

1973 December

**AIMS AND PRINCIPLES  
OF  
BHARATIYA KRANTI DAL**



*Central Office:*

**BHARATIYA KRANTI DAL**

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## FOREWORD

The first formulation of the aims and objectives of 'Bharatiya Kranti Dal' appeared soon after its formation in September 1968, in the shape of a brochure entitled 'Aims and Principles of Bharatiya Kranti Dal'. This attracted wide attention and the brochure underwent a second edition in 1968 and a third in 1971.

Since then, events have marched with a rather rapid pace, bringing about quite major quantitative and qualitative changes. This necessitated a further and a more detailed elaboration of the basic point of view of the B.K.D. Hence, the present brochure which is the official version of the fundamental tenets of the party with regard to social, political and economic reconstruction of India, and, at the same time, an authoritative embodiment of the thought of Shri Charan Singh, the founder, the leader and the guide of Bharatiya Kranti Dal.

December 1st., 1973,  
Lucknow.

National Secretariat  
BHARATIYA KRANTI DAL

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## AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

OF

## BHARTIYA KRANTI DAL

### State of the Nation :

India has arrived at a stage in its history when its prestige is at its lowest ebb, when foreign governments do not consider it necessary to observe protocol during the visits of our Prime Minister to their countries, when foreign countries interfere in our internal affairs and the country suffers the interference in silence, when our country is gradually getting reduced to the position of a satellite of the USSR, 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 indiscipline amongst students, industrial workers 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 almost everybody is clamouring for rights and nobody is conscious of his duties, when moral standards have flopped all around and corruption of every kind shows an upward trend, when purity or quality of means for attaining political ends has become immaterial, when in the race for economic development, we have been left behind by other nations—more behind than we were in 1947, in fact, when India stands at the bottom of the economic ladder of the world, 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 the 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.

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There is yet another very desperate aspect of the current situation : We are living under a left-dictatorship donning a parliamentary mask. This dictatorship is an omnivorous animal, fattening itself on the misery of the common man, his freedom and his culture. It has laid down the major structure of a communist society and is progressively filling it with its contents :

- (i) Its economic aspects are regimented economy, complete control over 65 per cent of organised industry and a progressively increasing control over the rest of it, complete control over financial institutions, monopoly of foreign trade, near monopoly of internal trade and close and somewhat subservient economic links with the Soviet bloc ;
- (ii) It is now busy forging the chains of enslavement of our farmers ;
- (iii) Politically it has very much deprived the people of their basic rights through frequent amendments of the Constitution which has now been reduced to a farce ;
- (iv) The President, the Governors, the Attorney-General and the Election Commission are being robbed of their freedom of opinion or action. Democratic processes within the ruling party itself for selection of Chief Ministers and other functionaries are no longer observed ;
- (v) It has imposed upon us a judiciary which is willing to function as a subservient instrument of its socialistic policy ;
- (vi) It has brought within its iron grip the major media of mass communication, such as the press and the radio and is frantically trying to complete this stranglehold ;
- (vii) It is trying to instal, at least at the Centre, a committed civil service and is pursuing the policy in the States ;

- (viii) It is doing its best to reduce elections to a mockery ;
  - (ix) It is insulating the country from the influence of Western ideas of individual freedom and human dignity ;
  - (x) It has spread its tentacles over films and book trade ;
  - (xi) It has regimented university life and is making rapid advance towards nationalisation of education as a whole ;
  - (xii) In foreign policy, it is functioning as the long arm of the Soviet Union in S. E. and S. W. Asia.
  - (xiii) This dictatorship is working in close collaboration with the Soviet Union. — Seventy out of ninety public sector projects are under the shadow of Soviet economic imperialism. Through the rupee trade, Soviet Union is ruthlessly exploiting us ;
  - (xiv) It has flung open the gates of our educational and cultural institutions to Soviet influence ;
  - (xv) It fights elections with the help of Soviet money ;
- and
- (xvi) It has brought on our seas a substantial segment of Soviet navy which might come to its help when it is on the verge of collapse.

It is a grim and gloomy picture. The people are, however, not to blame. It is the power-hungry political leadership that has let them down—that has misled them in order to get their vote, which is at fault. The main problem for B.K.D. is how to take the country back to the path of realism and democracy. 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. B.K.D. 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 sacrifice on the part of every citizen of the country. B.K.D. proposes to apply itself to this historic task. Some of its aims and principles are :

#### **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 has so far been largely mis-spent. The damage : inflation and, worse still, demoralization—the destruction of that large capital which 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 and the inefficient dealt with 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 the functioning of companies, financial institutions and semi-government 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 decoit—but is unable to cope with those 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 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 order of businessmen (as also property returns of gazetted public servants) are not kept confidential but made public.

#### **No Acceptance of Funds for a Consideration :**

*SECOND* : BKD will not seek or accept funds from big business or, for the matter of that, anybody else for a permit, licence or quota granted, in fact, for any work done—as New Congress and some other political parties are doing. This practice has led to so many abuses in public life.

#### **Emoluments and Discipline of Public Servants :**

*THIRD* : 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 7.5 between the salary (post-tax) 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, say, those whose incomes are assessable to income-tax. 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 will have no right to strike work.

#### **Taxation and Economy :**

*FOURTH* : BKD further aims 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.

Further, as recommended by the Wanchoo Committee, BKD would rationalize the existing tax structure; for example, it would bring down the existing marginal rate of income-tax from its present level of 97.75 to 75.0 per cent and also effect a reduction in the rates at the middle and lower levels. An unduly high rate of taxation leads to evasion and consequently to black money. Moreover, it creates a psychological barrier to greater effort and undermines the capacity of the people to save and invest.

Still further, BKD will aim at reduction in the incidence of indirect taxation which hits the comparatively poor sections of the community in a greater measure than the rich.

#### **Corruption Amongst Politicians :**

*FIFTH :* Inasmuch 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.

#### **Maintenance of Law and Order :**

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

and, therefore, no happiness in our society. In this regard, a BKD government will pay particular attention to protection of the interests of the minority.

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 or 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 allows or places at its disposal, in order to defend itself against the emergence of a parallel power in the country which defies or challenges its authority.

#### **Methods of Political Agitation :**

*SEVENTH :* BKD stands for the preservation and strengthening of democracy or the rule of law in the country and will not tolerate anything that injures it. It does not believe in such political agitation and propaganda as are designed to promote breach of law. Such methods are bound to foster disrespect for law in the minds of the people and eventually pave the way to dictatorship.

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 *Satyagraha* as 'the only civilized and effective substitute for armed rebellion.' Later, Mahatma Gandhi himself had stated in a meeting of Congress workers held at Madras on March 7, 1925, that he regarded it "only as a substitute for an armed revolt." *Satyagraha* can, therefore, have no place in the public life of India today, when governments can be replaced every five years by the people's own vote. Instead, BKD will educate public opinion by all constitutional means, such as public meetings, speeches in the legislature or articles in the press, establishment of daily or weekly journals of its own, pamphleteering, even black flags, demonstrations or strikes that are not prohibited by law, etc.—so that it may be returned in a majority in the next election.

However, if dissent is sought to be suppressed or civil liberties which are the very basis of a free society, are threatened, BKD will not hesitate to launch a movement of mass civil disobedience in order to bring the Government back to the path of democratic behaviour. Also, in very exceptional cases, the National Executive may sanction individual Satyagraha subject, of courses, to such conditions as it may deem necessary.

#### **Non-Parliamentary Form of Democracy :**

*EIGHTH* : 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 USA and some other countries where the Chief Executive of a State or the Union is elected for a fixed period of time, with no sword of removal or no-confidence hanging over his head all the time. Municipal bodies and village communities shall also be constituted and administered on the non-parliamentary pattern. Besides ensuring stability and efficiency which will make for speedy progress of the country, this change in our polity will serve to remove, to a large degree, corruption from public life including the evil of defection.]

#### **Wider Autonomy to the States :**

*EIGHTH (A)* : BKD would further amend the Constitution with a view to conferring greater powers on the State Governments and enlarging their jurisdiction. While it would like to retain a strong Centre—strong in the sense that it is able to maintain the frontiers of the country, its sovereignty and its unity—it would not like the States to be reduced, as they have been reduced today, to the position of District Boards or Zila Parishads. Comparatively vast financial resources that the Centre enjoys, coupled with centralized planning and the Constitutional provision under which the Central cabinet has the right to advise the President to suspend or dissolve the Assembly of a State and impose presidential rule thereon—an advice upon which he has necessarily to act—have virtually negated the State autonomy.

#### **Reform and Independence of the Judiciary :**

*NINTH* : Since there is no better test of the excellence of a Government than the efficiency and impartiality of its judicial system,

BKD aims at a radical change in the existing system 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 as, also seems to be 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 have been so greatly abused, will, in particular, be curtailed.

Further, BKD is a strong upholder of independence of the judiciary, that is, its right and freedom to interpret the law and the Constitution according to its own lights, untrammelled by the views or "social philosophy" of the Government in power or any outside authority whatsoever. A judiciary otherwise "committed" or committed to interpret the law and the Constitution in a particular manner which may or may not be warranted by its language, will be no judiciary at all, and, will tell the end of democracy in the country.

Viscount Bryce had said long ago :

"In all countries, cases, sometimes civil, but more frequently criminal, arise which involve political issues and excite party feeling. It is then that the courage and uprightness of the judges become supremely valuable to the nation. Nothing does more for the welfare of the private citizen and nothing more conduces to the smooth working of free Government, than a general confidence in the pure efficient administration of justice between the individual and the State as well as between man and man."

To ensure independence of the judiciary, BKD would *inter alia*, so amend the law rules in regard to appointment and promotion of judges that all considerations other than those of ability, integrity and experience are excluded. It will, further, lay down a law that no judge will be reemployed in any capacity whatsoever, public or private, political or non-political, after his retirement from the bench. If necessary, pensionary and other benefits

accruing to the judges will be enhanced. For public convenience and better administration, BKD would require that Sub-Divisional Magistrates reside and hold their courts at the Sub-divisional headquarters and not at the headquarters of the districts, as at present.

#### **Independence of Governors :**

*TENTH* : 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.

#### **BKD'S Economic Philosophy vis-a-vis Capitalism, Socialism or Communism :**

*ELEVENTH* : 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.

Historically, dissatisfaction with capitalism led to a demand for social control of its economic power, and, the best way of doing it seemed to lie in replacement of private ownership of all property which represented power, by some form of public or common ownership—ownership of all land (including homes), all industry and all trade.

Communism differs from Socialism only in regard to the method of transfer of power. The latter believes that the change from private to public ownership must be effected by democratic methods involving fair compensation and majority consent, while, the former advocates 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.'

Selfless 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, however. 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.

BKD believes in the middle, Gandhian path, an economy based overwhelmingly on self-employment. It believes in a system of private property where exploitation is reduced to the minimum, if not eliminated altogether. In BKD'S view, democracy is founded upon ownership of property. Indeed, a wide dispersion of 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 own or control everything—where political and economic power are vested in the same hands. As a corollary, BKD therefore, would, work for repeal of the recent amendments of the Constitution, No. 24 and No. 25 carried out by the Congress Party, to the extent they abrogate the right to private property or render it nugatory.

It further 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 these inequalities to the minimum for which, fortunately, our Constituion has already made the necessary provision. That is, BKD is opposed to concentration of economic power whether in the hands of the state or the capitalists, but, believes that, provided we possess the necessary will and are sincere in our professions, social justice can be brought about—the underdog 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.



### B.K.D'S View on Communism

*TWELFTH* : BKD regards Communism as the anti-thesis of all those values which, in history, have been the main springs of human progress, and, regards world communist movements, whether led by Russia or China, as new varieties of imperialism. BKD takes a special note of the current tactics of Moscow-led Communist Party of India, the main emphasis of which is on large scale infiltration in our social institutions, particularly the state machinery and the ruling Congress Party, in order to occupy positions of vantage so that power is captured through the mis-use of democratic apparatus. BKD, therefore, calls upon all those, who believe in democracy, to be on their guard.

### BKD's Belief in Small Property :

*THIRTEENTH* : In pursuance of the above belief, BKD will work for the establishment of an economy consisting mainly of self-employed persons—an economy which :

- (a) (i) 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 speedily 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 :

*FOURTEENTH* : 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 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 consider in our country—as 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 7.0 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 coming down instead of going up, it is in the interest of the people that :

- (a) a ceiling on present possession 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 :**

*FIFTEENTH* : 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 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. Even to-day agricultural produce forms the largest proportion of our exports.

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 the area of land that India possesses is limited and there is also a limited consumption of foodstuff which constitute the largest part of land produce. So that, although under new techniques (other than mechanisation) that are being discovered, more men are required and can be employed in agriculture than today, there is a limit to the number of workers that agriculture can ultimately gainfully employ. This limit in large parts of the country had been reached decades ago.

Further, inasmuch as, in order that the living standard of our people may be raised, we need more and more men in non-agricultural production and services, and men have to be drawn away from agriculture rather than added to it as the result of a conscious policy. In manufacturing industry or non-agricultural occupations, there is no limiting factor analogous to the availability of land in agriculture which will impede realisation of increasing returns.

Apart from the question of employment, there are two simple and good reasons in favour of diversion of the rural labour force

to non-agricultural occupations rather than its retention in agriculture :

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

and

(b) In nearly all 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 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, however, 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 land that Nature or history has give 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, at reasonable rates, and as much scientific knowledge as may be possible or 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 the country's soil.

Finally, 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 :**

*SIXTEENTH* : 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 will be excited in the interest of increased production if he is made proprietor of his patch of land. The feeling that he is now master, subject to no outside control, and has free, exclusive and untrammelled use of his land, prompts 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.

In some of the urban areas within the country, not all persons 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.

### **State Trading in Foodgrains :**

*SEVENTEENTH* : As regards the problem of food, BKD proposes that in times of scarcity part of the surplus available with the comparatively large farmers may be secured through imposition of a levy leaving the balance to be handled by the trade. The price paid to the farmers shall be fixed having regard to the price of inputs and shall not ordinarily be lower than the landed cost of foreign foodgrains at our ports. The poorer sections of our population shall be fed by Government, if necessary, at subsidised rates; out

of the foodgrains thus requisitioned, leaving the rest of the community to be catered to by the trade.

BKD is strongly opposed to any state trading in foodgrains which will be a long step towards a totalitarian economy and will prove harmful to all the four parties concerned, the producer, the trader, the consumer and the government.

### **Pattern of Industrialization and Employment :**

*EIGHTEENTH* : Inasmuch as industrialization 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 industrialization 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 wage is lower than the rate of interest on capital, 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 smallscale enterprises using labour-intensive, capital-saving techniques, dispersed over the countryside, 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 and need necessarily be 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 industrial growth will be generated from below—as incomes increase, making more and more capital

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 as 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, if not deteriorating, 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 proposes, therefore, that in future no capital-intensive enterprises shall be established, or allowed to be established in the country for a purpose which could be carried out, or, for production of goods which could be manufactured on a small or cottage scale.

Cottage industry may be defined as an industry which is carried on by members of a family or household and produces traditional commodities with the aid of non-power-driven equipment and techniques. Small industry is an industry which, if carried on by

power, employs not more than nine hired workers, and, if carried on without power, employs not more than nineteen workers.

With a view to regulate the industrial pattern in national interest, a law demarcating the sphere of various industries will have to be placed on the Statute Book. The reason being that, 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 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 and cottage 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 that has been called into being by the Congress Government itself, will have been laid to rest without anybody in the country having to lose a moment's sleep over capital, power or technical know-how.

Although smallscale industry provides more employment (and, in an overwhelming percentage of cases, also produces more) per unit of investment than large industry, it provides for less employment (and produces less) than cottage industry in every case. For example, employment potential in handloom and powerloom industry was twelve times and four times respectively what it was in mill industry. No large-scale enterprise shall, therefore, be allowed to come into existence in future, which will produce goods or services that cottage or small-scale enterprises can produce, and, in its turn, no small-scale industry either, which will produce goods or services that cottage enterprises can produce. So that while, in most cases, small-scale industry will have to be protected against large-scale industry, cottage industry will have to be protected against both.

Further, up to the time when full employment has been achieved, mechanisation has to be scrupulously eschewed, for example, in construction of office or residential buildings, roads, bridges,

railway tracks or irrigation dams and reservoirs. Pre-fabricated housing factories and earth-excavators and earth-movers will, therefore, have to be shut down or scrapped. Nor will electro computers, automatic laundries or automatic telephones and mechanised bakeries which Congress Governments have established all over the country be allowed to function. They will be replaced by the old systems which will provide more employment. (So far as agriculture is concerned, only small machines may be used, as in Japan, which will supplement but not supplant human labour). In a country like India where unemployment is widespread, it is economically more efficient to raise output by increasing employment than with productivity (that is, production per worker) constant. Mechanisation or further mechanisation of the economy has, therefore, to be discouraged till all the people without jobs have been fully absorbed.

The decision of the ruling Congress party to create and provide five lakh new Government jobs every year, instead, is a mirage and an evidence of mental insolvency. In fact their only object is to delude the people with a view to securing their votes at the elections. Jobs should primarily aim at producing goods and services for the people and not merely provide wages to unwanted or untrained hands at the tax-payer's expense, which will add to inflation. The problem of the growth of high incomes at one end of the social pyramid and of mass penury and unemployment on the other, can be solved only by a drastic re-structuring of the economy, in other words, demarcation of the various production techniques.

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

### Co-operation :

**NINETEENTH** : Small farms and cottage or small-scale 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 nor will they contribute to increased production or increased employment.

### Labour Policy :

**TWENTIETH** : Under an industrial economy where it is the small units that predominate, there will not be much occasion left for the kind of employer—employee troubles we witness all over the country today. However, it will so refashion the labour policy that, while employers are not allowed to exploit, ill-treat or arbitrarily dismiss the workers, the trade union movement is not allowed to hold the country to ransom.

In our circumstances where economic production is so low and the mass of the people so abjectly poor, there can be no question of a need based wage or salary whether in the sphere of industry or agriculture (or administration). If increase in wages which is ultimately reflected in increase in the price of industrial goods, is made to an extent that the industrial goods are priced beyond the means of the mass of our countrymen, internal consumption as also the exports will decline, industrialization will be retarded and employment opportunities, instead of being widened, will be further restricted.

The melancholy fact must be faced 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 and the living standard of the people to improve, a change in their attitudes towards work is vital.

#### **Quality of Human Factor :**

*TWENTYFIRST* : 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 either to the quantity of our natural resources per capital and/or to 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 made good or compensated 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 the Government.

B.K.D., therefore, will do all that lies in its power to create conditions which will improve the quality of our people.

#### **Need of Change in Mental Attitudes :**

*TWENTYSECOND* : B.K.D. 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. B.K.D. 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 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, discipline, integrity in the widest sense of the term and payment of taxes whose burden, of course, will be equitably distributed.

#### **Spirit of Self-Reliance :**

*TWENTYTHIRD* : BKD would inculcate in the people a spirit of reliance on our mental and physical resources so that the country does 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 which totalled 32 crores of rupees in March, 1951, amounted to a sum of 8000 crores of rupees in March, 1973).

#### **Education :**

*TWENTYFOURTH* : BKD will dedicate itself resolutely to the spread of education. The reasons are simple : First, a 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 knowledge and information. 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 is 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 U. S. 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."

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. It is a partial or one-sided education, however which obtains in our country today—education which does not awaken all the faculties latent in man. Instead of equipping young men for the battle of life that lies ahead, it usually disables them from all but clerical or desk work. More attention has been paid to higher and academic education than basic-oriented primary, or job-oriented secondary education—leading to various problems. Still more serious is the neglect of adult education.

BKD, therefore, 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.

As regards higher education, BKD will put a moratorium on opening of new colleges or universities and ensure that higher education, specially in the humanities, is ear-marked only for the gifted and the deserving. Secondary education will be vocationalised and a large number of professional courses made available to school-leavers. Also, an opportunity for part-time, correspondence and other non-institutional courses will be provided to those who wish to acquire more learning and improve their job prospects.

Effective steps will be taken for spread of adult education which is particularly important in our country. The total number

of illiterates in the age-group of 16-44 stood at a figure of 16 crores in 1971. Adult education is needed to shorten the time until the population at large is all literate. It is also needed to make primary schooling more effective.

While BKD stands for reasonable government control on all privately-run educational institutions with a view to improving the quality of education and the service conditions of teachers, it is opposed to complete nationalization which carries certain risks that may not be evident today. If universities and other institutions of higher learning are denied autonomy and academic freedom, it will lead to regimentation of thought and the delicate flower of democracy, which has already lost its fragrance, is likely to wither away completely.

Measures, however, have, to be taken in any case to ensure that good men are attracted to the profession of teaching, for, 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, austerity, 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.

So far as the question of Urdu is concerned, BKD holds that, inasmuch as a section of our people consider it to be their distinct language, they have every right to conserve its script as also, with that end in view, to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Not only that. A BKD-manned government will provide every facility for instruction in Urdu to all those who want it.

BKD, indeed, would readily raise Urdu to the status of a second official language provided, however, in its assessment, consent of the majority, essential in democracy to such a major step, is forthcoming.

#### **Students and Politics :**

*TWENTYFIFTH* : 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 battle-grounds for political power.

#### **Improvement in Health :**

*TWENTYSIXTH* : 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 ensuring production of 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. It will pay particular attention to training of mid-wives and establishment of maternity homes in rural areas.

Preventive measures will also have to be taken along with curative ones. Sanitary conditions, particularly in villages, need looking after, where 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 in particular to ensure that pure articles of food and pure medicines are available. It will put down adulteration with a strong hand.

#### **Prohibition :**

*TWENTYSEVENTH* : 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.

#### **Need of Birth Control :**

*TWENTYEIGHTH* : Broadly speaking, the economic conditions of any country are an expression of the relation that its physical resources and the level of their exploitation bear to the size of its population and the rate of population growth. Although

the extent of the physical resources is a factor beyond human control, the level of their exploitation can vary and be raised. Similarly although man can do nothing about the existing size of our population, at least, its rate of growth can be checked. We have, therefore, to address ourselves to the tasks which alone are open to us, viz., to better exploitation of our physical resources and to checking the growth of our human "resources", which will improve our economic conditions.

Today our population is increasing at the rate of 2.5 per cent or some 14.5 million persons a year. Barring Ceylon and Pakistan whose density of population per unit of useable land area as also the rate of population growth are the same or higher than India's, every other country in the world is in a fortunate position as compared with our country. Some 30 countries have both a population density and a 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 things that the rate of 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-birth in

women of younger age are comparatively more frequent, BKD would prefer that no girl is allowed to marry unless she has attained the age of 18 years.

#### **Equal Treatment of All Nationals :**

*TWENTYNINTH* : 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 way of life.

#### **Religious Freedom :**

*THIRTIETH* : While every citizen of India is entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practise and propagate his religion, BKD proposes to frame a law to ensure that no conversion from one religion to another is made by force, fraud or for material consideration and that no orphan is at all converted. Mahatma Gandhi had more than once publicly declared that foreign Christian Missions would no longer be allowed to function in India.

#### **Caste System and its Consequences :**

*THIRTYFIRST* : Caste based on birth, one of our major inheritances, has resulted in a social system which has divided the people into water-tight compartments—divided them from one another into high and low, through endless centuries, thus giving rise to the problem of untouchability and scheduled or backward classes which plague our society so irretrievably.

This system has led to foreign conquests of our Motherland which left us weak and poor, and (inasmuch as Muslims, owing to the way Hindus behaved towards brethren of their faith, apprehended that, after the departure of the British, they would not be just and fair to them also) is as responsible for partition of the country that took place in 1947 as the activities of the Muslim League.

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 relations, 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.

What is more, caste is immutable: one can change one's religion, but not one's caste.

BKD will, therefore, take all steps that will gradually loosen the hold of caste on our society till it disappears 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 the Condition of Scheduled Castes :**

*THIRTYSECOND* : BKD will pay special attention to the uplift of Harijans or scheduled castes and tribes to whom justice has been denied for long. As atrocities committed on the Harijans during the regime of the New Congress in Uttar Pradesh since April, 1971, have shown, however, mere enactment of legal and constitutional provisions will not do. Positive steps will have to be taken to ensure that the law (which must be made more stringent) is actually implemented in the field.

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 tens 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.

However, as an interim measure, BKD proposes that 20 per cent of the unskilled jobs in all factories both in the public or private sector as also of the permits or licences in the gift of government which do not require any technical skill to exploit, shall be reserved for members belonging to these suppressed sections of our society.

As laid down in a previous article, BKD stands for abolition of caste. This step will restore them their rightful status in society, deprivation of which has rankled so bitterly, and rightly, in their hearts for centuries.

#### **Abridgement of Social and Political Gulf :**

**THIRTYTHIRD :** The premises behind the formulation that democracy is a government of the people, by the people and for the people, is that persons placed in authority in government, in the administration and in the legislature by the electoral process, would :

First, understand the problems of the people as correctly and faithfully and feel or appreciate them as acutely as the people themselves,

and

Second, speedily formulate policies and draw up and execute schemes which will effectively solve the problems so identified.

But the handful of the upper, educated and articulate section of the people who form the bulk of the political and administrative leadership of the country, live so far removed from the overwhelmingly large numbers of the common people that they are completely unaware of the prevailing squalor, inhuman living conditions and intolerable misery of the latter. By generations of living in these two completely different worlds, each oblivious of what goes on inside the other, the two sets of people develop as two different species of animals. Thus, with regard to social environment, tradition, culture and the way of life, there is *ab initio* communication chasm between the two—between what are called the elite and the intelligensia, on the one hand, and the masses, on the other. Since Independence this chasm has widened instead of

being abridged. But unless this is done, that is, unless this difference between the two worlds with regard to their language, philosophy, allusions and the very canvas of life is obliterated there can be no communication between the two : there will be no understanding and solution of the national problems and, therefore, the country can make no progress. India's poverty can be liquidated only by a person or a band of persons who have experienced poverty in their own lives—persons who belong to the second world.

BKD's ambition is to abridge this chasm—to close it altogether.

#### **Reservation of Backward Castes in Gazetted Services :**

**THIRTYFOURTH :** While the socially and educationally backward classes, other than scheduled tribes and 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, it shows little sign of abatement. If anything, the position has worsened compared with the days of British rule. While, therefore, BKD regards any kind of reservation as a vicious principle, it has, at long last, come to the conclusion that there is no way out but that a share in Government jobs, say, 25 per cent, be reserved for young men coming from these classes, as recommended by the Backward Classes Commission appointed in 1959 under the presidency of Kaka Kalekar by the Union Government itself, under Article 340 of the Constitution.

#### **External Affairs and Defence :**

**THIRTYFIFTH :** 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 settled 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 interests and 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 one 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 reign 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. with the result we find ourselves militarily weak and almost friendless today—an object of pity for whosoever would sympathise with us. We depend on the Soviet Union for our defence equipment and it is non-Indian navies that scour and dominate the Indian ocean. Even our small neighbours like Burma, Ceylon and Nepal do not care to shell for our feelings or interests and treat India and Indians with contempt.

The country must, therefore, forge such alliance 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 :**

*THIRTYSIXTH*: 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. ●

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