

AIMS  
&  
PRINCIPLES



**BHARATIYA KRANTI DAL**

## BKD'S AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

### State of the Nation :

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

It is a gloomy picture, indeed, but only too true. It is not the people who are to blame, however. It is the political leadership which has let them down—which has misled them in order to get their vote, that is at fault. The main problem for BKD is how to bring the country back to the path of realism. It proposes, therefore to tell the people the stark truth, to educate them in the problems that face them and their correct solutions. Many an illusion will have to be shed, which various-

political parties have fostered, and people have entertained for long. BKD believes that the country can still be salvaged but only by treading, by and large, the path that Mahatma Gandhi showed us. It believes in no *tantrums*, in no short-cuts to greatness and prosperity, but in hard work, integrity and sacrifices on the part of every citizen of the country. BKD proposes to apply itself to this historic task, some of its aims and principles being :

#### Clean and Efficient Administration :

**FIRST** : above everything else, it aims at an honest and efficient administration where public servants and all 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 still, demoralization—the destruction of a large capital we had in the inherent honesty of our people.

With a view to ensuring good administration and proper expenditure of public funds, therefore, BKD will take ruthless measures against all public servants who are found guilty of corruption, inefficiency or discrimination. Laws, rules and procedures for transacting public business will be made simpler, more precise and otherwise so amended that discretionary powers are reduced to the minimum, and the corrupt pursued more speedily and effectively than today.

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

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

Among measures to be taken in this sphere, BKD proposes that income tax returns and assessment orders of businessmen (as also property returns of gazetted public servants) are not kept confidential, but made public.

#### Emoluments and Discipline of Public Servants :

**SECOND** : While BKD would like public servants to be well-paid and trusted, it will insist on strict observance of discipline in their ranks. Otherwise, they will not be able to effectively serve the people—the purpose for which they are recruited and maintained. Subject to a few exceptions, there shall not be a spread of more than 10 between the salary of the lowest-paid and the highest-paid in the country. So far as payment of dearness allowance is concerned, BKD believes in higher rates for those at the lowest rungs, with rates falling as the salary rises, and none at all for those drawing salaries above a certain limit. Further, any increase in salaries or allowances shall depend on actual increase in national production, not on mere increase in prices. While they will have every right to represent their grievances to their superiors or to government, public servants as in other countries will have no right to strike work.

#### Taxation and Economy :

**THIRD** : BKD further aim at plugging loopholes in the existing laws of taxation and making the collection machinery more clean and efficient. Today, thousands of crores of rupees of tax remain unassessed and hundreds of crores remain unrealized. BKD will also effect all possible economy and retrenchment with a view to saving money which is going waste today, and bringing no return to the community. Once these three steps against avoidance, evasion and waste have been taken, perhaps, no fresh taxation will need to be raised, nor will the present rates need to be increased.

### Corruption Amongst Politicians :

**FOURTH :** In as much as corruption, like sacrifice, starts at the top and, percolating down, corrupts the whole society, unless there is a high degree of personal integrity at the top level in the public life of our country, corruption in administration cannot possibly be stamped out or even reduced. BKD, therefore, proposes to devise special procedures, and establish special agencies—agencies which will take automatic legal notice of complaints and not depend on government's initiative—for enquiries into charges of corruption against all non-officials who may be placed in positions of responsibility, particularly ministers and legislators, some of whom are in league with corrupt officials.

### No Truck with Capitalism :

**FIFTH :** In order to shield its workers against the snares of capitalism, BKD has decided not to seek or accept in private, funds from big business, or, for the matter of that, from anybody else, for a permit, licence or quota, granted in fact for, any work done or promised to be done as New Congress and all other political parties are doing, which practice has led to so many abuses in our public life.

### Maintenance of Law & Order :

**SIXTH :** BKD would maintain law and order in strict accordance with legal enactments and the Constitutions, irrespective of any considerations whatsoever. For, without a sense of security and faith in the fairness of administration, in the mind of every individual, in regard to his life, property, honour and his religion, there can be little or no economic or any other kind of development in the country.

BKD stands firmly against all attempts to erode the authority of government as expressed in the form of law. It would, therefore, curb with a strong hand all subversive and disintegrating forces and tendencies whether they raise their head in the name of a political ideology, region, language or community.

BKD believes in the maxim that Government, elected as it is by the people, is entitled to take every step and employ every means that the Constitution places at its disposal, in order to defend itself against the emergence of a parallel power which defies or challenges

its authority. It would not have, therefore, allowed West Bengal to degenerate into a blazing, shameful inferno that it has become today, while, to our abiding shame, there is still a so-called government which functions in New Delhi.

### Reform and Independence of the Judiciary :

**SEVENTH :** BKD aims at a radical change in the existing judicial system in the country that we borrowed wholesale from the British. While retaining the advantage of the present system in regard to full opportunity being given to both the parties to a legal proceeding, to establish their case, BKD proposes to overhaul the procedural law and, where necessary, the substantive law also in order that justice is really done and the guilty punished, and that delay, perjury, corruption and undue expenditure are avoided. The right to be released on bail and the right to file a writ, which are being greatly abused, will, in particular, be curtailed.

On the other hand, BKD is a strong upholder of the independence of the judiciary. A judiciary "committed" to the views of the government of the day or possessing an easy conscience, as the New Congress leadership wants it to, will be no judiciary at all, and will toll the end of democracy in the country. To ensure the independence of the judiciary, BKD would rather enhance the pensionary and other benefits accruing to the High Court and Supreme Court Judges but provide by law that no such judge is re-employed in any capacity after his retirement from the Bench.

### Independence of Governors :

**EIGHTH :** BKD believes that a similar ban as is envisaged in the previous article, should be placed on the re-employment of Governors also. Had there existed such a ban, the constitutional history of many a State during the recent past would have been different.

### Democracy founded upon ownership of Property :

**NINTH :** BKD believes that democracy is founded upon ownership of property. Not only that, a wide dispersion of private property is the only assurance that democracy is safe and would endure. There can be no democracy under a system where only a few individuals at the top, that is, the rulers or politicians who own or control everything, Against such a system of state, the individual who owns nothing, has neither the means of defence nor anything to defend. Today, our Constitution guarantees to every citizen, "the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property." It has further, laid down that no Government can acquire or take away the property of a citizen, for example, land held by small farmers for self-

cultivation within the ceiling limit, without payment of full market value. Small traders and small industrialists are also entitled to a reasonable compensation for acquisition of their property. On the other hand, in the interest of social justice, our Constitution has made this fundamental right subject to such measures as the government may take for abolition of landlordism or "towards securing that the operation of the economic system does not result in concentration of wealth or means of production to the common detriment."

The communists and the fellow-travellers, however, propose to amend the Constitution with a view to taking away this right to property—and the New Congress agrees with them—how-so-much it may now protest owing to the exigencies of the election. Only as recently as on November 3, 1970, Shri Vidya Charan Shukla, Minister of State for Finance in the Union Government, declared at a meeting of the Press club in Raipur, that majority of New Congress M. P.s. were in favour of deletion of the article relating to fundamental right to property from the Constitution and its replacement by a legal right—which of course, could be taken away at will. Shri Shukla is not alone: So many young Turks and other leaders of New Congress have said the same thing many a number of times. Even as late as on January 7 when according to a report in the "Statesman", the working committee of New Congress sitting in New Delhi on the same day was "re-casting its election manifesto in order to stress that the party stood for protection of the property rights of the lower sections," Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda in Rae Bareilly was talking of the party's resolve to amend the Constitution in the same refrain as Shri Vidya Charan Shukla.

When the New Congress leadership hastens to assure the people that it no longer proposes to take away the "property rights of lower sections" as its draft manifesto had gone on to provide, but only the rights of upper sections it is trying to mislead the people in two ways: First, the Constitution already authorizes Government to take such measures against 'concentration of wealth or means of production', that is, against rights of upper sections, as it may like; and, second, New Congress is pledged to establish socialism in the country which means that it is pledged to acquisition of all means of production and distribution, that is, all land, industry and trade or commerce, by the state, whether belonging to lower or upper sections of society.

BKD, however, proposes to defend this fundamental right to property with all its might. Once this right is taken away, there is no knowing that other fundamental rights like the right to freedom of speech and expression, freedom to form unions and associations or freedom to practise any trade, business or profession of one's choice, will not be similarly curtailed or abolished altogether.

In a democratic system, which we have irrevocably chosen, the humblest individual enjoys complete freedom to develop his own per-

sonality, subject only to the ordinary disciplines imposed by 'social necessity', while in a totalitarian system the individual is only a slave of the omnipotent state and has no personality of his own. He will have no freedom of action or any means of self-expression like houses to construct or modify and crops or trees to grow and tend, or cows—even children—to rear. Under the blue-print of Communism, children must be kept in creches maintained by the state.

#### BKD's Economic Philosophy Vis-a-Vis Capitalism, Socialism or Communism :

**TENTH :** BKD does not believe either in a system known as capitalism under which individuals enjoy an unrestricted freedom to exploit the economic needs of others or in a system whether known as socialism or communism, under which the state possesses an unlimited power to curb or take away the economic freedom of an entire people. It believes in treading the middle, Gandhian path.

While there is much truth in the claims of the capitalists or businessmen that, left relatively free from regulation, they can give the public a greater abundance of food, homes, comfort and leisure than has, or can ever come from industries managed by politicians, they are unable to explain why history resounds with protests and revolts against the abuses of industrial mastery, price manipulation, business chicanery and irresponsible wealth. To those who are dissatisfied with capitalism it has seemed that the best way of bringing economic power under social control, consisted in replacement of private ownership of all property which represented power, by some form of common ownership. Communists differ from Socialists only in regard to the method of transfer of power. The latter believe that the change from private to public ownership must be effected by democratic methods involving fair compensation and majority consent, while the former advocate one all-embracing revolutionary act, by which the political power of the state and the economic power of capitalists would be seized and held by a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'.

Substitution of the profit motive, however, on which capitalism relies, by ideological enthusiasm or police supervision on which socialism or communism relies, to stir individuals or groups to productivity, has proved to be transient or too expensive. Self-less men of outstanding ability devoted completely to national interest—men who

will manage public business with the same prudence as they would manage their own—are not numerous in any country. Nor does a man automatically work harder for a government than for himself or a private employer. Inasmuch as, in actual practice, common ownership is not distinguishable from state capitalism, evils of bureaucracy, viz., slowness, waste and corruption multiply a hundred fold. With no property that an individual may cherish or call his own, that is, with every economic resource owned by the state and every economic activity operated by it, an ordinary citizen is reduced to an automaton and the country itself to a vast prison-house or cattle-farm.

That is why socialism in Britain, Germany or Japan has ceased talking of nationalization and communism in Russia and other countries is busy restoring individualistic motives to give its system greater productive stimulus and allowing its people more physical and intellectual liberty. Meanwhile, capitalism undergoes a process of limiting individualistic acquisition by semi-socialistic legislation and the redistribution of wealth through the "welfare state."

BKD believes that, inasmuch as practical ability differs from person to person, inequality in acquisitions will continue, howsoever freedom may be repressed. Consistent with individual freedom in regard to the choice or operation of one's economic life, therefore, it proposes to put a ceiling both on rural and urban wealth so as to reduce inequalities to the maximum for which fortunately, our Constitution has already made the necessary provision. That is, BKD is opposed to concentration of economic power, whether in the hands of the state or capitalists, but believes that, provided we possess the necessary will and are sincere in our professions, social justice can be brought about—the under-dog and the under-privileged can be uplifted—through the democratic process, through the ballot-box, through their own vote—a process which is consistent with individual freedom and human dignity. This is the kernel of what Gandhiji taught us all his life. In this connection we would look to Japan rather than to Russia or China for an example. With far less natural resources per capita than India, its per capita national income was three times that of our country in 1953; the figure rose to 15 times in 1968. Its gross national product today comes only next to that of the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. Yet, it is as democratic and progressive a country as any other in the world.

### BKD's View of Communism :

**ELEVENTH** : Inasmuch as, *inter alia*, its centre of loyalty lies outside the frontiers of our country, as it does not believe in the freedom of vote or civil liberties as understood in our country, and further, as it advocates violence for bringing about social, political or economic change, BKD considers communism as enemy number 1 of democracy and the country.

### Unconstitutional Agitations are An invitation to Dictatorship :

**TWELTH** : BKD stands for preservation and strengthening of democracy or rule of law in the country, and will do nothing that injures it. 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, *dharana*, or, civil disobedience, that is, breach of law on a mass scale, and a recent variant, the *gherao*, which are being passed off as forms of *Satyagraha*—though based on or associated with untruth, violence and hatred as they almost invariably are—gradually lead to disrespect for law in the minds of the people and are the surest invitation to chaos and, eventually, to imposition of a dictatorship. So far as civil disobedience, in particular, is concerned, Mahatma Gandhi himself had stated in a meeting of Congress workers held in Madras on March 7, 1925 that he regarded it "only as a substitute for an armed revolt." Earlier, the main resolution passed at the Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress held in December 1921, over which Hakim Ajmal Khan presided, had described *Satyagrah* as "the only civilized and effective substitute for armed rebellion." *Satyagrah* 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.

### Non-parliamentary form of Democracy :

**THIRTEENTH** : BKD holds that, inasmuch as the present type of democratic government has failed to provide a stable and efficient administration to the country, it be replaced by a non-parliamentary type as obtains in the U.S.A. where the Chief Executive of a State or the Union will be elected directly by the people

for a fixed period of time, with no sword of removal or no-confidence hanging over his head all the time.

BKD's belief in Small Property :

FOURTEENTH : 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.

Size of Farm :

FIFTEENTH : As for the exact size or range of a small farm : In sheer theory as also in justice, possession or distribution of land in any country should be governed by the principle that none is allowed to hold an area of land which under its particular technique of a farming, is beyond the capacity of an average man or worker to manage, and none possesses less than an area below which, howsoever more labour may be applied to it, land will not produce more per acre. In other words, the upper limit of the farm shall be governed by the capacity of one unit of man-power to utilize land and the lower limit by the capacity of one unit of land to produce crops. Statistics indicate that under conditions of non-mechanized farming or farming by manual and animal labour—and this is the only type of farming that we need to consider in our country—as more and more

men work a given land area, that is, as area per man decreases, production per acre increases with such great strides that production per man also increases, till land per man is reduced to an area of 27.5 acres. It is at this stage or acreage that the "Law of Diminishing Returns" per man begins to operate. Below 27.5 acres, production per man begins to fall off as the area decreases, although production per acre continues to increase till land per man is reduced to a point in the neighbourhood of 2.5 acres. So that if the area a man possesses amounts to more than 27.5 acres, land is not fully utilized because of lack of sufficient labour and, if it amounts to less than 2.5 acres per worker, labour is not fully employed because of lack of sufficient land. In between these two levels, the more land a man or an agricultural worker has, the better for him as his total production will rise with every acre added to the holding, and the less land he has, the better for the country as the country's total production will rise with every acre taken away from the holding.

In our country, therefore, where it is land that is the limiting factor, not labour; where the area of land a cultivating family (usually consisting of two workers) holds on the average today, amounts to a bare 5.75 acres or so; where the rate of population growth is very high, viz., nearly 2.5 per cent per annum; and where transference of workers from agricultural to non-agricultural employment is so slow that the land-man ratio of the farming population is going down instead of going up—it is in the interest of the people that :

- (a) a ceiling on present possessions of land is imposed at a level which will, in no case, exceed 27.5 acres per adult worker (including of course, his wife and minor children, if any) and the area that thus becomes available, is distributed to those who possess no land at all or possess less than 2.5 acres each.
- (b) a floor is laid at 2.5 acres, that is, the law relating to transfer and partition of land in future is so amended that the area of land per worker is not reduced below 2.5 acres;

and

- (c) future acquisitions of land are so regulated that, along with what he may be already possessing, the total area a man comes to hold, does not exceed a particular limit which may be fixed somewhere between the ceiling and the floor

and may differ with the circumstances of a region concerned, for example, land:man ratio of its farming population, quality of the soil and the farming pattern.

#### Agricultural Production and Economic Development :

SIXTEENTH : 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 either. A prosperous or developing agriculture alone can :

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

Now, agricultural production will go up if even one of the three factors of production, viz., land, labour and capital, is increased and/or if this is not possible, an improvement is made in the method or methods of utilising these factors, 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 is a variable factor and can certainly be increased, but our agriculture is already labour-surplus, that is, it contains or disguises more labour than is necessary. Man's wants other than food being numerous and so diverse, virtually no limit can be placed on use or consumption of manufactured goods and utilization of social

\*Footnote : Food imports since 1947 have totalled to an amount of Rs. 4600 crores.

services. There is, therefore, no limit to the number and amount of non-agricultural resources and opportunities that a country may need and, thus, no limit to the number of persons that can be employed in non-agricultural occupations. On the other hand, there is a limit to the area of land that a country possesses (as also a limit to the consumption of food-stuffs) 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, had, in most parts of the country, been reached decades ago. So that the marginal productivity of labour of a vast multitude in our villages today, who are entirely unemployed or ineffectively employed in agriculture, tends to zero. They are surplus, in the sense, that their removal or transference to non-agricultural occupations will make no difference to agricultural output.

Therefore, instead of adding workers to agriculture we need to draw away more and more of them from agriculture and to employ them in manufacturing industry and other non-agricultural pursuits—where there is no limiting factor analogous to the availability of land in agriculture, which will impede realization of increasing returns. Apart from the question of employment there are two simple and good reasons in favour of this course :

- (a) It will lead to an increase in the output of goods and services which are required to meet the varied wants of a civilised people and, thus, raise their living standards; and
- (b) In nearly all the countries today agricultural workers earn less—those in the less developed countries markedly so—than non-agricultural workers. In other words, countries with a low proportion of the working population engaged in the primary or agriculture sector and, as a corollary, a high proportion engaged in the secondary or industry and the tertiary or service sectors, are found to enjoy a higher average level of income per head than where contrary is the case, that is, where agricultural workers are more numerous than non-agricultural.

So that if both prosperity and parity of incomes between the one section of our people and another 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 (which presumes a conscious change in the social and economic attitudes of our people).

Increase in land area not being possible and, as we have just seen, employment of more labour in agriculture not being in the interest of our people individually or as a whole, the limited area of the land that Nature has given to us, has to be made to yield more and more produce—which means, in other words, that the effect of the low land-man ratio in the country which is further declining every year owing to massive increases in our population, has to be 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. Further, it will take steps to see that all available organic manure is utilized or made to contribute towards increased agricultural production. Alternative fuel in the villages will have to be provided in order that cattle-dung is 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.

With a view to securing better utilization of land, labour and capital, schemes for consolidation of scattered fields belonging to a farmer, into one compact block or two, will be initiated and pursued with vigour. In the past, little or no attention has been paid to prevention of soil erosion which, if it continues at the present rate, will exhaust our soil completely, that is, render it incapable of growing any crops. In the long run, therefore, soil conservation is

even more important than soil utilization. Soil is the very basis of a nation's existence. BKD will, therefore, take all measures for maintenance of soil.

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 also.

#### Abolition of Landlordism or Land Reforms :

SEVENTEENTH : 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 still greater effort. He receives a psychological fillip which vitalizes his attachment and devotion to the land. BKD, therefore, stands for replacement of farm tenancy by peasant-proprietorship which means that it stands for abolition of landlordism lock, stock and barrel wherever it still lingers in the country. 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. No intermediary or landlord shall be permitted to resume land from tenants for self-cultivation and no farmer, to lease out his land unless he is a member of the armed forces of the Union, suffers from an unsound mind or is physically handicapped from carrying on cultivation. As indicated in a previous article, a limit shall be placed on future acquisitions of land as also, where necessary, a ceiling on present possessions.

#### State Trading in Food-grains and Fixation of minimum Agricultural Prices :

EIGHTEENTH : BKD holds that, in view of the financial, administrative and political costs that are involved, both state trading in food-grains (except to a limited extent and for temporary periods) which is the demand made by urban, non-agricultural interests in times of scarcity, and fixation of minimum

prices for agricultural produce which is the demand made by rural, agricultural interests in times of plenty or surplus production are impracticable propositions in the conditions of a dense, agrarian economy like India's (particularly, under a democratic constitution that the country has given to itself)—where farmers constitute the mass of the people and not only a class as in many an advanced country of the West. The only long-term solution of the problem of under-production lies in producing more and more per acre and, of over-production, in shifting of farmers to non-agricultural employments (till a balance in incomes between the two sectors is reached).

#### Pattern of Industrialization and Employment :

**NINETEENTH :** In as much as industrialisation involves substitution of machines for human labour and requires raw materials that may be processed or converted by these machines into finished goods for use or consumption of man, the pattern or extent of industrialisation in a country depends, first, on the rate and amount of raw materials or farm surpluses that the country can realise and, second, on the ratio these surpluses or capital bears to labour. In our country, of the two factors of production in industry, it is the materials or capital that is the limiting factor while labour is almost unlimited. The rate of interest is higher than the rate of wages, that is, man is cheaper than machines. Our economy, therefore, has, of necessity, to be such as would be economical in its use of capital resources, or, which is the same thing, such as will give us maximum yield per unit of capital invested though it may be wasteful of labour resources, that is, it may not be consistent with the maximum utilization of labour—an economy where output to labour would be lower and that to capital, higher. It will be an economy where small-scale enterprises using labour-intensive, capital-saving techniques, dispersed over the country-side, will or should form the main pattern, and not large-scale industries which use highly automatic, costly machines that require more capital relative to labour, and are usually located in urban centres.

Subject to certain exceptions, therefore that may have to be made in the long-term interest of the country, large-scale industries shall or should come only, in course of time, as the apex of an industrial structure with cottage or small-scale industries as its base. That is,

the process of growth will be generated from below—as incomes increase or more and more capital becomes available, and technology improves—through cottage or small-scale industries, then medium industries and, finally, to large-scale industries. This sequence is all the more desirable because one stage helps provide a market for the next. Large-scale industry will grow on the basis of cottage or small-scale industries (which will mostly produce consumer goods) responding to their demand and adjusting itself to their needs. While cottage or small-scale industries will, in their turn, grow on the basis of agricultural surpluses (which term here includes food and raw materials derived from land, animals and mines). The progression from labour intensive techniques to capital-intensive techniques will thus be governed by the rate at which more and more capital becomes available for investment in industry relative to labour that is released from, or no longer required in, agriculture.

Treating, as the Congress leadership of the country since 1947 has treated, heavy or large-scale industries as the base and handicrafts and small or consumer goods industries as an evil to be tolerated or the culmination of the process of economic growth, will amount to forcibly reversing the trends that should automatically develop in a backward economy like ours which desires, or has begun, to progress. It is this approach of the Congress Government at the Centre that has led to a galloping increase in unemployment, widened disparities in incomes, resulted in the present economic conditions which are almost static or in a rate of economic growth which is almost the lowest in the world and, because of these, has brought the country to the brink of disaster.

BKD purposes, therefore, than no capital-intensive enterprises shall be established, or, allowed to be established in the country today, for a purpose which could be carried out, or, for production of goods which could be manufactured, on a small scale. However with this end in view, a law demarcating the sphere of various industries will have to be placed on the Statute-Book because, in a free market, benefits of less capital-intensive or more labour-intensive enterprises are insufficient, as a general rule, to offset financially the superior technology of the modern mill. As a corollary, such existing mills or factories that are manufacturing goods, for example, textiles, which can be produced on a small or cottage scale, will not be allowed to sell their products within the country, but will have to export them. Government will do all that it can, to help them

compete in foreign markets. If they cannot so compete, they may well close down but the internal market shall remain the preserve of small industry. Once the decision is taken—and taken firmly—small labour intensive enterprises will fill the vacuum without loss of time and the Frankenstein of unemployment will have been laid to rest without anybody in the country having to lose a moment's sleep over it.

According to the report of the Textile Enquiry Committee (1953), the employment potential in the handloom industry was nearly twenty times that it was in mill industry, yard for yard, and that in the power-loom, five times. Today, only nine lakh workers are engaged in textile factories. In terms of figures of 1953, handloom industry would absorb 180 lakh instead, and power-looms 45 lakh. Corresponding figures for other industries, and those for the textile industry itself today, may be different, but there can be no manner of doubt about the validity of the broad generalisation that cottage or small-scale industries which use cruder technology, provide far more employment (as also produce more goods per unit of investment) than modern industries which use advanced technology.

Both the decision of New Congress, one, taken at its Bombay session in December 1959 to establish an Unemployment Fund of Rs. 200 crore and, the other, taken at its Patna Session in October 1970 to create and provide 5 lakh new Government jobs every year, instead, are a mirage and an evidence of mental insolvency. In fact, their only object is to delude the people with a view to securing their vote at the coming election.

As already stated in previous pages, BKD believes, as a matter of general rule, that nationalization or replacement of private ownership of industries by public owners does not conduce or conduce to national interest. Barring a minimum, inevitable number of projects or industries, therefore, that constitute the infra-structure of an economy, economic, which will be established in the public sector, all capital-intensive industries will be allowed to continue or to be set up in private sector subject, of course, to regulation and control by the State.

#### Cooperation :

**TWENTIETH :** Small farms and small firms or small industries that the BKD envisages, will be linked together by the principle of

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

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

#### Labour Policy :

**TWENTYFIRST :** Under an industrial economy where it is small units that predominate, there will not be much occasion left for the kind of employer-employee troubles we witness today. However, while BKD will not allow workers to be ill-treated and exploited and will impose heavy taxation on that part of the employer's profits which is not ploughed back into the economy, it will so re-fashion the labour policy that industrial costs are not inflated, or, which is the same thing, prices of industrial goods do not rise beyond the means of the mass of our countrymen; otherwise, internal consumption as also the exports will decline, industrialisation will be retarded and employment opportunities, instead of being widened, will be further restricted. The melancholy fact must be recorded that, under given or similar circumstances, the output per head of our workers is low as compared with most other countries. BKD will impress upon the workers that, if industrial production has to rise, a change in their attitudes towards work is vital. There is no question of a need-based wage in our circumstances where economic production is so low and the mass of the people so abjectly poor.

#### Quality of Human Factor :

**TWENTYSECOND :** The total real income of a country is roughly a function of the size and efficiency of its labour or working force relative to the size and quality of its natural resources. Unhappily, barring very few countries, indeed, we do not compare favourably with most others in regard to the quantity of our natural resources per capita and the quality of our people. Happily, however, while the quantity

and quality of natural resources are a gift of God or Nature and almost beyond human control, the quality or degree of excellence of a people (along with its quantity) is very much of its own making. And, happily, again, as the example of Japan has shown, deficiency in quality and quantity of natural resources can, to a great degree, be overcome by the quality of the working population. This quality depends upon historical and cultural factors, social environment, quality of health and education as also the kind of leadership provided by Government. BKD, therefore, will do all that lies in its power to improve the quality of our people.

#### Need of Change in Mental Attitudes :

**TWENTYTHIRD :** 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 economic 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.

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

#### Spirit of self-reliance :

**TWENTYFOURTH :** 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. (It may not be out of place to mention here that foreign loans incurred since 1947 amount to a figure of Rs. 5200 crore today).

#### Caste System and its Consequences :

**TWENTYFIFTH :** Caste based on birth, one of our major inheritances, has resulted in a social system which has divided our people into water tight compartments—divided them from one another into high and low, through endless centuries, and exposed us to foreign conquests, which have left us weak and poor. In the ultimate analysis it is this system, again, which is largely responsible for partition of the country and almost wholly responsible for the problem of untouchability and scheduled or backward classes that plagues our society. It is immutable : One can change one's religion, but not one's caste. The system runs counter to the concept of dignity of labour and creates an environment where manual work is considered degrading.

Further, in the context of today, the caste system, based as it is on the principle of absolute inequality in social relationships, militates against successful functioning of democracy, the first postulate of which is equality of one man with another, as also against freedom of economic opportunity without which no country can progress. BKD will, therefore, take all steps to see that will loosen the hold of caste on our society, if not abolish it altogether. With this end in view BKD proposes, *inter alia* to give preference in recruitment to gazetted services to those young men who have married or are prepared to marry outside their own caste.

#### Amelioration of Conditions of Scheduled Castes :

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

### Reservation of Backward Castes in Gazetted Services :

**TWENTYSEVENTH** : While socially and educationally backward classes other than scheduled castes, both Hindu and Muslim, constituted more than half of our people, they have little or no place in the political and administrative map of the country. This state of affairs creates social and political tensions and, thanks to the partisan spirit of those entrenched in power today, shows little sign of abatement. If anything, the position has worsened compared with the days of the British rule. While, therefore, BKD regards any kind of reservation as a vicious principle, it has, at long last, reluctantly come to the conclusion that there is no way out but that a share in the Government gazetted jobs, say, 25% be reserved for young men coming from these classes, as recommended by the Backward Classes Commission appointed under the presidency of Kaka Kalelkar by the Union Government under Article 310 of the Constitution in 1952.

### Improvement in Health :

**TWENTYEIGHT** : 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. This leads to great economic wastage or decrease in output per head of total population and consequent poverty. Besides producing additional quantities of food which will raise both the quantitative and qualitative levels of nutrition for our people, BKD will work for more medical facilities, whether Ayurvedic, Unani, allopathic, homoeopathic or naturopathic, and for an increase in their efficiency.

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

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

### Education :

**TWENTYNINTH** : BKD will dedicate itself resolutely to the spread of education. The reasons are simple : First, the only real

revolution is made not in the sphere of government or administration, but in the sphere of the mind and character of a people, and both the enlightenment of the mind and the improvement of character are the consequence of good education, and good education alone. Second, being the most difficult of all forms of government, democracy requires the widest spread of intelligence. Democracy will be real and justified, therefore, only if equality of educational opportunity could be established. Third, inasmuch as improvement of their skills and capacities increases the productivity of a people, expenditure on their education was but a form of investment for future production. Nowhere in the world is there an illiterate people that is economically advanced : nowhere in the world is there a literate people that is economically backward. "A dollar or a rupee invested in the intellectual improvement of human beings," pointed out the US Ambassador in a speech delivered at the University of Rajasthan in 1955, "will often bring a greater increase in national income than a dollar or a rupee devoted to railways, dams, machine tools, or other tangible capital goods."

Inasmuch however, as our financial resources are limited, BKD will concentrate on enforcing universal, compulsory primary education which will open the minds of the masses to new ideas, on making provision for scientific research which will lay the basis for future progress, and on organising technical education which will produce the necessary personnel for every technical job from the lowest to the highest.

The need and importance of technical training, particularly, in our conditions where capital is short, will become still clearer when we realise that, while increase in capital investment per head usually tends to lower the yield of capital, increase in technical knowledge tends to raise it. The present system of education, therefore needs to be radically changed. Its structure will have to be reared on the basis of technical and scientific knowledge. Today, instead of equipping young men for the battle of life that lies ahead, it usually disables them from all but clerical or desk work. It is a partial or one-sided education and does not awaken all the faculties latent in a man. whereas, in the words of Herbert Spencer, education means the drawing out of the inner capacities of an individual, so that he should be able to be most useful to himself, his family and the community, in general. In other words, education should give us knowledge of particular subjects as also a great deal of culture and

enable us to enter an useful and paying profession. Knowledge makes one useful to oneself; culture makes one useful to society, for, then one knows how to behave with one's followmen; and profession makes one useful to one's family, for through it one is able to fulfil the material needs of one's dependents.

Social controls will be applied on all privately-run educational institutions with a view to improving the quality of education and the service conditions of teachers. Measures will have to be taken to ensure that good men are attracted to the profession of teaching, or, unless there are good teachers, there will be no improvement in the character of our young generation.

In preparing text-books, more stress will be laid on patriotism, hard work, courage, integrity, performance of one's duty and other moral values than has been done hitherto. Bereft of these qualities, mere knowledge of letters or arts and sciences cannot make a good citizen of a man and, without good citizens, no country can make any progress.

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

#### Students and Politics :

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

#### Need of Birth Control :

**THIRTYFIRST** : Today our population is increasing at the rate of 2.45% or some fourteen 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 den-

sity and rate of growth lower than India's. As for the rest : If their population density is higher today, their rate of population growth is lower and if their rate of growth is higher, their density is lower.

India, therefore, needs to practise birth control. With a large increase in population every year, land area as also other natural resources per capita are decreasing and, with such a decrease, the country's potential for economic progress per capita 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 growth is substantially reduced. Work in the sphere of economic production and population control shall have to go on simultaneously, both being equally important.

Control on population growth being in the interest of the nation, BKD will so frame a law or devise a programme that all classes and sections of our people make an equal contribution to the national objective. *Inter alia*, for the reason that child-births in women of younger age are comparatively more frequent, BKD would prefer that no girl was allowed to marry unless she had attained the age of 18 years.

#### Prohibition :

**THIRTY-SECOND** : 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 education and persuasion as also by law.

#### Municipal Administration and Gaon Panchayats :

**THIRTYTHIRD** : Whenever BKD is returned to power in a State, BKD will take steps to amend the law relating to municipal administration and *gram panchayats*, particularly, in regard to election and removal of members and the chairman or the *Sachapati*. Our municipalities are reeking with intrigue and corruption today and

peasants have proved a curse, rather than a blessing to the villagers.

**Owners of Building Materials to be made owners of House-sites :**

**THIRTYFOURTH :** In some of the urban areas within the country, not all the peasants are owners of the sites on which their houses stand. Consequently, they are subjected to all sorts of exactions and harassments by private landlords. BKD proposes to make them owners of their sites as well.

**Succession to Agricultural Land :**

**THIRTYFIFTH :** In the matter of succession to landed property, BKD considers that a Hindu girl should, on her marriage, become automatically entitled to half the share in her husband's property. The existing Central legislation in this regard, known as the Hindu Code, which grants to the daughters a right in their father's property, even though they had a brother or his progeny living, and applies to some States like Haryana and not to others like Uttar Pradesh, shall be amended accordingly.

**Equal treatment of all Nationals :**

**THIRTYSIXTH :** 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. At the same time BKD will take particular care to see that minorities feel fully assured in the pursuit of their particular faith or religion.

**External Affairs and Defence :**

**THIRTYSEVENTH :** In the sphere of external affairs, BKD will support a policy which conduce 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 who have either opposed our stand or remained neutral when we were in need of friends. Congress Government at the Centre since 1947 has bound itself 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. We failed to help Tibet with the result that it has now passed under the sign of communism and the security of our own country is threatened. Nor is our country non-aligned in the real sense of the term : our policy is highly weighted in favour of communistic Russia and has unnecessarily served to alienate the democratic U. S. A. So that we find ourselves militarily weak and friendless today—an object of pity for whosoever would sympathize with us. Even our small neighbours like Burma, Ceylon and Nepal do not care a shell for our feelings or interests and treat India and Indians with contempt.

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

**Vacation of Aggression :**

**THIRTYEIGHTH :** If and when it is returned to power in the Union, BKD undertakes to recover all those parts of our Motherland which are under the heel of the foreigner today. No nation which is prepared to sleep over its humiliation or loss of its territory, will be able to maintain its sovereignty for long.

**Inquiry into Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri's death :**

**THIRTYNINTH :** There is great misgiving in the public mind about the real cause of death of our Late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. The public demand that has been made since 1965 for an inquiry by a Judicial Commission, but has been uncer-

emoniously turned down by our present Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi, more than once. In view of the kind of allegations that are being made or one often hears in this connection, this refusal is particularly unfortunate, and has only served to deepen suspicious. BKD proposes to set up an inquiry if and when it is in a position to do so.

January, 1971

*Lucknow Singh*

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