purchases at the prevailing market prices. However, at the time of falling prices, it will purchase all the grain offered at the previously declared support price.
- (iv) The Food Corporation will enter into forward contracts with the producers and advance them money. Thus the credit will be linked with production.
- (v) Marketing or Multi-purpose Cooperative Societies, wherever they exist, will act as agents for the Food Corporation.

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,

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form of water, fertiliser, seed, tools, credit and improved techniques. The Swatantra Party is opposed to and will reverse without creating fresh inequities all expropriatory measures which among other things deprive the peasant population of sound rural leadership.

22. The Swatantra Party will initiate and support all reforms such as will bring about harmonious relations between owners and tenants and labour, and will oppose every move calculated to create uncertainty, apathy and conflict.

Against Collective Farming

23. The Swatantra Party stands for land reforms without expropriation in any form including that which is directly or indirectly involved in collective farming camouflaged as "joint cooperative farming" under official control. The Party believes in every form of genuine cooperative effort such as service cooperatives, industrial cooperatives, consumer cooperatives, and cooperative banks, but not as a means to collectivisation of land.

24. The Swatantra Party will repeal such amendments to the Constitution as have enabled the Congress Party to expropriate land belonging to peasant proprietors on payment of grossly inadequate compensation and will secure real compensation to those agriculturists who have been so expropriated under the guise of land reform.

25. The Swatantra Party stands for a fair deal to the farmer and holds that the peasants who under difficult conditions follow the avocation of producing food for the nation should not be taxed but should be adequately rewarded for their service. It will

- (a) abolish taxes on land except to the extent necessary for maintaining ownership records;

- (vi) Food Zones will be abolished. All restrictions on the movement of food grains will be removed.
- (vii) Distribution of food will be Central subject. The Provinces will be entrusted with the responsibility only of increasing production.
- (viii) Import of American wheat will be completely stopped within the next five years. Trade agreements for the supply of rice will be negotiated with Burma and other countries of South East Asia.
- (ix) Big cities and areas of chronic shortage will be cordoned off. Rationing will be introduced there. The quantum of ration will in no case be less than 16 oz. per unit per day.
- (x) Fair price shops will be opened in all areas. Only persons with low income would be allowed to draw rations from these shops.
- (xi) Government employees and workers in the organised sector will get part of their D.A. in kind.
- (xii) Sales Tax and other taxes on food articles will be abolished.
- (xiii) Special plans will be formulated for the production of milk and other nutritive and subsidiary foods.
- (xiv) Colourisation of hydrogenated oils will be made compulsory.

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 ~~prepos~~ 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:

- (b) take steps to support an adequate level of agricultural prices in parity with the prices of industrial commodities required for rural life; and
- (c) establish an insurance fund against natural calamities.

Agricultural Labour

26. The Swatantra Party stands for an adequate wage to landless agricultural labour and for the protection of permanently employed labour in agriculture. The problem of landless labourers is in substance an aspect of the problem of rural unemployment and the Party's policy of the establishment of small industrial units will help in opening avenues of employment and reduce the pressure on land.

Electrification

27. The Swatantra Party will

- (a) give special attention to speedy electrification in rural areas;
- (b) establish small-scale modernised industries in the countryside in order to divert surplus agricultural labour; and
- (c) provide technical education and workshop services to help agricultural and other machinery being kept in good order.

28. The Swatantra Party will organise the farmers to improve the breed of cattle, to afforest available land not acquired for agriculture and to reclaim waste land through the agency of enterprising farmers and concessional grants for limited periods, giving priority to the poor and backward agricultural classes.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh gives first priority to agriculture. The Congress Government confined its agricultural programme to large dams and land reforms which remains to be implemented. Intensive cultivation which is the kingpin of India's agricultural development was completely ignored. Consequently there has been very little increase in agricultural productivity.

Besides intensive cultivation, steps will be taken to bring under the plough cultivable and other fallows. Practical and effective schemes for eradication of 'Kans' and other weeds will be implemented.

Fixity of Tenure

The objective of the land reforms is to assure the farmer about his cadastral rights so that he may be encouraged to invest in land and develop it. Land reforms enacted under Congress rule have failed to achieve this objective. Laws conferring various rights to the peasant have generally remained unimplemented. Then, there has been unending train of amendments. Further, slogans about cooperative farming and governmental farming have created in the farmers a sense of uncertainty about the future. Bharatiya Jana Sangh holds that land belongs to the tiller. Land reforms will be implemented to ensure this. An assurance will be given not to effect changes in laws which curtail the peasant's rights. Ejectments will be stopped.

(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 standard; 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, and 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

Irregularities that are usually indulged in during land consolidation will be borne by the peasant.

There are many farms which remain untilled because of restrictions on sub-letting. This has affected capital investment also towards the development of land. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will get records corrected and then allow sub-letting to tenants with uneconomic holdings and to landless farmers.

Credit

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make a statutory provision for the State Bank and other commercial banks to open branches in the villages, so that the credit needs of the farmers are adequately met at low interest rates. Adequate funds will also be made available to credit cooperatives so that they may fully meet the demands of agricultural credit.

Irrigation

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make a master plan so that every field gets assured irrigation. Various modes of irrigation will be used on the basis of a survey of the sub-soil water. The existing large irrigation schemes will be expeditiously completed. Supplementary schemes will be taken up in areas where the present canals cannot provide for the full needs of the agriculturists. A scheme of tube wells, tanks and other minor irrigation works on a vast scale shall be undertaken. Old works will be repaired. Rates of irrigation will tubewell will be brought down to the level of canal rates. Private tube-wells will be allowed

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

to sell water to other farmers. Electricity at bulk rates will be supplied to the farmers for irrigation purposes.

Manures & Fertilizers & Seeds

Every farmer will be encouraged to prepare and use compost and green manure. Improved seeds will be developed. There will be a soil testing laboratory in every block which will test the soil of every farm free. The farmer will be supplied at cheap rates fertilizer and seeds to suit the soil.

Reduction In the Land Rents

The Congress Governments have increased land rents on different pretexts. The fourth plan proposes a further increase. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is opposed to it. Jana Sangh will rationalize land rents taking into consideration the kind of soil, production, system of tenancy and the need to raise the standard of living of the farmer. There will be a uniform system of land rent.

Insurance of Farm Produce

Jana Sangh will arrange for the insurance of farm produce.

Cow Protection

The cow is our national point of honour. It is also the basis of India's agriculture. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will amend the Constitution and impose a legal ban on the slaughter of the cow and its progeny.

The breed of cattle will be improved. A chain of 'gosadans' will

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.

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

be established where old cattle will be kept. 'Grazing lands' will be provided in every village. Goshalas will be reformed and dairies established.

Agricultural Labour

Culturable fallows and lands that become surplus following imposition of ceilings on land-holdings, will be distributed to landless agriculturists. Minimum wages at the existing price levels will be fixed and the provisions of Agricultural Labour Minimum Wages Act will be implemented. Subsidiary industries will be established to add to the income of agricultural labour. Credit facilities on personal security will be provided.

Forests

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will arrange for afforestation on a wide scale. Vanmahotsava will be made a purposeful programme and not a barren ritual.

Forest dwellers and forests are inseparable. Forest dwellers must, therefore, be made co-sharers in the wealth accruing from forests. Their traditional rights to forest produce shall be protected. Vanvasi labour must be given bonus out of the profits earned in forest contracts.

Vanvasis will be given rights over the land which they till. Deforested areas will be leased to them for cultivation and afforestation. The Tongya system will be revived. Collection of Tendu leaves will be denationalised wherever it has been taken up by the Government.

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.

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 severity.

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

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

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industries where labour and fixed assets, that is, land and machinery are pooled together. These, the latter will simply not work.

Industry and Trade

29. The Party will seek to ensure the widest possible distribution of industrial ownership through measures such as the establishment of investment

societies and trusts through which the small man may make his modest investment, and by facilitating the provision of employees' shares so that a large body of employees may share in the ownership of the concerns for which they work. In these ways and through the stabilisation of peasant proprietorship on the land, a democracy consisting of men interested in production of every kind would be helped to emerge.

Role of Government

30. The Party is opposed to nationalisation. The role of government in industry and trade should be that of a helper and regulator, but not a participant. The business of Government is government, not business. There is a great deal that government can do in a developing country; through the development of roads and other forms of communications, transport and cheap electric power. Today, these functions of government are being neglected, while government needlessly enters the field of trade and manufacture of products, not all of which are of any significance to the life of the country.

Balanced Development

31. The Swatantra Party stands for the balanced development of capital goods industries, organised consumer goods industries and rural industries that afford supplementary employment in the processing of the products of agriculture. While not opposed to the development of heavy and basic industries commensurate with the availability of resources, the Party rejects the lop-sided priority given to heavy industry to the neglect of agriculture, cottage industries and organised and light industries producing consumer goods which help to make life happy for people with low-grade incomes.

32. The Party holds that a great part of the process of industrialisation must take place through decentralised distribution of industry, so as to reduce

Economic Programme

Since independence, the Government has been mainly concerned with and has concentrated all its energies on the economic development of the country. The successive plans were formulated to achieve this end. But today we have neither a self-generating economy, as was postulated, nor the living standards of the common man have risen as was promised. The needs of defence were never considered by the planners, and therefore little wonder that we find ourselves hopelessly deficient in this respect. With all this planning the lot of the common man is worse off. The middle class is completely crushed. Inequalities of income and economic status have increased. There is an acute shortage of both consumer and producer goods. Prices are sky-rocketing. Unemployment has increased from plan to plan. The plans have made our economy so dependent on foreign countries that foreign loans and imports of all kinds of goods have become a must for the implementation of the plans. The PL 480 wheat is the main prop of the Government's food policy. If spares and industrial raw materials are not imported, industrial production falls. Schemes of expansion are invariably formulated on the basis of foreign capital and technical know-how. It is because of this over dependence on foreign aid that the Government was forced to devalue the rupee. There are pressures also to change our economic and political policies. The priorities and strategy determined under the plans have greatly increased the hold of bureaucracy on the people.

All sections of the people, industrialists, traders, farmers, labourers and consumers, are caught in a maze of controls and regulations. They are not

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 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 shall 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

regional disparities. It stands for the preservation of the freedom of the small and self-employed artisan, craftsman and trader. The Party stands for nursing the spirit of industry as distinguished from what is called industrialisation. In these matters, the Party follows Mahatma Gandhi and is opposed to the ruling party's imitation of Soviet policy.

33. The Swatantra Party stands for the encouragement of private enterprise, activated where necessary by loans and aids and for widespread rural public works in order to create employment opportunities for the people everywhere so as to reduce the pressure on the land.

34. The Swatantra Party will rectify the confusion and corruption which have entered the economy on account of controls, permits, licences and quotas at the disposal of the ruling party and of the officials taking their cue from that party.

Trusteeship

35. The Party believes that the free choice of the producer, the investor, the worker and the consumer must be given due place and importance. It believes in the incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprise, with adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable prices, profits and dividends in those cases where there is no competition or where competition is not adequate to secure the necessary corrective. Adhering to the principles of Trusteeship enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi, which is inherent in the Indian way of life from time immemorial, the Party stands for a system of free peoples' enterprise restrained as well as enriched and reinforced by a sense of social obligation encouraged by State policies.

No Monopoly

36. The Party is opposed to monopoly and concentration of power whether in the State or in the

allowed to breathe freely and contribute their mite towards the prosperity of the nation. To meet ever increasing Government expenditure, unbearable taxes have been imposed and deficit financing on an unimaginable scale has been resorted to. Consequently the purchasing power of the rupee has fallen very low.

All along Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been drawing attention of the Government and the people to these wrong economic policies and their effects. Now when these consequences have shaken the very foundations of our economic and political structure, we had hoped that the planners would learn from past experience and that the fourth plan, in its size, shape and strategy, would remedy past mistakes. We expected measures to restore the balance of our economy. But we have been disillusioned. The planners have persisted in their discredited policies. Perhaps they have lost even the capacity to think anew. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will bring about revolutionary changes in the country's economic policies. While on the one hand we shall adopt short-term measures to alleviate the acute food and foreign exchange crisis and arrest the upward movement of prices, on the other a long term plan will be formulated to lay the foundations of a self-reliant, prosperous and egalitarian economy.

Micro Economic Planning

Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes in economic planning. The plans so far have failed to regenerate our economy and to relieve the sufferings of the people. On the contrary they have created severe stresses and strains. These cannot be relieved by ad hoc measures.

technologies improve-through small-scale industries, then light or medium industries and, fully, 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.

free sector. It will promote anti-monopoly legislation wherever necessary and will end the monopoly at present enjoyed by Government Corporations, such as the State Trading Corporation in certain fields of trade, the Life Insurance Corporation and State Transport Corporations and Authorities.

37. The Party believes in a dynamic, expanding mixed economy where State and free enterprise work side by side as natural allies in the service of the community and show results by competing on equal terms. As much competition as possible, as little regulation as necessary—should be the watchword.

38. The Swatantra Party will improve Government undertakings by organising commercial management and adequate supervision under statutory Boards independent of political interference.

Planning—Which Type?

39. The Party will seek to restore the real and effective supremacy of Parliament and the people by abolishing the much boosted Planning Commission which has tended in effect to bring into being a non-responsible super-government and will free the administration at the Centre and the State Governments from the extra-constitutional dictation of the Planning Commission.

40. The Swatantra Party rejects the current pattern of centralised and top-heavy planning of the Soviet type involving a series of targets that are not achieved and of restrictions which are intolerable and which are calculated to perpetuate the regime of the party in power. The Swatantra Party stands for planning carried out within the limits of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, to develop the growth of condition in which the people's enterprise will find full and unfettered scope. It believes that the appropriate organisation for such planning of the affairs of the nation and for submitting the annual programme is the Cabinet responsible to Parliament and through

The Fourth Plan, as drafted, does not suggest basic remedies. Jana Sangh is of the view that the objectives, priorities, technique and strategy of the plans should be changed. The plan should be based on our own resources and capacities, it should be pragmatic and aim at an organic growth of the country's economy. Instead of copying and importing foreign technology, developed in the background of factor availability in those countries, we should create our own technology. Technological self-reliance is a must for a self-sustaining economic growth.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will change the plan. The objectives of the plan will be to equip the economy so as to provide the country's defence needs and a rising living standard to the people. Total utilisation of the manpower resources of the country and satisfaction of the basic needs of the people will receive primary consideration. The plan on a countrywide basis will be confined to broad outlines and policy decisions. With a view to a balanced development, and effective implementation, Jana Sangh will adopt the system of Micro-economic Planning region-wise and project-wise.

Industry

During the last fifteen years much stress has been laid on industry. Therefore we have started production in some new lines. But the technology of this industrialisation has been totally imported from foreign lands. Foreign capital, technical know-how and patents completely dominate it. Consequently it has increased our dependence on foreign sources and there exists no organic relation.

it to the people; and that, while the Government may resort to such expert assistance as it desires, there should be no other body which in effect usurps the power of making policy affecting the life of the nation.

Exports

41. While the Party recognises without question the vital need for India to expand its exports, it is opposed to the policy of compulsion in respect of exports of goods resulting in privation and distress in India.

Exports can only be promoted by a policy of increased productivity and efficient production at low cost so that our goods can compete in the world's markets. This would be facilitated by the Swatantra Party's policies.

Foreign Loans

42. The Congress Party's pattern of planning is based on extensive foreign aid that hangs on the slender thread of international peace which may snap any day. The Swatantra Party is totally opposed to the policy of huge foreign debts being incurred without any plan or prospect of adequate exports to enable India to discharge these obligations. The Party will endeavour its best to halt this grievous programme without damage to the national reputation. The Party will support and encourage the flow of foreign capital into private enterprise in India which would contribute to rapid industrial progress.

organic relation between these industries and the country's economy and social mores.

This industrialisation has been excessively capital intensive, firstly because of priority to heavy industries in the plans, secondly, because of greater allocation to the public sector which is always more expensive and thirdly, because of foreign collaborations who only have a capital intensive technology. This has become a heavy burden on a capital-scarce country like India. Further it has led to concentration both horizontal and vertical. It is, therefore, necessary that the investment pattern be changed. Decentralisation, Swadeshi and labour intensity should be the criteria for our industrial development. It will reduce unemployment, inequalities and the foreign exchange shortage and in physical terms our achievement will be greater. Jana Sangh will evolve a pattern suited to the needs and conditions of our country and integrate it with the existing industries. Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers small scale decentralised industries to be most suitable for country's industrialisation. It will, therefore, give priority to small scale mechanised industries and provide them all facilities.

Swadeshi & Self Reliance

Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been laying emphasis on Swadeshi and self-reliance since its inception. The Government also thought of it when our production decreased due to stoppage of all foreign aid in the wake of our conflict with Pakistan. Some programmes of import substitution were then started. But since

the resumption of foreign aid after devaluation the policy has changed. The liberal import policy recklessly followed has harmed many such programmes. Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels that there should be rationalization of imports rather than liberalisation. We cannot get rid of the foreign exchange problem without resorting to 'Swadeshi'.

Foreign Exchange Problem

With a view to greater industrialisation and to conserve foreign exchange, Jana Sangh will de-licence all industrial units that can be established entirely with internal resources.

Industries that need foreign exchange will not be allowed to expand so long as their existing capacity is not fully utilised.

An industry-wise and unit-wise programme of import substitution will be prepared and executed according to schedule.

The research programme of the National Scientific Laboratories will be co-related with import substitution programmes. Private industry will be encouraged to organise research.

Foreign Trade

Import and export trade, except with Communist countries, will be in private hands.

New markets will be explored for import goods. Foreign aid as far as possible will be tied with trade.

While framing export policy, internal needs and price structure will be taken into account.

Jana Sangh will nationalise insurance of foreign trade.

Foreign Capital

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will minimise the use of foreign capital. Collaboration will be allowed only in some priority industries. Foreign capital will not be allowed to hold majority shares.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will progressively Indianise mines, jute, tobacco, coffee, tea, rubber, matches, soap, biscuits, vegetable products and such other industries as are predominantly in foreign hands.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will amend the Patent Law.

Mixed Economy

Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes in mixed economy. The controversy going on at present between the public sector and the private sector is regrettable and meaningless. In fact there is such a vast scope for enterprise that the energies of the two will fall short of requirements.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the view that while assigning responsibility for developing a particular industry, the Government should be guided by merit rather than by doctrinaire principles of socialism.

During the three plan periods the public sector has expanded so much that it needs consolidation. Except in power, mineral oils and defence industries, ordinarily no programme of expansion in the public sector should be undertaken for some years to come.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not in favour of nationalising existing private sector industries. If at all need arises, the decision should be taken not on a political basis but on the basis of recommendation by a

a judicial commission to be appointed for this purpose.

Capital Formation

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will give all-out encouragement to capital formation. In order to inculcate the habit of simplicity and saving and greater capital formation maximum expendable income will be limited to Rs.2,000/- p.m.

The Jana Sangh will place a definite programme of the Government and private banking institutions. Jana Sangh considers the proposal to nationalise banks as improper. The Jana Sangh will amend Banking Companies Act so as to secure representation on the Board of Directors for depositors and bank employees.

Taxation

In the course of the last fifteen years taxes by different authorities have been levied without any proper analysis of the country's fiscal structure. There are a number of taxes, though levied by different Governments, which fall either on the same commodity or the same class of people. This has adversely affected both prices and capital formation. Jana Sangh will appoint a Taxation Enquiry Commission to examine the present taxes to provide relief to the tax-payer and recommend a unified fiscal structure keeping in view the needs of the state and objectives of economic development and social justice.

Price Policy

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will determine a price policy correlating prices of Agricultural commodities and manufacturer goods, profits and interests and wages and salaries. Jana Sangh is against physical controls. It will regulate the price policy through monetary

and fiscal measures.

The prices of sugar cane and other cash crops will be increased in parity ~~with~~ with prices of manufactured commodities.

In order to check the rising prices it is necessary to effect drastic economy in the Government's expenditure and to increase the supply of consumer goods. Jana Sangh will work in this direction.

Minimum Income

Jana Sangh guarantees a minimum standard of living to every family. In the present circumstances the minimum wages will be fixed at Rs.125/- per month.

Provision of subsidiary employment will be made for women who can not work full time and for other unemployed.

Transport

Jana Sangh will pay special attention to the expansion and consolidated development of road, rail, water and air transport.

Jana Sangh is opposed to nationalisation of road transport. Private services will be allowed to run on routes already nationalised.

Jana Sangh will run more Janata trains and provide sleeping facilities to all 3rd class passengers travelling overnight. On such newly constructed railway routes where extra fares are charged, the fare will be reduced to standard rates.

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Railway employees will be presented on the Railway Board. Service conditions and emoluments on all railways will be made uniform. Vagaries of Selection Boards will be curbed.

There will be uniformity in regard to tax rates on motor vehicles and conditions of operation. Restrictions on inter-state transport will be removed.

The Ganga from Patna to Calcutta and the Brahmaputra from Dibrugarh to Gauhati will be made navigable. The contract system of ghats will be abolished and their management will be handed over to societies of boatmen.

Special measures will be taken to develop shipping so that in the near future all our foreign trade cargo is borne in our own vessels. Minor and new ports will be developed. Freight rates and fares of coastal ships will not be increased. Indian nationals will be appointed on the staff of the port trusts and crews in place of foreigners.

Special plans will be made to develop transport and communications in the border areas. Alternative routes will be developed for Assam.

The Government's plans have been formulated in utter disregard of the country's resources and even its self-respect. As a result, Indian economy has been made entirely dependent on foreign mercies. No wonder, we had to go to the extent of devaluing our rupee under pressure of those who give us food and finance.

V

Labour

43. The Swatantra Party stands for a Fair Deal to labour, both industrial and agricultural. The Party accepts the workers' right to organise themselves in order to improve their conditions of life and work.

Strong and responsible trade unions managed by the workers themselves and not, as at present, play-things in the hands of political parties are an integral part of a democratic industrial order. The Party stands for the workers' rights to collective bargaining involving, where necessary, the right to withdraw their labour.

44. The Swatantra Party stands for closer association of the workers and the management of industries, so that a spirit of partnership may develop among all those engaged in production.

Progress Sharing

45. The Party stands for a good wage for a good day's work. Encouragement should be given to "progress sharing" through an increase in earnings of employees alongside of an increase in productivity without detriment to the overall aims of national prosperity through the reduction of costs.

Labour

Bharatiya Jana Sangh wants the labour to be a sharer in profits and management. It will prepare a programme for all large industrial units in this regard and firmly implement it. Public sector units will give a lead in this regard.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will constitute a permanent Wage Board to determine the wage rates in different industries from time to time. So long as there exists a difference between the real wages and the nationally fixed wages, Bonus will be treated as deferred wage. Only after the extinction of this difference will it be regarded as a share in profits.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh accepts the right to bonus of contract labour.

The present consumer price index is outdated. Jana Sangh will revise it.

All labour laws will be made applicable to State enterprises.

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-refashion 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 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.

VI

The Consitution and
Public Administration

46. The Swatantra Party stands for fully respecting the democratic implications of our Constitution, so that self-government becomes a spontaneous and continuous effort of the people. To that end, the Swatantra Party will

- (a) secure the full freedom of the press and promote autonomous non-official organisations for purposes of social welfare, rather than, in the name of welfare, impose official projects for strengthening Statism and the power of the Party in office;
- (b) restore the Fundamental Rights as they were originally embodied in the Constitution;
- (c) restore to the States the constitutional powers, functions and jurisdictions given to them by the Constitution;
- (d) work for the democratisation of the administration in the Union Territories; and
- (e) maintain intact the independence and the powers of the Judiciary as originally conceived in every respect.

47. The Party stands for a reform of the electoral law which would reduce the influence of money power and thus secure a fair chance for the real views of the electorate to prevail. It should be the duty of the State to communicate to each voter the time and place at which he may cast his vote and his number in the electoral roll.

Public Services

48. More than anything else, the Party will give the country a clean administration. It will ensure that there is no interference by politicians either of the ruling or any other party in the day-to-day administration.

Administration

The administration is lax and loose. On the one hand there is widespread corruption and inefficiency, on the other, there prevails a sense of anxiety and discontent in the services with regard to their service conditions and emoluments. Remedial measures in both directions will have to be taken. Corruption, like water, flows from the higher to lower level. Besides, conditions of shortage and bureaucratic control breed corruption. It is, therefore, necessary that the top be reformed, shortage removed, delays eliminated and controls relaxed.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will constitute a high power commission to enquire into cases of corruption even at the highest level. A code of conduct for representatives of the people will be framed and a special law enacted to penalise corruption at political levels.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will institute an enquiry in respect of the assets of all ex-ministers and other high officials. In future too, all ministers and highly placed officials will be subject to such enquiries.

Scales of pay and emoluments of the employees will be uniform for Central Provincial and Local bodies. Jana Sangh recognises the principles of cent per cent neutralisation of dearness.

There are a large number of employees who have been in service for years but are still treated as temporary. Jana Sangh will make them permanent. It will extend to casual labour emoluments and

Public Administration.

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 honest 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 UP in April 1968.

BKD further proposes to establish a special wing in the police or, if necessary, a separate organisation by itself, of persons specially trained in the laws and procedures relating to functioning of companies, financial

49. In order to secure this, the Party will urge that the Union President and the Governors of the States, who should be non-party men, should in their discretion be the appointing authorities of members of the Public Services Commission and that the protection of the members of the Public Services should be made a special responsibility of the President and the Governors.

50. The Party will stop the wasteful expansion of the administrative machinery and reduce unproductive expenditure to the minimum. The extravagant construction of new buildings will be prohibited.

51. The Party stands for a revision of the scales of pensions paid to retired low-grade government servants in line with the sharp rise in the cost of living.

52. In order to check corruption and the arbitrary infringement of the rights of citizens, the Party will press for the establishment of an independent authority at the Centre and in the States like the Ombudsman in Scandinavian countries to investigate into the grievances of citizens and into administrative vagaries and give due redress.

privileges enjoyed by others of the same category.

Jana Sangh will not introduce automation in offices resulting in unemployment.

The Government will accept full responsibility in regard to housing, medical treatment and education of children of their employees.

To allay grievances of Government employees, an effective and fully representative negotiating machinery on the lines of the British Whitley Councils will be created without delay.

Jana Sangh will pay special attention to the welfare of pensioners and revise their emoluments, etc., in the light of the sharp spurt in the cost of living.

Providing full facilities to Govt. servants, Jana Sangh will observe ideal austerity and simplicity. Maximum salary for officers will be fixed in relevance with the national maximum of Rs.2000/- expendable income. Number of Ministers will be reduced. Governors will be appointed for Zones only. Legislative Councils will be abolished. Working of the various committees and advisory boards will be looked into and most of them found to be superfluous will be abolished.

The responsibility of every employee will be fixed and his services will be assessed on the basis of his performance. The frequent campaigns, weeks, etc., that are organised mainly for propaganda purposes, distract the workers' attention

institutions and semi-governmental bodies which will deal with the respectable offenders in the world of trade, commerce, business and finance. The ordinary policy 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, hoarding, 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 arms of the law, so that the people in general have come to believe that the law of the land does not exist for them.

Law & Order

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.

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from his normal routine duties and will be discontinued.

Jana Sangh will constitute All India Services for the following spheres:

Judiciary, Health, Education, Engineering, Agriculture, Public enterprise and Police.

Civil liberties.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will end the emergency. Defence of India Rules will be repealed.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will examine all the acts that curtail fundamental rights and will repeal laws that are undesirable. While care will be taken to ensure that fifth columnists and disruptionist elements are not allowed to exploit fundamental rights and democratic privileges to subvert democracy and freedom, no restrictions on these rights will be placed which could be misused by the administration to throttle democracy and suppress individual liberty.

In consultation with national democratic parties, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will formulate a code of conduct of agitations and movements and ensure that they are conducted in a democratic way.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will amend Sections 107, 108, 109, 144 and 151 of the Criminal Procedure Code and Sections 124A, 153 and 153A of the Indian Penal Code so that they are not abused to deprive people of their fundamental liberties.

Judiciary

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 proceedings, 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 as avoided.

Public Administration

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.

Law & Order.

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

Bharatiya Jana Sangh recognises the citizen's right to bear arms as fundamental.

Except those belonging to specified categories all Government employees and all employees of educational institutions will have freedom to take part in politics.

Decentralisation

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will decentralise political power in a real and effective manner. Local bodies and Zila Parishads will derive their powers from the Constitution. Their sources of revenue will be augmented.

Gram Panchayats will be evolved from below rather than imposed from above. The practice of unanimous elections and consensus will be favoured in the working of Gram Panchayats. Part of the land revenue will be allocated to the Panchayats.

Judiciary

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reform the judicial system. Judiciary will be separated from the executive at all levels. Judicial services will be completely under the High Court.

Jana Sangh will increase the number of judges in proportion to the pending work. Retired judges will not be eligible for appointment to any Government post or to preside over, or be a member of, any commission appointed by the Government.

The system of Honorary magistrates will be discontinued. Jana Sangh will make justice cheaply and expeditiously available. No fees will be charged on writ petitions.

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.

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.

Public Administration

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.

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. 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.

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International Relations
and Defence

53. The Swatantra Party believes that, when the country's territorial integrity has been violated by Communist China, abstract concepts of co-existence and non-alignment have lost meaning and that our foreign policy needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation. The Party stands pledged to a firm and vigilant policy in dealing with China and for active steps to end its aggression at the earliest possible moment.

54. The Party will endeavour to rectify the unfortunate impression created in the world that India has a bias in favour of the Communist block.

55. The Swatantra Party stands pledged to regain for India its moral influence in the world so that it may work for peace, justice and freedom. The genius of India is tranquillity in the sense that its mission is the conquest of fear by the strength of the spirit within.

Defence Services

56. The Swatantra Party stands

(a) for removing all political influences which are at present responsible for weakening the morale of the Defence Services; and

(b) for maintaining the Defence Services in an efficient condition and redressing the legitimate grievances of ex-Service men.

Liberation of Lost Territory

Both Communist China and Pakistan are in illegal occupation of large areas of Indian territory. The Congress Government has never cared to free them. On the contrary, by accepting the Colombo proposals, it has acquiesced in Chinese occupation of Ladakh, and by signing the Tashkent Declaration it has surrendered the areas of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir that our jawans had valiantly liberated. India's sovereignty over the Rann of Kutch has been made the subject of international arbitration. These policies have enabled both these enemies to consolidate their positions. Now, they are jointly preparing for further aggression. The people have never been a party to these decisions of the Government. They have consistently demanded a bold policy of retaliation. This demand found powerful expression in the massive demonstration staged in front of Parliament House on August 16, 1965. Soon thereafter came that historic march on Lahore which stirred the nation to its depths, and resulted in an upsurge of united national endeavour, unprecedented in the annals of free India. For a brief period, the Government seemed to respond to the nation's wishes. The nation's stocks soared high, and the people experienced a new sense of confidence and fulfilment. But, unfortunately, this phase did not continue long. The Govt. succumbed to international pressures. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will bridge this gulf between the people's sentiments and the Government's policies and take all necessary steps to regain the lost territories.

International relations

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 sympathise with with.

The country must, therefore, forge alliances such as our national interest may dictate and build up such armed strength as maintenance of its

Defence

Taking into account the continued aggression by Communist China and Pakistan and their future designs, the country's defence and foreign policies need to be changed.

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.

The following steps will be taken to increase the nation's defence potential:

- (a) Increase in the strength of the Army, Navy and the Air Force, equipping them with modernmost weapons; and improving the efficiency and ensuring better coordination among various branches of military and civil intelligence.
- (b) Constitution of a vast Territorial Army.
- (c) Intensive military training for two years in all colleges, and provision of a course of 'Military Science' in the universities.
- (d) Development of defence industries and military research to make the country self-reliant in arms.
- (e) Manufacture of nuclear weapons and missiles.
- (f) Creation of a permanent Civil Defence Organisation.
- (g) Special plans and facilities for the development and administration of and settlement of population in border areas.

A trust will be established in every district to help and look after the families of those killed in the war.

Independent Foreign Policy

The policy of non-alignment was formulated against the background of the cold war between the two power blocs. Non-alignment can neither be our creed nor a permanent basis of our foreign policy. Today, when we are aggressed, we must have allies. With a view to safeguard the nation's interests and integrity, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will follow an independent foreign policy and will enter into bilateral alliances with countries irrespective of their allegiance to the two power blocs, on the basis of reciprocity and mutuality of interests.

Jana Sangh will stop this needless prattle about the Tashkent Declaration and the Colombo proposals. It will not talk to either Communist China or Pakistan unless they agree to vacate aggression.

So long as aggression by Communist China continues, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will oppose China's entry into the U.N.O.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will recognize the Government of Taiwan provided the latter recognizes the territorial frontiers of India.

Jana Sangh recognizes the independent status of Tibet and Sinkiang. It will accord recognition to the emigre Government of Dalai Lama.

India has no quarrel with the people of Pakistan. Jana Sangh sympathises with all the movements of Pakistani people that are being organised for freedom and to put an end to dictatorship. Bharatiya Jana Sangh has faith in the ultimate unification of India and Pakistan. It will welcome any move to bring the two states closer, provided the move is not prompted by any third power.

Special steps will be taken to forge closer ties with countries of South East Asia and Africa.

Jana Sangh will lend full support to the struggle including use of force of the African peoples against apartheid and the illegal white Government of Rhodesia.

Jana Sangh will establish full-fledged diplomatic relations with Israel.

Considering India's position and importance, it is necessary that she should be permanent member of the Security Council, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will try to get the U.N. Constitution amended to this effect.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers it the responsibility of the Government of India to protect the interests of Indians Overseas. Jana Sangh will specially try to develop closer relations with countries like Mauritius, Surinam, Guiana, Fiji and Trinidad, where Indians have settled in large numbers.

Jana Sangh will try to secure full compensation for the properties of Indians confiscated by the Government of Burma and Tanzania. With a view to help people of Indian origin in Ceylon acquire citizenship rights, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will try to improve the Indo-Ceylonese agreement in this regard and secure its implementation.

The Government's criminal indifference to security and defence of the country, its reliance on cliches like Panch Shila and Co-existence, and its utter failure to comprehend the real intentions of Communist China led the country to

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humiliating defeat in NEFA and LADAKH in 1962.

As a result of our unsound and unreal foreign policy, India found itself entirely friendless at the time of Pakistan's invasion. Not only so, the U.S., the U.K. and USSR all put pressure on us as a result of which India succumbed and agreed to refer the Kutch issue to an International Tribunal, and later by accepting the Tashkent Declaration, wiped out the gains made on the battlefield by the valour and sacrifices of our Jawans.

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VIII

**Culture, Education
and Religion**

57. The Swatantra Party believes that India is a mixture of racial, religious and linguistic groups in the process of integration and that the needs of national solidarity require that the component States should do nothing to disturb the emerging pattern, but should help the process of synthesis.

58. Despite warnings, the Congress Party, in the face of opposition from outside as well as from the saner elements within its own ranks, has persisted in following policies which have resulted in disintegrating tendencies. Linguism to which they have surrendered, has become a separatist force and a protective cover for the majority in power in the States to reduce all minorities to the position of permanent aliens and to retard and obstruct a natural synthesis. The Swatantra Party will take steps to halt this deterioration.

Minorities & Backward Classes

59. The Swatantra Party will more faithfully and effectively carry out the provisions in the Constitution for the protection of the rights and interests of all minorities and those who work under handicaps, such as Harijans, Advasis and other Backward Classes.

60. The Party will not look upon associations for the protection of the rights of any classes or communities as communal organisations to be discouraged or banned.

Education

The directive principles of the Constitution provides free compulsory education to all children upto the age of 11 by 1961. This target has not been achieved. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will try to implement this directive within the next five years. It will further seek to make education free up to the Higher Secondary stage.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reform the system and content of education so as to bring it in tune with modern attainments and national values.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will respect the autonomy of universities and educational institutions and free them from the interference of Government. In each district an education board will be constituted to supervise the affairs of the institutions within the district. This board will include representatives of the teachers and donors.

Higher and technical education will be included in the concurrent list.

Jana Sangh will enforce uniform pay scales in Government and private institutions, and all universities.

Though they hold a very important position the condition of primary teachers is deplorable. Jana Sangh

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Caste based on birth, one of our major inheritances, has resulted in a social system which has divided our people into watertight 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.

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

Education

61. In order to arrest disintegration, the Swatantra Party

- (a) will introduce in education a spiritual element alongside of the humanities and sciences in order to provide an adequate background of human values for the citizens of the future; and
- (b) will provide free scope to voluntary agencies to impart moral and religious education to the young without forcing any such instruction on section not belonging to the same denominations as those agencies.

62. The Party stands for

- (a) the autonomy of universities and other academic institutions;
- (b) the vindication of the fundamental right of every citizen to educate his children according to his choice in a free atmosphere untrammelled by official directives;
- (c) the rejection of measures like the nationalisation of text books calculated to indoctrinate the younger generation;
- (d) the establishment of central universities for maintaining common academic standards throughout the country; and
- (e) raising the status and remuneration of professors and teachers on a uniform basis, so that their movement from one region to another may not be impeded.

Media of Mass Communication

63. The Party will resist all attempts at the establishment of a monopoly or official control and regulation over the various media of mass communication.

will improve their service conditions and fix Rs.150/- p.m. as the minimum pay.

Regional languages will be the medium of instruction upto the highest class. Hindi medium institutions will be established in all parts of the country. Arrangements will be made to prepare text books in all Indian languages.

Upto the higher secondary stage, the three-language formula will include the mother tongue, Hindi and Sanskrit. One modern Indian language will be prescribed for those whose mother tongue is Hindi. The study of foreign languages will be optional.

The Jana Sangh will take steps to remove the present disparities between public schools and other institutions. No aid will be given to schools preparing students for foreign examinations.

Jana Sangh will take concrete steps to bring back those trained Indians who are working in foreign countries, so as to utilize their talent and experience.

Official Language

The Congress Government have completely disregarded the language provisions of the Constitution. They have imposed English on the people. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will emancipate the nation from the shackles of the English language. Its language policy will be as under:

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.

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.

B.K.D. will also take steps, particularly, in the towns to ensure that pure articles of food

- (a) All India Radio, which is today a State monopoly, should be converted into an autonomous corporation like the British Broadcasting Corporation and other radio networks should be allowed to enter into competition with it;
- (b) similarly, Information Films of India, which today are the hand-maid of one party's propaganda, should be placed on autonomous footing as an agency for the dissemination of news and knowledge; and
- (c) the Party will do everything to sustain the Press, which has so far preserved its independence with commendable tenacity, against all attempts, whether through official patronage or fear, to bring it under the influence of any party in office.

Religion

64. The Swatantra Party believes that, while every citizen should be free to choose his religious belief and be entitled to an unrestricted exercise of his right to religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution, religion is of vital concern to the State, as it provides the dynamic force for strengthening moral and spiritual values which furnish the motive and the sanction for right conduct more than any law or regulation of the State.

65. The Swatantra Party will, therefore, do everything possible to restore religion to its legitimate place in life and in particular

- (a) make incomes of, and gifts to, religious institutions and charities tax free;
- (b) secure for each religion the full benefit of its endowed and other properties without interference from government;
- (c) ensure respect for all communities in regard to their religious practices; and

(i) Sanskrit will be declared as country's National Language. It will be used on occasions of special importance.

(ii) Immediate steps will be taken at the provincial level to make the provincial language the official language.

(iii) In those departments of the Centre which come into direct contact with the people, Hindi and provincial languages will be used.

(iv) Hindi will be introduced at the Central level. However, option to use English will be given for ten years to those employees who have not been able to learn Hindi.

(v) Examinations of the Union Public Service Commission will be held in all regional languages.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will prepare a common scientific terminology for all the Indian languages.

Social Security and Welfare

Traditionally, the joint family coparcenary ensured the individual's social security and catered to his welfare. As the joint family is breaking up, an alternative arrangement will have to be made. In all propriety, this responsibility should be borne by institutions where the individual contributes his productive labour. The Employees State Insurance Scheme is a modest beginning in this direction.

and medicines are available and that adulteration is put down with a strong hand.

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, organising technical education so as to produce the necessary personnel for technical jobs, and making provisions for scientific research. Higher as also secondary education - at least, 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

(d) take steps to create a climate in which every religion can contribute to the general welfare by strengthening the moral and spiritual stability of the respective communities.

66. Our people, who achieved a civilization of the highest type, moral and spiritual, many millennia before other nations reached a comparable state must continue to live a way of life wherein the individual freely gives to the community and is not reduced to the position of a cog in a lifeless machine for the sake of illusory progress in the material sense through state compulsion and under the direction of government officials.

But we need a comprehensive plan. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will formulate a scheme insuring the individual against old age, disablement, sickness, unemployment as also for the education of his children.

Prohibition

Bharatiya Jana Sangh regards drinking as a social evil which needs to be seriously tackled. The prohibition policy of the Congress Government, however, has miserably failed. Instead, it has led to much bootlegging. Jana Sangh will change this policy. It will formulate a uniform policy for the whole country and execute it simultaneously. It will also emphasise reform movements inculcating temperance.

Health and Medicine

In the sphere of medicine, Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not bound to any particular system. It will encourage them all. Ayurveda will be accorded the status of the national system of medicine, and developed as such.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will take steps to make the country self-sufficient in the manufacture of all medicines. With this end in view, it will amend the patents law.

Housing

There is acute shortage of housing in the country. The plans did not attach any importance to this programme and even the little that was

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 to all encouragement to Urdu.

BKD abhors the incursion of policies 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.

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

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envisaged has not been achieved.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh promises decent living accommodation to every family. It will undertake a huge programme utilising local material to fulfil this promise.

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 capital are decreasing and, with such a decrease, the country'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 and 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 intelligensia today.

Prohibition

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

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also by law.

Culture

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.

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9 Conclusion

67. During the past few years, through the adoption of so-called socialist and welfare-state policies, the Congress party has been acquiring a stranglehold over every aspect of the citizen's life. The ground is well prepared for the perpetuation of one-party rule as in Communist countries.

68. When this danger to democracy became clear, the Swatantra Party was conceived and started in defence of freedom in the middle of 1959. It has not found its work easy, not only because it is hard to divert people from the traditional attachment to a party that carries the name and flag of the organisation that fought foreign rule, but especially on account of the way in which the Congress Party and ministers have utilised their opportunities to strengthen the power of the party. The inclusion of every kind of social service in the activities of the administration and the enrolment of party men in such services as well as in panchayats and cooperative societies have confused the understanding of common folk who have been thereby led to identify the ruling party with the State itself.

We have been consistently warning the people about the far-reaching damage which would be caused to national interest by the wrong policies this Congress Government has been pursuing for the past 20 years. The Congress leadership has been trying to make capital out of their past sacrifices. With the aid of high-sounding slogans, it has been trying to hypnotise the people into seeing fanciful dreams, of a great future. But the events of these last 5 years have shattered all illusions and now, no amount of clever propaganda can falsify ~~the following~~ incontrovertible facts.

(1) ~~The Government's criminal indifference to security and defence of the country, its reliance on cliches like Panch Shila and Co-existence, and its utter failure to comprehend the real intentions of Communists China led the country to humiliating defeat in NEFA and Ledakh in 1962.~~

(2) ~~As a result of our unsound and unreal foreign policy, India found itself entirely friendless at the time of Pakistan's invasion. Not only so, the U.S., U.K. and USSR all put pressure on us as a result of which India succumbed and agreed to refer the Kutch issue to an International Tribunal, and later by accepting the Tashkent Declaration, wiped out the gains made on the battlefield by the valour and sacrifices of our Jawans.~~

69. In spite of all handicaps, the justice of the cause it has taken up has enabled the Swatantra Party to make headway. The humiliations, harassments and injustices resulting from the permit-licence-raj have opened the people's eyes. The drift towards totalitarianism has been made obvious to the dullest minds. The alignment of Congress policies with those of the Communists and the indifference displayed about foreign aggression have awakened people to a sense of the danger ahead. The entanglement of the nation in unredeemable foreign obligations for financing megalomaniac plans has accentuated public apprehension.

70. The Swatantra Party hopes that the electorate will rise to the occasion and, guided by those who see the dangers implicit in the situation, will refuse to give a fresh lease of untrammelled power to the Congress Party which would be tantamount to perpetuation of one-party rule and will give their support to the Swatantra Party candidates wherever they offer themselves for election so that democracy may be safeguarded.

(3) Instead of stressing the basic unity and integrity of the country, this Congress Government has been trying to appease separatist, disruptionist and anti-national forces which often seek to thrive in the name of diversities. As a result of this policy, Kashmir's integration with the rest of the country still remains incomplete, the rebels in Nagaland and Mizo land have been encouraged, centrifugal tendencies have been growing in the states, language controversy has been accentuated and English has been imposed on the country for all time to come. The evils of provincialism, casteism and communalism have been threatening the unity of the country.

(4) By neglecting India's basic values in regard to character and righteous conduct, and by making people think almost exclusively in terms of economic progress, this Government has created a climate in which corruption is having a field day. There seems not a sector of national activity untainted by this evil. Even from amongst those who are at the topmost rungs of the Congress hierarchy it is difficult to point out exceptions to this sorry state of affairs.

The Congress rulers have been able to defend neither the country nor its Constitution. 49,000 miles of national territory are under enemy occupation. Emergency has been made almost permanent with the result that Fundamental Rights guaranteed under the Constitution have become meaningless. The provisions of the Constitution

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Remarks

pertaining to official language have been shelved. Similarly, the directive in regard to cow slaughter, compulsory, primary education, eradication of untouchability, etc. have been entirely ignored.

For 20 long years, the Congress ruled this country. Here was an opportunity, absolute and untrammelled, for Congress to build up the country according to its concept. The result has been a disaster. The Congress has failed miserably and totally. It deserves no further opportunity. The people of India who are the real masters of this land and the makers of its destiny, must emancipate the country from the clutches of those who have developed a vested interest in the continuance of Congress Raj. These people have looted the country and brought it to the verge of ruin. Let us exert to bring about a democratic revolution through this fourth general election and give the country a new direction.