

(Chandigarh (D))
6/10/67

26.9.68

EKD'S ELECTION MANIFESTO

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

It is a gloomy picture, indeed, but only too true. The responsibility of EKD, therefore, is great: it is monumental. It is not the people who are to blame. It is the political leadership which has let them down — which has misled them in order to get their vote, that is at fault. EKD proposes to tell the people the stark truth, to educate them in the problems that face them and their correct solutions. In the process they will have to shed many an illusion fostered long by political parties. EKD believes that the country can still be salvaged but by treading, by and large, the path that Gandhi showed us. It believes in no tantrums, in no short-cuts to greatness and prosperity, but in hard work, integrity and sacrifice on the part of all the citizens of the country. The problem for India is to bring it back to the path of realism. EKD proposes to apply itself to this historic task, some of its aims and principles being:

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

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

With a view to ensuring good administration and proper expenditure of public funds, therefore, EKD will take ruthless measures against all public servants who are found guilty of corruption, inefficiency or discrimination. So far as public men or political workers are concerned, it will enact a legislation on the lines of the UP Publicmen's Inquiries Ordinance, 1967, to deal with their misconduct.

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



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

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

FIFTH : EKD stands for preservation and strengthening of democracy or rule of law in the country. It does not believe in methods of political agitation and propaganda which are not based strictly on Gandhian principles of truth and non-violence. Methods like fast-unto-death and civil disobedience, that is, breach of law on a mass scale, commonly known as Satyagraha, and a recent variant, the gherao — resorted to for redressal of public grievances — 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. Mahatma Gandhi himself regarded "civil disobedience only as a substitute for an armed revolt". In case of a difference of opinion with the Government of the day on issues of general importance, EKD will educate public opinion so that it may be returned in a majority in the next general election.

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

SEVENTH : EKD 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. A small farm is one that does not usually take more than the labour-resources of an average-sized peasant family, or two adult persons, to operate it, and a small industry one that does not take more than twenty persons if it is hand-operated and ten persons if electrically-driven.



Capital-intensive or large-scale mechanised undertakings may, however, be set up or allowed to be set up for such purposes as cannot be carried out or for production of such things as cannot be manufactured, on a small scale. All these and such other projects or industries as the defence and research needs of the country may require, shall be either owned or controlled by the State. A law demarcating the sphere of various industries will be placed on the Statute-Book.

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

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

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

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

and, finally,

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

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

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



(4)

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

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

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

and -

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

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

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

EKD will, therefore, try to reach as much capital, whether in the form of resource facilities (such as improved seeds, fertilizers and means of irrigation including electric energy) 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.



TWELFTH : Under an industrial economy of small units that EKD envisages, there will not be much occasion left for the kind of employer-employee troubles we witness today. However, while EKD will not allow workers to be ill-treated and exploited and will impose heavy taxation on that part of the employers' 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. EKD will impress upon the workers that if industrial production has to rise, a change in their attitudes towards work is vital.

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

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

FOURTEENTH : It will work for a change in such of the values, attitudes and motivations of our people as stand in the way of economic development, for example, that the world is an illusion and man is governed by an inexorable fate. As a result, large sections of our society lack the urge to improve their condition by their own efforts. EKD will impress upon the people by all possible means and media that the world is very much real and man very largely the captain of his fate. If we remain steeped in beliefs such as these, the country will remain poor and may even lose its freedom.

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



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

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

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

SEVENTEENTH : BKD will pay special attention to uplift of scheduled castes and tribes 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 members of these castes and tribes, it must not be forgotten that the ultimate solution of their economic problem (as also of millions of other landless or unemployed and under-employed persons) will depend, by and large, on development of non-agricultural resources of the country — which will, in its turn, depend on increased agricultural production and a change in our mental attitudes or a transformation of our national psychology.

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

NINETEENTH : Inasmuch as improvement of their skills and capacities increases the productivity of the people, expenditure on education is but a form of investment for future production. But as our financial resources are limited, BKD will concentrate on enforcing universal compulsory primary education, organizing technical education so as to produce the necessary personnel for technical jobs, and making provisions



for scientific research. Higher as also secondary education — atleast, for some time to come — shall be left to private initiative and effort with the minimum public assistance, needed to induce and supplement such efforts. Increasing social controls will be applied on all privately-run educational institutions with a view to improving the quality of education and service conditions of teachers and, except where the needs of a region or a district vitally demand it, institutions for higher education in UP shall not be allowed to multiply : they may, however, be improved.

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

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

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

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

India, therefore, needs to practise birth control. With a large increase in population every year, land area as also other natural resources per capita are decreasing and, with such a decrease, the country's potential for economic progress also decreases. There is a limit to what the ultimate factor, the land, can produce — a limit to the extent to which labour and improvements brought about by scientific knowledge and capital investments can take the place of land or be substituted for it.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LUCKNOW :
26th September 1968.

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My gratitude to the people of Uttar Pradesh knows no bounds. A resourceless infant that the BKD was, it was the people's affection which sustained me and my colleagues during the bitter struggle we had to wage against those who considered public office as a source of personal aggrandisement rather than an opportunity of public service. Though the wish of the people stands technically expressed in the election results as officially announced, they are not its true index. The results have been greatly influenced by the vast financial resources that the Congress commanded and the unscrupulous use they made of those resources. They imported other considerations also into their election campaign which had nothing to do with the ideology or merits of candidates and which have vitiated the results. Themselves wholly saturated with prejudice and narrow-mindedness born out of caste, Congressmen let loose a campaign of hatred against two or three particular communities which had no relation to facts. Muslims were told in no uncertain terms that they stood to suffer as a community unless they voted for the Congress, for, otherwise, the Jan Sangh would gain. Terror and intimidation of the electorate was resorted to on a wide scale, for example, in Fyzabad and Farrukhabad districts and some other important places. Every narrow or particular interest was assured that its demand will be conceded, irrespective of its cost to the long-term interest of the State. The announcement by the Governor on February 4, regarding a raise in D.A. of State employees when a popular Ministry was hardly three weeks away, came at a critical moment. I am sorry to add that almost the entire UP press also proved a very obliging ally for the Congress: it blacked out every news-item that could benefit the BKD and took morbid pleasure in publicising every little bit, true or false, that could help the Congress.



Be that as it may, Uttar Pradesh is an unfortunate State. With the old Congress leadership back in power, its problems are likely to be further bedevilled. During the last 15 years or so, the State has already been relegated to almost the hindmost position today ; its economic situation is now likely to deteriorate still further. A majority of the vast bureaucracy that Uttar Pradesh has on its rolls, is already demoralised ; after another spell of Congress rule, there will be no impartial and incorruptible officer left in its ranks. I wish Congressmen still learnt the lesson and belied my above apprehensions.

Friends of the press have been making inquiries about the possibility of BKD entering as a partner in a coalition Government. I cannot say what the future holds but, advised as I am today, I would prefer to sit in opposition. The final decision, however, will be taken by the BKD State Executive scheduled to meet on February 20. All I can assure is that, as constituting the principal opposition party, BKD will make only constructive criticism and offer constructive suggestions and, with a view merely to further our Party's interest, we would never do anything which goes against the interest of democracy, clean public life or the country.



LUCKNOW ;
13 February 1969.

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