FOREIGN POLICY:

Indian government stands for amity towards all nations and performances the policy of non-alignment with respect to the two power blocs of the world. Indian foreign policy aims at global peace and preservation of her own independence. Most section of India generally endorse their policy with the exception of C.P.I. which favours an ultimate association with the communist bloc, and the swatantra party, which favours alignment with the west bloc. Nevertheless, there have been many in the country who have surely critical of the external policies regarding certain countries and events. These critics held that in the implementation of its policy, the government of India has often lacked in realism and statesmanship and has failed to safeguard the vital interest of the nation.

The Socialist party stands for the ideals of world government and peace. It also stands for the freedom of the colonial people of the world countries and supports all such movements aimed at achieving this end. The party demands the withdrawal of foreign authority and armies from the occupied areas of the world. It also efforts to bring equality among
nation of the world, which is due to the political dependence and due to the disparity in the productivity of human labour between advanced industrial countries and retard economics of Asia and Africa. "In fact this effort to bring the productivity of the colonial people as a part with those of the advanced countries is the sheet anchor of a progressive foreign policy." The party opposes all such tendencies of self-determination, secular democracy and elevation of religious and racial communities, interested groups and foreign influences, which have deliberately fostered and are continuing this process of disintegration. Such developments will be the undoing of socialism to the party, which must therefore be countered by the fostering of wider loyalties and preference for ever widening federations.

The socialist party in its election manifestoes stands for international peace, and the party supports without hesitation and equivocation, to all people struggling for national freedom, democratic rights and social equality, because the stable peace depends on the extension of these ideals. The party also stands for the policy of non-alignment and common leadership in which both big and small powers of Asia have


heights of authority and no single party would be sole 3
dominant power in Asia.

But the policy of neutrality is not a passive or
negative policy. What the party is advocating, "is a policy
of active and positive neutrality. India must not isolate
himself. She should seek to extend the sphere of this neu-
trality by bringing in countries which desire peace and want
to keep aloof from the conflict of power blocs and thus from
a third camp - the camp of peace." According to the party,
the victory of neither of the power blocs will lead to the
emancipation of mankind. Therefore, India should not do any-
thing that is likely to increase the influence of either of
these blocs, "but strive to create a third camp of active
neutrality and try to expand the area of this third camp as
far as possible. The policy of building up the third camp
has two aspects. It has to be carried out on two levels,
governmental and popular.

Following the party's policy Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani
who stands for a policy of Non-alignment, of peace and
friendship with all. She opposes to much dependence on the
big powers and favours to focus the attention on the smaller

3. P.S.P. Statement of Policy at Gaya Conference 1955
p. 91.
4. Socialist Party Policy Statement ; Madhu Limaye adopted
at Nagpur in August 1947. Associated advertiser and
powers to strength the position and to find a corrective to the existing inter-national situation. According to him India's position is very important and strategic in Asia as well as out of these blocs. Therefore, she advises to weld these nations, which are under-developed, under nourished and over populated and which are free from the influence of big powers and have common economic and foreign policy and want peace. She thinks that by welding these nations, India may turn the balance in favour of peace and may create a third force. It may exert influence in the bigger powers. She further adds that by performing a positive policy and an ideology-different from these blocs, India can act as a bulwark against the aggressive intentions of the bigger powers and can get far away from wranglings of the today word picture. She supports the dynamic policy of peace and a positive policy of self reliance in the economic field.

Mr. Acharya Kripalani, another leader of the party, believes that the Indian foreign policy can get success only when India may be able to solve the internal problems of poverty, disease and unemployment. On 17 September 1953. He endorses the stand against armament, colonialism and imperialism. He has no objection for Indian relations with

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totalitarian, imperialist and reactionaries countries. He observed that, "we have no objection to any country following within its boarders any regime, and yet call it democracy or socialism. What we object to in religion and politics is the spirit of proselytising. We consider it suspect. Also we find that the totalitarian states are not less imperialistic than the democratic states." Therfore, "between this so-called democratic bloc and so called peoples bloc or socialist bloc, I believe we are tightly neutral." He further requires the policy of dynamic neutrality or non-alignment and advises to follow an independent foreign policy. It is possible only when India has to discard the foreign help, and has to increase and use the internal resources by eliminating foreign interests in Indian commerce and industry.

Kriplani further puts his view on the floor of the house on 26 March 1957 in taking part in the discussion on the international situation. He keeps the interest of the country above and wants of follow a policy of not merely abstract principles but also with proper strategy and proper tactics of peace and neutrality, might bring appreciation by all concerned. He is in complete agreement with the basic

7. Ibid., 15 May, 1954, Vol.5 No.70 Col. 7547-54. I.S.
principle of India's foreign policy and stands for peace and is against colonialism of old trans-ocean's type of the new type. He utters that, "In the cold war that is going on between two big powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., we do not align ourselves with any party." He further expresses the same views and suggests to be non-aligned, if there is a trans-ocean imperialism and another kind of imperialism which just creeps in and occupies neighbouring countries and nibbles at them and enslave them.

Following the other party leader, Ashok Mehta also believe in the policy of peace and friendship and dislution. The policy of dislution "necessitates not just non-involvement in bloc politics, but a confident dynamic approach that loosens the bounds of blocs solidarity that have been forged." He paid great attention to international co-operation and mutual aid based on the exalted principles of equality and freedom. India's policy ought to be strengthen the position of small countries and enlist them spontaneous-cooperation. According to him, "this will be the Gandhian peace that counters and combate colonialism as well as totalitarianism."

There can be no co-existence with these vicious manifestation of the pursuit of power and pelf.

9. Ibid., 23 November 1960, Vol. 47 No.8 Col. 1828-37, I.S.
He holds that the pact such as Nato-Anzus and Seato are the danger to mankind. Inter locking is obnoxious in politics as well as in economics. Monolithic hold and chunkless monopoly is no better.

The party takes active interest in the U.N.O. and stands for the continuation of the membership of the U.N.O. According to the party, it should be Indian endeavour to remove the serious limitations from which the U.N.O. suffers and to transform it into an instrument of effective international co-operation.

**COMMONWEALTH:**

If India is to play its part in world affairs effectively it will have to avoid all such associations and commitments as are likely to compromise this fundamental policy of peace. "The policy of peace as out lived above demands that India came out of the British Commonwealth which still maintain colonial domination and racial discrimination and which strategically, economically and politically is a part of the Anglo American Bloc."

12. Ibid., p. 38.
Following the party’s stand Mr. Kriplani demands that India should come out of the commonwealth which is imperial and suffers from the disease of racial discrimination. It is a congregation of nation of white people. Further it does not solve the problems of Indian origin in South Africa. Mr. Kriplani does not like British policy in Malaya & Kenya and the countries do not have any affection with us. The party condemns the slogans of Asia for Asians. According to Sucheta Kriplani, it is of no advantage to remain in Commonwealth and stands to come out of the Commonwealth because the Indian republic has been described as the coolie-Republic. She opposes to much dependence on commonwealth by which economic, commercial, financial and even military policies are tagged with U.K. and freedom action is fattered to a great extent.

Pakistan:

Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani follows the party lines in the relations with Pakistan. She wishes good relationship between the two countries and demands that the tension between Pakistan and India should be ease. She observed that, “we should

15. P.S.P. Statement of Policy at Gaya Conference 1955, p.90. No.6
realise that in the world affairs ultimately we two have go
to stand together. Our foreign policy and our economic policy
should be such that we have to adjust and we have to protect
each others integrity and each others economic welfare." But
she opposes the pact of middle east defence organisation that
has taken place between Pakistan and the U.S.A. because this
is likely to increase tension. The same views are expressed
by another leaders of the party. Ashok Mehta holds that the
results of such pacts or agreement is to divide countries in
a region and to estrage or bring about division in the ranks
of the people in the country concerned themselves. All these
pacts aggravated tensions. These are not only in the interest
of India and not only in the interest of peaceful progress
and peaceful development of this part of the world. Regarding
SEATO he observed that, "if we are really following a policy
of peace, nothing is gained by working up a kind of hysteria
against one country or the other. Our pick policy is a policy
of friendship towards all countries and we are not going to
pick and choose countries and say that we will close our eyes
as far as one set of countries, is concerned, but.....we are
going to exaggerate our differences with and criticism of
certain policies that might be pursued by some other country
or set of countries."

17. Ibid., ed. 2117-21.
No.4, Col. 224-232 (F.A.)
19. Mehta, Ashok, L.S.D. 16 March 1959 ed. S.L Poplai-
The party stands that, "the state of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral and inalienable part of the Indian union clothed with all the rights and objections that this membership bestows. The question of plebiscite can not arise in Kashmir as it does not in any other part of the union. The defence of Kashmir becomes the defence of the sacred soil of India. All restrictions in the way of free movement and integration of Kashmir with Indian Union should be forthwith removed." The same ideas are put on the floor of the house on 7 August 1952 she utters that, "there is only one nation that is the Indian nation and all states are part of it. We have most carefully to safeguard our unity and independence. We cannot afford to let out unity to disintegrate. We are treading on very dangerous grounds, if we are going to make special concession to satisfy the Kashmiri leadership....We cannot allow the independence and unity of India to be jeopardised in any way. If we cannot jeopardise the security of Kashmir, we cannot jeopardise the integrity of India. Further she discards the special category of citizenship for Kashmiris. She also opposes the special concession to Kashmir for the land reforms which are not with the constitution. She wants to abolish all hereditary rulers. She does not stand for the

two flags for Kashmir, which will lead to divide the allegiance. According him, "the flag has a special meaning. It is the embodiment of national unity and solidarity. If you allow a state to have two flags, to which flag would the people owe their allegiance?" She also hits the government for the curtailment of president's powers in the field of internal disturbances in emergency time. It naturally brings in the question of divided jurisdiction and divided jurisdiction for a border state like Kashmir may lead to disastrous consequences.

Mr. Kriplani pleads to withdraw the case of Kashmir from U.N.O., which did not make any decision due to its infestation with power politics and which dabble with the other question of plebiscite, which is a matter between India and Kashmir and no other country has to do any thing with it. He thinks the accession of Kashmir complete, de jure and de facto. "It is a matter which the Kashmiris had the right to decide for themselves. It is for them to say when and how they are going to hold the plebiscite. The U.N.O. is out of court and also other nation including India. They should take their own line to decide about the ways and means by which they are going to have the plebiscite."

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Tibet:

The Government of India has recognized the suzerainty of China over Tibet and pleads that it has the ancient right of suzerainty over Tibet. But the socialist party and its leader like Acharya Kriplani do not join the government's hands. Acharya Kriplani criticised the Chinese aggression on Tibet, and charges it as an aggressor because it has demolished a buffer state of Tibet. It is an aggressor in international politics. Further in the new maps of China other border territories like Nepal, Sikkim etc. figures gives an idea of the aggressive designs of China. Regarding the right of suzerainty he says that, "but this right was out of date, old and antiquated. It was never exercised or very rarely exercised and even than theoretically.....but this does not mean that we should recognise the claim of China on Tibet. We must know that it is an act of aggression against foreign nation. It is a abominable as colonialism of any western power." He also criticizes the Government weak kneed policy towards Tibet and Nepal, which is far from the vital interest of the country. He advises to follow a firm policy and to go to war against China for the cause of them. He also does not stand with the government by advocating the China's membership of U.N.O. He repeatedly hates the Panchsheel doctrine.

first in 1958 and now in 1959 because, "this great doctrine was born in sin, because it amounted to put the seal of our approval upon the destruction of an ancient nation which was associated with us spiritually and culturally," he adds. "It was a nation which wanted to live its own life and it ought to have been allowed to live its own life. A good government is no substitute for self government."

But on the other hand, Ashok Mehta, expresses the same views about the doctrine of Panchsheel because it has lost its motive power by recognising the China's claim over Tibet. He does not join hand with the government when the government sacrifices the legitimate and rightful claim for domestic autonomy, cultural freedom and preserving the distinctive cultural way of life of the people of Tibet for her friendship with China. He wants that Tibet problem should be solved in peaceful, persuasive and gentle approach and not by any kind of armed conflict.

According to the party the aggression and expansionist acts of China threatening the territorial integrity of India has come a shock to the peace loving people of India. The

27. Ibid., 16 March 1959; Vol.27 No.27 Col.6443-61.
party urges the government to draw inevitable inferences from the experience of the past five years. The party advises the government to follow "a policy of firmness alone will ward off the danger to our country and also help to ensure peace in Asia. On the way we meet the Chinese threat depends not only the integrity of India but also freedom, security and peace of the whole of Asia." It warns the government for its weak-kneed policy against China.

Mr. Kripalani criticises the policy of government towards China which is a policy of weak-kneed friendliness. But he stands for a policy of firmness because the efforts to normalise our relations and to solve the problem with China resulted in cowardice and shows that Indians are frightened. Whereas China has extended the area of cold war and make a matter more worse instead of bettering them.

He does not agree with the government and the communist benches when they both asserts that any effective action would extend the area of cold war and the end of neutrality and would like the declaration of war. Mr. Kripalani holds that, "Chinese aggression must be stopped and the pockets occupied cleared. Any action to assert our sovereign

rights to our own territory does not amount war." The Chinese aggression is in pursuance of world communist conspiracy and the result of chauvinistic nationalism intoxicated with the recent success. That being so, "Any resistance to the lust for power by a country which is merely defending its own boarders and home land is not aggression at all. It does not extend therefore, the cold war." Therefore, the task of extension of cold war to India is meant intentionally, unintentionally, to cloud the clear issue of effective action against a country with whom we have tried to be friendly and whose legitimate and even illegitimate claims we have supported, what he wanted, "Is not the abandonment of neutrality, but the abandonment passivity. We are not against neutrality, we are against passivity."

Further, he does not adopt the government policy of negotiations, for unlimited time giving the opportunity to the enemy to consolidate his position and even to colonise the territory he has occupied. Fruitless negotiations has led people to loose faith in the capacity to resist aggression, which frustrated them and filled them with fear and led them to cowardice. Than, "it is better to use violence than suffer injustice out of fear of the consequences of resistance in a just course."

Ashok Mehta also blamed China, that it can not be friend of any body and the agreement that are taking place between China and the neighbouring countries would not put into action which is clear from the agreement of 1954 on Tibet. Therefore, he warns the countries like Burma & Nepal etc, that they should realise that, "we are not fighting for our country's freedom and integrity, we are fighting for holding back the aggressive designs and aggressive purposes of China. We are fighting the cause of world peace." He hits the government and the agreement of officials team for boundary survey.

He mentions the government's inability on many occasions when the government did not take timely action. Occupation of 120000 square mile in western sector by China and the publication of a single map (before 1950), when cartographical aggression began are the repeated mistakes of Government. On every such occasions he suggests to correct them if any such mistake re-happens.

He wants that India should be strong country so that the other countries may stop from leaning towards China. He does not want that India should show a weak posture by holding diplomatic dances. Though he does not want to declare war against China and break off his country's relations with China, yet he wants to withdraw the diplomatic mission from
China. He stands for the Chinese membership of U.N.O. and wants it to make global and representative organisation but not for canvassing. He does not think this idea right that China is a shield armour for India and as mighty as Himalaya. His faith is that China is an aggressive country and this lava is sure to come out. China cannot put himself against U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., therefore, India is the first item of its Agenda. It wants to tread India under its fact.

Defence:

The socialist party does not want to run military race. Acharya Kriplani, being the disciple of Gandhiji, does not want to increase expenditure on military in the time of atom and Hydrogen bombs. He believes in Panchsheel, universal peace and believe in the idea that war solve no problem. He suggests to depend on the patriotism of his countrymen in the time of emergency.

But at the time of discussions on India and China's relation he observed that, our strength should be sufficient to defend our boarders and clear the pockets.....It is that India will not hesitate to get military aid from any greater.


to defend the country." But this help should be on honourable conditions and have not to impinge our sovereignty or independence. He is not ready to allow any foreign military base in India.

N. G. Gorey, another leader of the party demands that intelligent and best type of person should come in military by giving good salaries. He thinks it necessary to coordinate between the defence and scientific talents and stands to have atom bombs. He brings not only the students in the universities but all youth in the military education and devise ways and means of imparting military education to the new generation to meet emergency. It is necessary from the internal as well as external point of view of discipline because the moral standards, patriotism and emotional integration can be possible through a disciplined generation.

Economic Attitude

The objective of the party is to establish a democratic socialist society in India and the eradication of imperialism, racialism, colonialism and other forms of national


oppression and economic inequality among nations and the creation of a democratic socialist world.

In socialist society, there would be fullest economic and political democracy. It is an axiom of Marxism that there can be no socialism without democracy. In socialist society, the individual, i.e. worker, would be free and the state would have no right to deprive him of his rights and privileges except through due process of law. Trade unions and other voluntary organisations of working men would be free and have right to strike. The party abolishes the monopoly of state over press and radio and other means of propaganda and gives right to political parties to function freely. In such society the trade unions and other worker organisations would be the only master to plan production, to determine the conditions of work, price, the distribution of the national produce between saving and spending and between the forms and grades. The party would abolish capitalists and any exploiting class to which labour power may be applied for the production of more property. The only class which is left in such a society would be the class of workers, whether they work in fields, factories, offices or in professions. The state would be worker state and the property would belong to the workers corporately. The state and its subordinate limbs, the municipalities, village communities, co-operatives and similar
co-operative bodies would become the property owners, trading establishment would become the authority of state and co-operatives.

All large scale industries, such as Defence, would be owned and managed by the state. Consumption industries and industries of small and medium sizes would be owned by other co-operative bodies and would be owned by the village community as a whole from which individual cultivators would hold within certain minimum and maximum limits of acreage. The actual farming would be done through co-operatives or individual cultivators working as members of a co-operative societies.

The party is pledged to adopt a theory of socialist pattern of society of Gandhian type. It stands for mixed type of economy in which both the sectors, that is public sector and private sector have to work with in its specialized field, with a view to cooperate each other. The party also stands for the third sector, which would really comprise the Gandhian theory of socialism. This sector will be the economic base in Gandhian type of economy. The party establishes the small scale and cottage industries in this sector on decentralised base, because the public and private sector are based on centralisation and need much capital and increase inequalities between the rich and the poor. The party holds that the

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37. Socialist Party policy statement adopted at Nagpur in August 1947, pp. 7-10. Associated advertisers and pro-
ters, Bombay 1947.
third sector of small and cottage industries will be less capital consuming and will reduce inequalities among the rich and the poor, and will provide much occasions for employment to the people. It demands such economic theory which may provide balanced development in all fields and in all areas.

Planning:

In socialist society, a plan will be drawn up in accordance to social needs and production follows the plan. There is however, a danger in planning. The completely centralized planning leads to be bureaucratism and dictatorship. The very nature of planned economy is such that in certain spheres as key industries, imports and exports, currency, finance, prices of basic commodities, reinvestment etc., central planning is imperatives. Therefore, "it is necessary to leave as much as local initiative as possible in the matter of regional planning, particularly with respect to commodities locally consumed." At the same time, the central planning authority should be so constituted as to be a representative body; that is to say it should consist not only of the representatives of the central government but also of the provincial governments; the trade unions and the co-operatives."

For the party, planning is a conscious and well-oriented efforts. It implies scientific exactitude, technical skill and administrative marginal ability. It also implies availability of necessary resources and economic execution which means foresightedness. But now planning has been the instrument, where fissiparous tendencies have been brought to a halt. For party leaders, this kind of tendency makes the planning defective. When this tendency being carried to such extent that the different regions will have the feeling of being neglected. This will be fatal to the development of the country and the stability of the nation if this tendency is to be developed into grievances and to be nurtured. Viewing this, Ashok Mehta demands to revise the machinery of planning so that, "the danger of suffering from apoplexy at the centre and anaemia at the extremities may be averted."

It is also not satisfied with the present system of planning, which is merely an expression of desires. It shows needs, the hunger of the people, the demand of the employment and the demand for more industries. On the contrary, he stands that the need based planning shall be replaced to a great extent by planning based on clear understanding of the resources - resources based planning.

But to bring this kind of understanding in planning needs a non-official organisation, which is possible from two
changes in organisation. First, every state must have its planning council and a group of technically trained members be made available to see that the planning has become and has its base there. Secondly, the experts assistance will have to be made available by the planning commission.

Agriculture:

The party advocated the abolition of Zamindari and jagirdari without compensation, giving rehabilitation grant to the petty zamindars whose land had been confiscated. The party favoured the formation of a union land commission for agricultural planning on all India basis. It accepted the right of farmer on their land and abolished large inequalities of ownership and tenancy right, clear the jungle of land tenures, and resettled revenue on a uniform equitable principle so that the small peasants may get substantial relief, and efforts to change it in agricultural income tax.

The party also stands for the cultivation of newly claimed land on co-operative basis. The party also stands for removing the tillers difficulties, facing them in better

manure, seeds, implements, marketing finance, technical assistance, soil erosion, development of irrigation, training of rivers, maintenance of major roads, lands and the drainage of rain water. The party is also responsible for the provision of free education and civil amenities as well as free medical care to the people through a system of national medical services and rural hospitals. The party thinks village panchayats as the chief organ of the state authority in the village or the zone. The party stands for the production and maintenance of prices of agriculture goods. But for this Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, speaking from the socialist benches in the house in 1982 demanded to abolish zamindari which has led to large-scale eviction of tenants and consequently 10 million lands have gone out of cultivation means 2 million tons of food being lost to us annually. She stood for raising land army and co-operative farming. The land army would bring 10 million acres under cultivation and would yield another 20 million tons additional yield in three years. She opposed big irrigation projects of government because of the long time projects. Therefore she favoured minor irrigation projects, "By voluntary labour: of the people in the states, we shall have to make small canals, tanks, and wells—

42. Ibid., op. cit., p. 21.

43. According to Smt Sucheta Kripalani, "Some irrigation projects will fruitify in 6 years and other in about 10 years and 6 crores acres of land will come in irrigation and will aid 3 million tons of additional yield. There is no money for the remaining 20 crores acres of land."
Voluntary labour is there in this country, but we have to enthuse them and bring them forward," she stood for the redivision of land to bring them forward, "they want for land. A redivision of land is pre-condition for the creation of enthusiasm among them." Concluding her views from the socialist side she asserted that, "...if the eviction has been stopped, if the land army had been created, if the minor irrigation projects had been taken up, I am sure that 8 million tons more of food grains would have been available every year." She opposed top heavy method at the initiative of the officials of various departments to increase food production. She required national efforts and initiative which has to go from the central officials from the department to the land. She stood for the decentralized efforts and more powers to the panchayat and evocation of people's initiative.

Price stabilisation is necessary for scientific planning which comes by increasing in food and agricultural production. The production will help to solve foreign exchange problem, export problem and price stabilisation. The price rise leads to hoarding, black-marketing and other things. The food price

44. Kripalani, Sucheta, L.S.D. 19 May 1952 Vol.I No.4, Col. 113-118 (President Ad.).

index 118.2 in 1959 the highest on record, the figures for two preceding years being of 106.8 and 112. To face such situation Smt. Sucheta Kriplani followed for buffer stock when there is expectation of a rise in price so that hoarding and black-marketing might be avoided. According him procurement should not be made when there is scarcity and when it is unavoidable, procurement should be made from rich section, sometimes even compulsory foreign stock in time of need must be reckoned. There should be proper investment for proper results. Proper allocations should be made for agriculture not mixed with other items. There should be a complete coordination from military level to lower level. There should be private sector to start small and medium fertilizers factories and should step up soil testing programme. Attention must be paid to the credit facilities to the cultivators. There should be package plan which mean intensive work in specified areas and in which government will supply technical knowledge and other where withals.

She opposes state trading in food grains. She opposes zonal system and small state-wise zone which is unwise and unscientific and have to cut administrative boundaries. Therefore, "we can try to cordon the bigger cities and at the same time make the rest of the country into one zone, that is have

free trade in the rest of the country, plus have buffer stock
operation. Build up stocks both by imports and by procure-
ment in the good year and no attempt should be made to procure
in the bad year."

Further Ashok Mehta has also opposed the State trading
in food grains in 1959, when he blamed the government of
neglecting the recommendations made by food grain enquiry
committee for price stabilization board and food grain stab-
lization board. His faith lies in the fact that it bears
pressures from certain sector. It has a checkered career.
There is lackness of strategic control in administration in
place of realisation of socialisation in the trade of food
grain. There is shortage of storage and traders are getting
facilities in place of farmers. Finally there is dyarchy in
food-grain which is disastrous and disturbing. Therefore,
he demanded to establish a board supported by advisory com-
mitee and not by government and thought out of a machinery
which would be insulated to the extent possible against such
pressures and has to be taken that such pressures may not
influence price fixation. He stood for a corporation to serve
this purpose which is weak state and have to expansion and
consolidation.

47. Ibid., 17 February 1960 Vol. 38 No. 8 Col. 1454-62
(Pre.Add.).

48. Mehta, Ashok, L.S.D. 7 April 1959 MFA Vol. 29 No. 42
Col. 10279-93 (M.Food & Ag.).
Industry:

The party advocates the protection, encouragement and establishment of small scale industries and stands for the demarcation of the spheres of large and small scale industries. According to the party India is a country of manpower and short of capital. Further, it is famous for its handicrafts. Planned socialist economy must, therefore, "provide for the development of small scale industries. Special attention should be paid to their technological and organisational development and to the co-relation of small scale and large scale industries." It envisages the development of new technology based on small machines operated by power and capable of distribution small units. It will create circumstances which would eliminate bureaucratic control.

Small scale industries may be assigned an exclusive non-competitive sphere of activity till them the small scale industries may be able to compete freely with centralised industry. The party stands for workers participation in public corporation and boards of managements. They will have to concede to the public authorities representing all the citizens of the state or the region concerned, the right to direct, control and supervise the management and determine the general policy which each industry and economic enterprise is to follow.

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Mr. Kripalani expresses the party policy towards industries. He stands for the balanced economy not only a mixed economy but an integrated economy in which the three sectors have to work within their specified field. In the first sector, the state acts and do not compromise with private sector or private capital. Private industries come in the second sector so that it may know where it stands. The decentralised cottage and village industries come in the third section, which connected with the daily needs and wants.

According to him, the village and cottage industries are necessary to serve the villages, he says, "unless you make every home a factory, every village a factory, you cannot revive the villages. You cannot expect to bring all the village people to the cities to be engaged in big industry even if you have the necessary capital. You are playing a useless game, by which you will never be able to deliver the goods." It will democratically solve the unemployment problem by going to the modernised and electrified cottage and village industry and in which big industries have to make a supply of the all available machinery to the cottage and village industries for increased production.

But he opposes the first two sectors, that is private enterprise and state capitalism. His opposition based on the faith that there is centralisation and mechanisation and resulted in a great exploitation and misery of the people because both these sectors require a large amount of capital which comes from the poor masses whom they do not provide good conditions and the good wages to them with a view to hoarding capital. He adds that big and centralised industries require large investment and diminishes human labour per units of productions. The purchasing power does not keep pace with expanding industries and also brings the rapid exhaustion of national resources of the country. Further the concentration of economic and political power in government may corrupt it.

Therefore, he follows a third type of decentralized cottage and village industries free from the hardships and miseries of the capitalist production. He asserts that, "the cure lies in decentralised industry. When people can produce for themselves, where they can employ the leisure that they have where they can create wealth for themselves, where every house will be a factory and where every village will be a factory.

He thinks that heavy and big industries must be developed with a view to help decentralization and employment
and should supply to the villagers of their primary needs so that they may produce himself without much capital. All companies should be of production of immediate use. Further these industries must be developed according to our capacity. This will bring our planning to the level of the money we can raise and invest without having recourse to deficit financing which may lead to inflation.

Decentralisation is necessary for him because several industrialisation may create more quarrels between industrialisation may create more quarrels between different states. In decentralised industry, there will be no unequal industrialisation in the different state because every home would be a factory and every village would be a factory. Then, there would be mass production and the country will have more enough what it need. The consumer interest will come up which is not thought of in government monopolies. Science and technology may be used in village and small industries.  

It can be modernised by supplying electricity.

Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani stands that the small scale and cottage industries should form the central part of National economy. She also stands that government does not gave them any protection and these have been driven to the wall because of the competition of large scale. She also stand

53. Kriplani, Sucheta, 17 December 1952 Vol. 6 No. 12, Col. 2591-2603 (Reso. Five Year Plan.).
for protection and demands that government should purchase Khadi and help in selling and popularize the goods. She also stands for the demarcation of the spheres of production of industries and mills, and wants protected markets, elimination of the competition of goods. There should be an integration of large and small scale industries in the national economy of Gandhian type.

Ashok Mehta stands for the industrialization which should be built up on fabricating capacity or machine building on the basis of less capital consuming and more labouring. He stands for this because of reducing foreign aid and loan and adjusting in imports and exports. Further, he stands for wage goods and consumer goods industries and capital goods industries due to the fear which led to the shortage of foreign exchange which requires balance of import and export. Therefore, criticises the swatantra party and its leader Ranga, who advocates wage goods and consumer goods industries to raise the standard of poor masses and neglects public sector and capital goods industries. According to him such industries depends on the country's capacity or by importing the tools needed for them, which leads to the shortage of foreign exchange which consequently requires the balance in import and export. He also stands that it

54. Ibid., 11 March 1963 Vol. II No. 3 Col. 1811-15 (G.B.O.D.)
should be linked with decentralized sector concern as technically backward.

Nationalisation

The party advocates the Nationalization of all key industries such as iron and steel electric and power heavy chemical etc. It also calls for the Nationalisation of railways, motor, air transport. It is in favour of giving compensation to small investors and advocates the formation of autonomous public corporation subject to government control. To enable democratic checks and participation, nationalisation will generally be worked out through autonomous corporations in whose control and conduct the workers, technicians, consumers and other allied interests and represented. Following the party lines, Ashok Mehta criticises the government for his indefinite policy of nationalisation which has led the contradictory confusion among private enterprise and the socialists. He stands for the investment policy of regional distribution of business enterprise and entrepreneurial talents to discover them and requires the setting up of industrial estate and trading estate giving opportunity to the people.

in those parts of the country where such talents do not exist today and makes it possible for them to discover these talents even though they may mistake and may lose the crores of rupees. He would not welcome that, "All economic activity in the country be submerged into the public sector. The private sector is necessary but the private sector is welcomed only if it is not exclusively occupied by a few giant concerns organised by man from limited region. If there is room for all kinds of small people to work our enterprises and though those enterprises ultimately be able to get the know how for industrial and business enterprises, that in way alone economic development can take place. Economic development is not accumulation of capital or drawing up of a plan, but to distribute on the widest possible scale the initiative for enterprise. His faith is on two points first is currency expansion in which big becomes bigger and monopolist—becomes super monopolist without any legal check. Secondly, the level of living cannot rise unless profits can be checked which accumulate in a small sector of capitalist consuming. In such position the whole economy gets unbalanced, and democracy endangered if the private sector is occupied by big business man and have significant position. That is why the idea of strategic heights comes in and says that: "My conclusion of strategic heights is that because of these facts and

forces that are at work may more banks, many other key industries and enterprises will have to be nationalized, not because I have love for nationalisation, not because I prefer bureaucrats control to private control but because unless these levers are operated the whole mechanism and development will go away."

He suggested the setting up of a national investment corporation in which it would be possible for small investors to buy shares. It will be a public body and would try to make it possible for a large number of small holders to participate in the unconcerned increment or the capital gains inevitably are attracted by small members of industrials or by a small number of companies and says that, "If capitalism is there, it is people's capitalism."

**Foreign Aid:**

Expressing party's views about foreign aid, Mrs. Sucheta Kripiani takes a stand to restrict all the foreign aid because the acceptance of foreign aid—an open door policy and to invest foreign capital too much, is involved in the risks for the country. She has three reasons for her support. First, is the tendency of imperial countries abroad that it

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62. Ibid., 16 November 1960 Vol.47 No.3 Col. 628-43.
is highly profitable to invest money in India. Second, the foreign assistance does not come out at the time of need because it depends on the will of the giver country and on the international situation and not on ours. Thirdly, there is tendency of late to relax the terms and conditions under which the foreign aid is received which leads to many undesirable results and there is exploitation in foreign firms.

Further at the time of presidential address in 1952 she advises to throw it away however, it is of America or any other countries or bloc belonging to any ideologies, if it clouds our vision and chokes our voice. She does not want to bow down to any foreign country's plan and ambition. She asserts that, "let us build this nation and this country without it; ..... I should say let us be rid of the aid-let us take a longer time in building our nation, but, we are not going to mortgage our country to any foreign country's ambition." Mr. Kriplani opposes foreign aid from western countries and stands for it from the smaller countries. He makes no difference between military and economic aid because by getting economic aid the country may reserve its internal sources for military. Therefore, he demands to get out of the mashes of America and England immediately as soon as


64. Ibid., 16 February 1953, Vol.1 No.4, Col.224-32 President Add.
possible and to derive such measures as would make the country's independent.

Taxes:

The present system of taxation, which burdens on the poor and the middle class and exempts the high class by reluting the direct taxation. The government thinks that the higher income groups have been taxed as much as possible and the further increase in taxation will not bring any inducement for investment of money. But Mrs. Sucheta opposes this tendency of taxation of government, and stands for the another policy of taxation which will put less burden on the poor and the middle class and will put high burden on the rich class. This policy would lead to reduce inequalities. According to him the poor masses have already burdened with taxes and the further additional indirect taxes comes in the wake of plan. Then, it will not be welcomed by the people. "It will not be looked upon as some thing which will bring them prosperity, but which will bring them further hardships." She favours direct taxes in place of indirect taxes which put heavy burden on the poor and middle classes."


Ashok Mehta blamed the government and the planning commission of ignoring the basic Maximums of development that marginal rate of taxation should exceed the average so that the receipt grow faster than the national income. The resources have to be raised in a manner whereby those, whose levels of living are not going to be raised will feel that the resources are raised in a manner whereby, no gross inequalities are permitted to exist. Denouncing the government policy of indirect taxation, he stands for the direct taxation. He rejects the government's mention that direct taxation has reached its limit. But according to him, "there has been no capital gain tax, there are no gift tax, no tax on wealth. The idea of ceiling on income is given up, because a ceiling on income is meaningless unless there is ceiling on wealth. Government shies away the very idea of capital levy even for the purpose of crossing the threshold." The poor people are called upon to put up their blood, sweet and toil to the chariot of nation's economic transformation. But the people who have money and wealth cannot be called upon to make contributions in terms capital levy. Therefore, "All their powers, privileges and pelf must be treated as sacrosanct."

He stands for the tax on profits in the form of stiff tax on profits. He also demands a curb on wage increase at the time of inflationary pressure.

Deficit-financing has a room and scope to a certain extent in the under-developed economy, but, it would not have any inflationary effect and requires an organisation of checks and controls. The policy of deficit financing consequently leads to the policy of inflation, which, "is more dangerous than any policy of taxation. It is the most insidious and regressive form of taxation, making the rich richer and the poor poorer."

Political Attitude:

The socialist party stands for civil liberties and equal rights and opposes all repressive laws. It requires the revision of constitution with a view of making it a fit instrument of full political and social democracy. Emergency should be narrowly defined and the ordinance power should be strictly limited. The fundamental right of property should be revised so that the legislative authorities of union as well as of states may acquire it for public purpose by giving compensation, second chamber should be given powers in financial spheres of economic labour and insurance etc. standing committees with ministers should be brought in contact with the problem of administration and empowered to make enquiries.

68. Ibid., 13 March 1956, Vol. II No. 22 Col. 2383-99 G.B.
and to make recommendation of competence within the frame work of republic sphere. They should be consulted by the government before an ordinance and before a delegated legislation and before an administrative policies are determined. The party thinks centralization to be bureaucratic and totalitarian and stand for decentralization as an essential component of democracy, which is to be accompanied with co-ordination without which there would be disintegration, dissipation and conflict of authorities.

Administration

The party stands for the complete overhaul of the administration from top to bottom. It enlarges vastly the powers and resources of the local bodies and enriches them with the responsibilities of administration, development and welfare of the people. Corruption would be severely and promptly dealt with. And people would be assured of clear order by establishing corruption tribunals of high court level with necessary records and documents.

The party advocates the periodic meetings of heads of departments to review the work and standing committees' in charge of different subjects will be constituted. The party


favours of fixing up of targets and of works for the offices and introduction of efficiency audits. The party also stands for the establishment of an anti-corruption authority to check bribery and corruption. Such authority will be subject of removal by any person.

Following the party lines Mrs. Sucheta Kriplani advises to take drastic measure by rooting out the existing capitalistic order and needs a social and economic revolution where inequalities and corruption are not allowed to exist.

Hitting the corruption, nepotism and lacklessness of firmness and the tendency of irresponsibility of administration, Kriplani thinks that the country has little faith in the integrity of many of them and specially in lower rank. He wants that the administration’s attitude should be of servitude and not of bureaucratic and imperialistic but according to him the bureaucracy trained under the imperialism cannot be transferred into a servant of the people and into a instrument of growth on socialistic basis by the mere transfer of power. He opposes extravagancy and pump and show in the administration and demands economy by cutting the expenditure on staff cars and telephones and by finishing


rail of ministers, state ministers, deputy ministers and secretaries etc. He also opposes big buildings and guards for the officers. He stands for the amendment of constitution where there will be no post of Governors and no provision for second chamber. It favours the maximum pay of 2000 rupees for an Indian officers. He wants to convert big buildings into hospitals and assembly house in school for the good of humanity.

SOCIAL ATTITUDE

Education

Mr. Kripiani opposes the present system of education because it is aristocrated and Brahmanical and class education in which upper class can get formal education and the poors can hardly get practical education in handicraft, agriculture and commerce etc. Its benefits are confined to rich and the capitalist and produce a class of rulers. Therefore, he requires for the new system of universal education for every child whether of the rich or of the poor. There would be no separate special institution for the rich and the middle class which lead conscious of superiority to others.

74. Kripiani Acharya, L.G.D. 29 May 1957 Vol. II No. 15
     Vol. 2669-83.
He demands classless and general education which leads to classless society and not to make it top heavy. It must be democratic education for all classes. For this, he prescribes universal education upto matriculation standard at least for every child, and favours for scholarship for the clever students for higher studies. He spells out that "we must select our students from the general mass of students, give them scholarship and send them to colleges, and let the college be filled with such students. There will then be no need for giving a special scholarship for the research and advancement of knowledge."

Thus the education must be in consonance with the ideals and requirements of the society and should be based on democracy and socialism, and in short the aim must be to achieve truth and non-violence.

Integration and State re-organisation on Linguist basis:

The party is committed rational redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis, but before doing so due weight must be given besides linguistic consideration to administrative and economic convenience and the integrity of India.


76. Ibid., 15 March, 1960 Vol.40 No.29 Col.5938-50 (M.of education).

Following the idea of linguistic provinces, Kriplani hold that it lead to forget the fundamental unity of India and lead to the division of the country. This idea would have been neither scientific nor helpful. Indian Federation is unique where Federal state never existed sovereign state, which is for the convenience of administration and devolution of power. He stands for it without losing sight of the integration of this great ancient land.

Further to equate language with culture is superficial and artificial view of things because in Indian culture was never indentified with language with political unity and not with complete identity of interest. There is single culture inspite of various language in India. The so called provincial culture are only varieties of an Indian culture. The different culture and language are bound with the over all unity of India and based on our economic interest.

Linguistic minorities in the recognised state will assured equal protection and opportunities. Every language group will be helped to develop its own language scripts, literature, culture and state assistance will be available for countries enrichment of India's many language. In 1957, the party made its language policy clear by adopting a

resolution which states that the association of English language has to be continued, but atmosphere should be created for introducing Hindi as a national language. The party emphasises on regional developments and feel special responsibilities for tribal people.

Press:

Mrs. Kripalani committed the government of suppressing the press. She stands for the freedom of press, and entails some of the powers of press in the time of real emergency. She stands for its suppression if it is obscure and vulgar. He spells out that, "Do not distrust the public, do not distrust the representatives of the public man who are journalists, who are statesmen of the press. "Well organized public opinion is necessary to nourish democracy. If you are suppress this section, the forth estate — you are imperilling the democracy that was established in the country with great difficulty.

Rehabilitation:

As regards the refugees from Pakistan Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani thinks it a serious injury and degradation of national prestige and requires something to be done so that the


exuoduous oppression and ill-treatment of minorities may stop.

She also thinks it a part of Pakistan Government's deliberate policy to get rid Pakistan of Hindu population which is due to the declaration of Pakistan as a Islamic Republic and the allocation of second type citizen-ship to Hindus.

She stands for the facilities and compensation for them and appoint a parliamentary committee consists of the Representatives of all view points. She does not want to negotiate on evacuate property and wants to distribute it among the refugees.

II. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

The communist party of India advocates a policy of hostility towards the U.S.A. and the U.K. It advocates the cooperation with the socialist countries and friendship with African and Asian countries. Following the party lines Mr. A.K.Gopalan does not believe in the policy of Neutrality and a policy of friendship with all nations. According him,

82. Ibid., 16 December 1957 Vol. X Col. 2344-50.
there can not be a policy when you can be a friend of the aggressor and also a friend of the aggressed, which means that you cannot be a friend of Churchill as well as Malaya and a friend of France as well as of the people of Tunisia who are fighting for their freedom. "There are only two things - Either you must be a friend of those who fight for the freedom of this country or you must be the friend of those who deny freedom to those people. There is no mention of Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Malaya or other countries."

Supporting the views of Gopalan, Mr. H.N. Mukherjee, another prominent leader of C.P.I. denounces the policy of neutrality, non-involvement and non-alignment, which is not perfectly performed by the government of India. He believes that the foreign policy of India is definitely tied up in a most subordinate and disgusting manner to the Anglo-American combination, which lead to the danger of cold war and MEXCO etc. Further, the Indians are being black-mailed by the offers of hypothetical assistance into playing the subservience to the United States. But he demands to give up this role if India really stands for the freedom of all Asian and African countries, because the danger to the peace and freedom of the countries of Asia and Africa and every where

in the world & comes from the United States imperialism, and their satellite, their lieutenant, the British imperialists. He utters that, "If we go on being tied to them, naturally the situation would become absolutely impossible, let us therefore cast ourselves away from the kind of moorings which we have adopted so long, because they are most ugly moorings and they must be shed, if we have a vestige of national self respect left in us."

Further, the imperialist countries wants Asians to fight with Asians. They do not only want blockade of China but increase aid and assistance to British, France and other imperialist to conduct their bloody wars against the freedom of loving people/Viet-Nam, Malaya, Tunisia and Kenya which are resurgent against colonialism countries. In this situation Mookerjee advises to stand with these countries in their countries in their fight for freedom and peace and asks the prime minister at this crucial movement of the world history. "To rise to the full status of his own being, to out soar the shadow of our darkness in India and to tell the world that his people are determined, come what may, to strive for peace and freedom and never to yield to those mischievous forces of war mongerings and imperialism. On whose the people of the world have already pronounced their sentence of death."

86. Ibid., 16 March 1953 Vol. II No.6 Col. 2831-37 (Ex.Affairs).
Mukherjee is against the mutual security pact with America. He thinks it costly and menace to civilization and happiness of the world. He warns that a country cannot defend itself against one imperialism by relying upon another imperialism. "We cannot defend our freedom, properly speaking when the American and the British have their gigantic oil bases in our major ports, where their technicians and their advisers swarm all over the place where these foreigners occupy key positions in our industry, in our finance, in our trade and even in our armed forces."

On the other hand, he thinks no danger for freedom from communist influence. It is the imperialist influence which is stelling all over Asia and Africa and is trying to dominate the whole world. He does not believe in co-existance and believes that the stamp of doom is on capitalism before socialism because the objective development of social and economic forces would lead to the inevitable success and victory of socialist forces. Hence he suggests that, "Do not try to vitiate the truth by giving a handle to imperialist powers to distort reality, to intimidate people, to thwart their spirit and to depress their courage which is going to recreate the world masses their hearts desire."


His inclination is leaning towards the communist bloc and thinks them as a peace loving countries, which would ensure peace and freedom for the world and abolish the tentacle of American imperialism from Asia which is trying to draw us in agony and servility and willing to go to the utterest length of villainy in order to perpetuate their dominance. This communist bloc is following the principle of panch sheel in the relation of international field. He advises the government to be friend of those who go on the path of panch-sheel. "He requires that" Let us have cultural, commercial and other contacts. Let us proceed on terms of mutual benefits and self respect and let our relations with all be on a friendly and human basis. This is the essence of co-existence and that is the principal crux of the matter."

One thing is important to note here that until 1958, the C.P.I. did not approve of the policy of non-alignment as adopted by India, since it favoured the communist bloc, which was in view the only protector of world peace and progress. After 1958 the foreign policy of the party took a new turn because of the Chinese aggressive move towards India. The party began to support the main principle of foreign policy, especially the policy of non-alignment, Following the party's change in the policy of non-alignment, Mukherjee

also changes his attitude towards policy of non-alignment. He differs from the government on its implementation and says that, "Our policy is some thing like our planning. Our planning is efficient in its conceptions woefully different in its implementation. The same happens to our foreign policy — There has been a more scrupulous observance of the rigid discipline of non-alignment and to that extent, there has been a greater understanding, a better appreciation of that policy in the world.

Dange, the founder of the party also believes in the policy of friendship to all nations, a policy of Panch-sheel and a policy of non-alignment. He mostly support the government policy and differs on certain things, but however weighing towards the communist bloc. He hold that, "On the whole the policy is right, the policy of peace, the policy of disarmament, the policy of helping nations to achieve independence from colonialism, the policy of helping to solve the tensions. But a certain line runs through that correct policy a line of hesitation, hesitation to take the correct stand." He also criticise the government for the policy of non-alignment is not performed truely, which is marked at the time of the recognition of West Germany and the Algeria's entrance in the Neutral Summit Conference, held at Cairo. He hold that, "We do not approve of blocs to form a third bloc itself.

would be a wrong thing. Though of course I may not equate the two blocs on the same level, put them on the same level, yet I agree that we should not form a bloc, because on being in a bloc would make us subject to votes of a majority or even a unanimous decision with regard to our political military policies and so on."

Commonwealth:

Gopalan does not want to remain in commonwealth at the cost of dignity and respect. He does not like the treatment of dishonour and disrespect with the brothers in Asia and South Africa, and Ceylon. There, the Indians are not given the right of vote. He stands for a firm policy towards commonwealth. Therefore, the party demands the expulsion of British officers and advisers from the Indian army for liquidation of all vestiges of British control over our economy through the confiscation of British capital.

Mukherjee does not also stand for its membership. For him, commonwealth is a racket to be roped into. But he holds that this racket should not be perpetual. He is not

94. C.P.I. Political Resolution adopted at the Bombay Central Committee March 1963.
ready to continue as a member of this racket and stands to carry on relations on friendly basis. He thinks this organisation of no use, because his faith is that British capital in our industries makes great profits and enables Britain to exercise over our economy a sort of dominating influence. It has a deciding voice and makes us to depend on U.S.A. and U.K. It compels us to link with crisis ridden war of economy of the United Kingdom and U.S.A. which compels us to see the markets within the confines of the commonwealth and dollars areas, and prevented from securing profitable the trade with countries, which have been intimate in the past.

Further, in regard to Pakistan, this organisation does not provide any assistance for the solution of mutual tensions. On the contrary, U.S.A. & U.K. are exploiting the Kashmir issue and are trying to bring Pakistan in their MEDO. There are MEDO, NATO, and ANZUS which are being pulled and boosted in commonwealth.

Britain is enjoying in Purtgal against us. It is the prime mover, chief culprit: the head of the gang as far as the Baghdad pact and seato is concerned. Politically it gives nothing. Therefore, "It is very important for us to realise that if our country is going to progress, then surely

it is necessary for us to break away from this tie up which is inhabiting us.

Finally, speaking on the debate on quitting the commonwealth on 26th February 1960, he does not agree with the idea that the existence of commonwealth and our pressure in that body would extend the idea of peace and understanding. His faith is that, "India was like a large country house with Indians in the servants hall, the kitchen and the pantry, and occasionally we would be given the very rare honour of a cup of tea in the Drawing room." He thinks no less in quitting this organisation and on the contrary exhilaration would take place.

Pakistan:

Gopalan wants that the foreign policy of India should be indicated with friendship with Pakistan and with all neighbouring countries. He also wants to solve all his questions with in a manner of mutual negotiations. Further the party will strive for the establishment of relations of friendship between India and Pakistan by increasing trade,

cultural and other contacts as well as communication facilities between their people. In this connection, the party blames the imperialists and reactionaries, that they fully conscious that trade wars and conflict between India and Pakistan enable them to further tighten their grip on these countries and hence they do then at most to embitter relations between the two countries.

Emphasising the idea, Mukherjee demands for every possible step for securing friendship and friendly relationship in social, economic and political sphere. He also stands for the solution of all the border issues and unseasing flaw of migrations through peaceful negotiation, but with honour so that real economic cooperation may be possible between the two countries. He does not want that people should be killed by inches. He believes that this problem is, a drain of terrible humiliation and misery which effects not individuals alone, but which humiliate the status and stature of the nation. "Therefore, he stands to solve this problem without any delay because it will bring the greater possibility of repercussion in the country. He stands for the repartition of the territory of Pakistan and settles the people there because the exchange of population is not easy thing for him.


100. Mukherjee, H.N., L.S.D. 15 November 1962 No. VI Col.
630, 40 (Ex. Affairs).
He also stands for an Asian collective peace pact
based on Panch Sheel and not military aid which will include
Pakistan, China, Asia and as well as Pacific region to replace
antagonistic military pact and to counteract the belatent of
interventionism/ powers like U.S.A. and U.K. He also advoc-
cates for trade relation with Pakistan and thinks to both
countries as an economic unity and demands to establish trade
organisation parallelled to European free trade area.

Kashmir:

Mr. Gopalan wants Kashmir to be a part of India. He
opposes those who want to snatch it and divide it on communal
lines of Hindus and Muslims. He thinks it a question of the
land lords and the peasants, the capitalists and the workers
and the ruler and the subject. He advises that Kashmiri's
should be convinced that their interest will be safe if they
became a part of India.

He demands the withdrawal of the question of Kashmir
from U.N.O. because it is of no gain for both India and
Kashmir. He does not agree with the manner of expected
plebiscite. He says that, "there is no purpose serve in
keeping this problem at the U.N.O. My suggestion is that the

Col. 3620-32.

102. Ibid., 23 July 1957 Vol.III No.7 Col.4744-64 (I.S.).
Kashmir question must be immediately withdrawn from the United Nation, so that the people of Kashmir may enjoy the benefit which they have got today. He stands to allot land to the tillers without any difference of caste and creed and to abolish land-lordism with due compensation.

Supporting the views of Gopalan, Mukherjee opposes the division of Kashmir on religious passions and religious fanaticism. He wants to get rid of Maharaja of Kashmir. He also opposes the separate Plebiscite which will have to be conducted by U.S.A. and their satellites and requires it to be conducted under conditions which would have to satisfy us. He wants to withdraw the case from U.N.O. because the Anglo and American combination has been trying to exploit it, and utilise its territories for their own war mongering and purposes.

And at the press report that China and Pakistan are negotiating on border issues, Dange holds that no other country including China and Pakistan has right to negotiate on the border issues because Kashmir is an integral part of India.


105. Dange, S.A., 20 February 1961 Vol.50 No.8 Col.895-913 I.S.
It is said that the communist party of India is leaning towards communist bloc. Though after 1958, it accepted the policy of non-alignment but is did not loose at any movement to take the favour of communist bloc. Whenever it occasioned and when government give him such opportunity. This is seen at the time of the discussion re: situation in Tibet, in 1959. At this movement, Dange support the government policy and thinks the question of Tibet as a creak in the feelings of friendliness, which have to be solved on the basis of friendliness and panchsheel. He stands that this creak has to be healed by both sides of India and China, which would have to see that how they advance on their sides to heal this creak. He also stands that the statement of both sides which lead to bitterness and challenge each other honesty and facts, should be stopped. He also stands that the territory, which is shown in the Chinese maps should be corrected he says that, "we should be realistic enough to know that if a line in a map is moved, that part of the country does not go out of our hands, if people believe it will, they have a poor idea about maps and their values and a poor idea about India's own integrity also." "He stands to abolish serf system and asks to carry out land reforms and to literate them." He stands that, "it was not a war of aggression nor it a national uprising. Therefore, when we sympathise with China. Please sympathise with the serfs first, with those
who are rising against the Lama system, next, with those
who want to protect the serfs, that is the Chinese system of
government and its system of law and constitution.”

Expressing his party’s ideology, Dange hits strongly
on the parties: which demand to change the policy of Panch-
sheela and stand: to adopt the policy of war. He stands to
establish friendship with China and is against war. His
faith is that if all these parties want the integrity and
unity of the country, then the unity must be based on that
aspect. He supports the government policy towards China
and observed that, "the foreign policy of the government as
a policy is correct and we support it, that panchsheela is
correct and we support it that there has been no failure on
the part of the Prime Minister of the defence minister on the
question of defending the integrity of the country, because
the integrity of the country is not involved yet in war. He
stands for the policy of peaceful negotiations on all matters.

Mukherjee, holds the same views of friendship and
panchsheel: and thinks it a heavy burden to restrict friend-
ship and to relax and to eliminate the tensions between the
two countries completely. He advises to both the countries to

106. Dange, S.A., L.S.D. 8 May 1959 Vol.31 No.64 Col.15890-
15905 (D.R. Situation in Tibet).
107. Dange S.A., L.S.D. 25 November 1959 Vol.35 No.8,
Col. 1718-27 (Indo-China Red.).
108. Mukherjee, H.M., 29 April 1960 Vol.43, No.60 Col.
14739-95 (P.talks).
put an end to their disputes and to work together again for world peace and unity.

Further, at the time of that incursion of China when all parties blamed the C.P.I. to be unpatriotic, he clears his position. His answer was to the other parties that, "their views are trying to exploit the solution for the purpose that are basically unworthy for subverting the policy of peace and non-alignment which has served our country's interest and has sustained our high standing in the world today in spite of what ever might have happened on the India and China boarder." He thinks it a campaign of exaggeration and cressending into something like hysteria and a part of sustained campaign against India's foreign policy of peace and independence. He thinks that some quandrople and quintuple alliances are wanting from the government to spend thunder and vanum and to embark on an adversary course which will be fatal to the country and peace itself.

In this condition he stands for Afro-Asian solidarity and does not want to give up the policy of non-alignment. He calls all party's to work together in this situation and wants to settle all disputes in peaceful way and through negotiations.

110. Ibid., 4 December 1961 Vol.60 No.12 Col.2995-3003 (Chinese incursion).
Defence:

The party stands to strengthen the defence of the country and opposes the dependence of the country on the British and American military aid. Supporting the party policy, Mukherjee does not want to continue the bad old inheritance of British days so far as the apparatus, the mechanism of the army is concerned. He also opposes the perpetuation of old class and geographical division, based particularly on racial discrimination in the army.

Smt. Renu Chakravarty is also emphasising that the Indian army should not tie with the countries of Western Europe, and holds that no British Officer should remain in defence posts. She wants to abolish British influence from the army.

She opposes the organisation modelled on the basis of American and U.K. Pattern, which are technically and economically developed with smaller manpower, and have to trust material rather than man. But she thought of the organisation based on China line, that has grown out the strategy and tactics out of its own experience and rely on manpower, which is suitable to India which have the abundance of manpower. Therefore she stands for the morale of the people and to evoke enthusiasm in them by improving its status, by giving them

III. Ibid., 4 March 1953 Vol. I No.16 Col. 1408-17.
facilities and by improving their salaries rate, housing, accommodation and pensions. He also stands for the utilization of army in peace-time in bridges buildings, contracts road, digging well and to develop waste lands and fallow land etc.

Further, in the present situation of pacts, which encircle the communist bloc of Russia & China and Asian new liberated countries, she demands that, "it is necessary for us in India to offset these military pacts, to make an efforts to achieve collective peace in Asia and the pacific region out of which no country will be left out. Its main aim will be self defence and not to aggression, and which will be only for those countries that are in these area. She advises to make efforts to manufacture our own defence weapons progressively integrating our defence needs with the growth in the industrial base and country's plans for reconstruction so that we may be able to free ourselves from dependence on foreign sources for the supply of strategic of materials and of weapons of defence.

But the party stands for the reduction of armaments and military budgets. It denounces the policy of military


alliances. It calls for baiming on nuclear weapons and pursue the policy of Afro-Asian solidarity.

"ECONOMIC ATTITUDE"

The C.P.I. demands the breaking of the grip of British capital over important sectors of our economy, the curbing of monopolists and the rapid development of the public sector. It demands more and more state ownership in the industrialisation and all other sector. The party also stands for a private sector, which would not to lead monopolies. There would be nationalisation of all key industries. In this economy, Agriculture would be given the priority because it would solve the problem of foreign exchange, raw materials and would expand internal market. Therefore, the party will abolish feudal system and landlordism and provides the facilities of all kinds and allot and redistribute land to the landless peasantry.

Agriculture:

Being the main stay of our people, the only improvement in this field can meet the raw materials need for industries and can expand the internal market for industrial goods, and will solve the foreign exchange problem and will

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increase in the standard of living and their consuming capacity. It is the main source of capital formation. Therefore, the party requires the resolute measure to abolish all remainants of feudalism and carry out land reforms in the interest of peasantry so that the living conditions of the peasantry and the problem of creation internal resources and the basis of rapid industrial advance may be solved. Taking into consideration the said objective, the C.P.I. stands for the land allotment to the peasant and agricultural labourer without payment and legalize this reform by a special land laws and abolish land lordism without compensation.

The party demands for the democratically elected agricultural peasants committees which will be enthused with the work of implementing the agrarian reforms. The party also advocates the distribution of all government owned cultivable waste land among the poor peasants and labourers with the state aid to bring them under cultivation and restores all ejected land to the peasants and declares all malafied transformation null and void.

The party ceiling down all debts owned by peasants and artisans and cancels all unconsiderable debts. It stands for its liquidation of all remaining debts in easy instalment

115. C.P.I. aims and objectives - adopted at the convention of Amritsar 1938, p.72.

116. Election Manifestoes 1951 - Also see programme of 1948.
and assures long term and cheap credit facilities for peasants and artisans for their implements and raw materials.

Renu Chakarwarty, blaming the plan as a defective because it does not set free the real productive force, stands for the full release of the peasantry to use their force in the land for capital formation. Therefore, with the above views, she stands for the abolition of all debts and allow them to plough back the money into the land. She also stands for the abolition of rent on tenants settlements, on non-occupancy tenants and of taxation and undebtedness. She demands equal distribution of the land on free of cost and to give the peasants an incentive to the feelings that they have land and proprietor of it. She stands for all kind of help to them.

Gopalan is not exception to his party's policy. He also stands for the eviction of land should be stopped. He wants to give idle land to the idle hand so that they may work and help to increase production. He stands for the tenancy reforms and ceiling on land. Throughout the II and III plan, he demands for the expansion of irrigation and more output of fertilizers and breaking up the land monopoly and

117. Ibid.

such a legislation in Agriculture sector so as to release the poor peasants and agricultural labour. He observes; "They should be given land. We should see that they are not evicted. We should also provide them with good manures. Fertilizers, water etc. waste land, either cultivable waste or current fallow or fallow should be distributed so as to solve the foreign exchange difficulties and national increase.

He does not join the hands of government in adapting the transformation from top of the large estate into modern large capitalists form with gradual elimination of the working peasantry. He stands for the transformation of the technical and social base of agriculture from blow. He watches that, "the main fetters is the concentration of land in the hands of a smaller minority and also the denial of land to the majority of the tillers. If we restrict the land in the hands of the rich land lords and provide the surplus land to the poor and land less peasants, provide them with capital and knowledge of scientific methods of cultivation, we will be able to make efficient use of the land and labourers."

Further the party stands that the peasants must be guaranteed a fair prices for the produce and agriculture labour

must be assured a minimum wage. Irrigation works should be expanded by undertakings and water rates should be brought down substantially. Livestock and veterinary facilities should be improved in rural areas. There should be an expansion of co-operatives for rural credits, marketing, productions, supply of implements of fertilizers, seeds etc. Existing cooperative laws should be amended so as to curtail the powers of officers. Following the party policy, Mr. Mukherjee blamed the government for its inability of not having these cooperatives for getting the targets. He quotes that, "unless we have this kind of producers cooperatives and unless we have governmental agencies cooperating with producers cooperatives. We cannot produce the results that we need, as far as agriculture is concerned." "But he gives more importance to mobilization of masses to achieve the plan targets. His faith is that, "the specialised agencies are not so important as mobilisation of the people, particularly, mobilization of the enthusiasm of agricultural labour for which the plan is very pessimistic. Again there is eviction which should be stopped.

Industry:

The party stands for a comprehensive programme of rapid industrialisation, in which the public sector was to be given

120. C.P.I. Election Manifestoes by S.P. National Politics and Election in India 1957, Delhi, p.115.

the leading role and the capital goods industry the place of pride, by locating them in an economically backward area so as to ensure their development. It is this reason that Mukherjee warns to be careful for private sector and thinks it to be disasterous, because the more vocal and powerful section of our private sector, are people of not a particularly savoury character and the Indian bourgeoisie in this country is linked up with British finance capital, which has not independent industrial base of its own. Therefore he utters that, "we do not want the private sector to function all. On the contrary, we want the private sector to go a head and make as much money as it possibly can. But the basis position is that, it is very necessary for us to have a very powerful state sector. If that powerful state sector is there, then and then alone can the private sector be kept in control. He adds that, "unless there is a strong public sector, and unless the private sector is geared to the overall plans of the public sector, there will be planning altogether, and chaos and anarchy will prevail......The result of it would be disastrous and chaotic functioning of the economy."

Gopalan also expresses the same views that, "we want the private sector for some time, provided it does not lead

122. C.P.I. Programme March 1948.
to monopolies and accumulation of wealth, and provided the interest of the country and the objectives of national reconstruction are not in any way jeopardised." He opposes to give huge concession to private sector because his faith is based on the fact that it would mean two things. First, they will stand in the way of expansion of the public sector. Further the expansion of large scale industries in the private sector in this way will lead to retrenchment and also to unemployment. It will threaten the small scale and cottage industries and would strengthen the monopolists.

He stands for small scale and cottage industries. These should be encouraged in the present context of our economy, because they will go a long way to solving the problem of unemployment by absorbing as many people as possible.

Mukherjee demands the co-ordination between heavy industries and allied aspect of the programme as well as the encouragement and development of handicraft and small and cottage industries. There must be ways and means to secure co-existence between development of industries on large scale and maintenance of employment. There should be an encouragement of markets for the handicraft products and should try to push up our sale of handicrafts in longer measure than it is
being done today. It is the sole source to the Indian villages to improve their conditions, hence, the party support the establishment and improvement of these industries.

He opposes nationalisation in the present context of growing unemployment. "What is important is that, there should be establishment of raw and basic industries." And all available capital resources should be used in them. It will be fit only when we have grown and have established heavy industries or have a real industrialised sector otherwise it will stand in the way of development of new and basic industries.

He believes in the development councils to develop productivity and settle the location of sites as far as industries are concerned. These councils have to wide association and the representatives of the people in different industries and does not believe that these require high standard of efficiency and therefore government is not able to run them. He also opposes managing agencies which leave most things in the private sector.

He stands for the market ability of the production of all large, small and cottage industries. Then the stock

126. Ibid., 19 April 1954, Vol.4 No.47, Col. 5057-75, F.B.
127. Ibid., 22 April 1953, Vol.4 No.2 Col. 4819-27.
exchange should be immediately reformed and alternate transfer abolish to create a favourable atmosphere for average investment." And a new stores purchasing policy should be adopted.

Workers:

The chief object of the party is the establishment of people's democratic state and led by working class for the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and building up socialism according to the teaching of Max and Lenin. Therefore, the party stands for the betterment of the working class and abolishes the strife and discards of an industrial life by fixing national minimum wage, and increment of D.A. of 25% and amalgamate it in the basic pay. The party is pledged to appoint a pay commission to examine the pay rate, D.A. security of services. It also stands for the expansion of employment and social insurance schemes to all organised industries. The party also stands for the right of trade union of all government employees and workers in government concerns. Favouring this, Gopalan adds that, "there must be the right of trade union for the workers and government should ballot the workers to organise in one union which they like in place of two or three union so that the workers may not

128. Ibid., 20 December 1954 Vol IX No.28 Col. 3483-3503 E.S.
suffer, and their disputes may settle in the limited time." He further says that the, legitimate demands of the workers for increased wages, dearness allowances, loans and so on, and improvement in working condition must be an integral part of promoting industrial progress.

Further Dange, wants workers representatives in the every organ of administration and demands the workers supervision over every organ of administration and over every point of state power. He stands for such labour policy which will ensure increment in wage with D.A. linked with the cost of living index so that the rise in price shall be fully neutralised.

**Nationalisation:**

The C.P.I. advocates the nationalisation of all key industries, like coal, mining, aluminium, Manganese, copper, iron, gold mining, British controlled jute mills, tea and coffee plantation, banking and general insurance as well as foreign capital in India without compensation. However, it does not advocates the nationalisation of small and medium industries, but favours the rapid development of cottage and


small scale industries. In order to strengthen and expand the public sector, it is necessary not only to start new state owned industries and units in the private sector. There can be nationalisation by the payment of the minimum compensation. Further, there are industries like tea, coal and rubber which give good revenue to the state. "Unless we have got state-owned and revenue-yielding industries, it will be impossible for us to get the necessary resources."

Without resources for reconstruction and development, we have to tap the resources from the revenue yielding private sector.

He wants to check upon the operation of foreign capital which has behaved in a black quardy fashion and which has kept our country in the position of an agrarian hinter land to their imperialism. His faith is that private investment which is introduced in a country's economy, tend to override its sovereignty and try to over turn its freedom, when its selfish objectives are imprilled by the national forces of that particular country. Hence, Mukherjee stands

134. Ibid., 9 April Vol.15 No.42 Col.9071-83 M.R.Ex.Affairs.
for the nationalisation of British capital without any delay and without paying any compensation. Remittance of profits absorbed should pending this nationalisation, he stopped. No foreign capital should be allowed as equity capital in our industries. Pending nationalisation of foreign interest, the state should issue instruction to the terrif commission to see that the foreign units in our country do not drive the benefit of protection. The state must control investment not only through permission and control of capital issue, but with a system of pooling of the resources and must control profits and fix a ceiling on dividend in the interest of capital formation. The state must not allow monopoly to grow in any industry. The small and medium industries should be given help and nurtured by the state. The managing agency system should be abolished altogether and the state should not engage in any joint-participation with private capital.

The party advocates government monopoly over the exports and imports of goods, and monopoly over purchase of food grain through the trading corporation. Dange thinks an essential principle to guard the balances of payment and to introduce order with the system of import and export

136. Mukherjee, H.N. 20 December 1954 Vol.IX No.28 Col. 3488-3503 E.S.

for which the ministry, private hands and certain interest of speculation works are responsible for this. Therefore, "the state should take over into the sector of state trading, the export and import trade completely.

Foreign Aid:

He opposes the policy of dependence of our country for the most strategic sector of our economic front upon the Anglo-American suppliers of good will, of aid and trade facilities. This policy has gone through a complete sea change and obsolete. With regard to technical cooperation agreement with America he says that, "we are allowing the American directors to rule the roost. We are giving him a veto on expenditure we are allowing even the American money to be mixed up with Indian money." He also hits on American military aid to Pakistan and says that, "this idea is totally wrong and totally mischievous. There is nothing accidental about this latest, and in the Indian eyes, the most egregious example of American intrigue against the freedom and peace of the world". According to him this aid is not for love of Pakistan. It is a menace to both our countries for our


independent action. "Let us not, therefore, fall a prey however, unwillingly to this American conspiracy to dominate the whole world, by method ranging from corruption, engineering of coup-de-tat and black marketing of the gravest land

140 to open war."

Another leader, Dange, advises to keep the country's interest above in accepting the foreign American dollars. He stands that, "the recession has come in America, therefore the dollars aid is coming to us, so, if the dollars comes to aid, do take it, but with conditions, and that when you negotiate and send missions to buy things let those negotiation be on proper basis, with proper prices and proper lines. If you can get cheaper steel, cheaper oil and other things, and help us then let us have it, otherwise not."

Gopalan is not against foreign aid and capital under all circumstances. But the heavy reliance on it would be highly vulnerable to undesirable influences, both capital as well as economic, and will certainly defect the basic aims of economic development and also due national interest.

140. Ibid., 18 February 1954 Vol. I No. 4 Col. 265-77 P. Address.


T a x e s:

Mukherjee follows a policy of direct taxation to put more burden on the big business interest and is against the policy of indirect taxation to exempt the poor masses. In this respect, he does not join the hands of the government, which has followed a policy of indirect taxation in place of direct taxation and thus hits the common masses for the taxes. Therefore, he stands that, "the direction of taxation has got to be changed, the way in which the load of taxation has fallen upon the poor that has got to be changed and the administration of the apparatus of taxation has got to be changed - Evasion has to be prevented and better administration has to take place." Taxation system is so bad that it sought to be changed in the direction in which it is antagonistic to the interest of the people.

Hitting the government policy, Dange takes the base that, "the approach of the system of taxation is an antipeople approach and it is not a socialist approach. The government is of view that wealth should be created, let it be distributed and once its distribution over thousands of the people

143. He believes that the proportion of direct taxation has fallen from 47.8% in 1946-47 to 28.8% in 1954-55, while the proposition of indirect taxation has gone up from 48% in 1946-47 to 70% at 1954-55 see Mukherjee H.M. 19 March 1955, Vol.2 No.21 Col. 2657-67, G.B. also see 4 March 1953, Vol.1 No.16 Col. 1408-9 G.B.

144. Mukherjee, H.N. 18 September 1958 Vo. XX No.29 Col. 1265-71 appraisal of the proposals of second five year plan.
then go and try to get it by taxes. And when the government approach these people who have got the largest shares of the created wealth in their pockets and bigger ones evade. The small fish get caught in the net and big shark run away. Therefore he suggests that, "seize wealth at the point of creation seize the very point of creation and you have enough wealth to finance the plan. Please do not tax the common man --- Do not try to seize it after it is distributed and its vanishes-seize it when it is production. It is labourer that create wealth and the production units where they work. Take hold of these units. Pay them their due and take the 145 surpluses."

Mukherjee stands to abolish bonus shares and there must be dividend limitation on certain progressive capital. State trading must be undertaken in the foreign trade as well as internal trade. Estate duty rate should be raised. Then the excess profits tax might very well be restored and worked according to present day conditions. Ceiling in present income should be imposed and annual tax on wealth should be imposed. Bank transfers in stock exchange must be prohibited.

145. Dange, S.A. 28 May 1957 Vol.II No.14 Col. 2370-93 (G.B.) He further opposed the indirect taxes which hit the common man folk which is not fitted to be taxed so highly. Indirect taxes in 1948 was 50% of the revenue went upto 87.7% in 1960 and 69% in 1961- See 14 March 1961 Vol. 52 No.21 Col. 4780-97.
and realisation of stamp duty should be imposed.

Gopalan stands to tap the sources from the saving of the country through borrowing by offering high interest and by adopting a policy of compulsory loans and by mobilising the savings of the workers classes in a much wider scale and on lines favourable to the country.

Deficit financing is an inevitable in an under-developed country which is necessary to develop heavy industries and has not got as yet capital accumulation. But the C.P.I. leaders do not think it a good thing without proper checks and balances. In this respect Mukherjee believes that there is no trouble in capital formation, but its formation and utilization for the expansion of production are prevented today on account of the fundamental basis on which our economy is built. Therefore, the Indian, and foreign monopolists should be checked because they extracted a large sum of profits from the country. Deficit finance would lead to inflation if the government fails to control the profiteers. Inflation can be checked by having a plan for creating import

146. Mukherjee, H.N. 13 March 1966 Vol. II No.22 Col. 2408-19 G.B.
surpluses as an anti-inflationary measure. Import of surpluses of machinery and other industrial raw materials are unobjectionable, but the import of consumer goods goes against the very purpose of credit creation. Hence he feels that, "government must be ready with a programme of physical control over essential commodities like food grains, clothes and raw materials so that in the case of emergence of any inflationary pressure, the programme of control can be enforced with the least possible delay," that would be an important safety value against the effects of inflation. 149

"POLITICAL ATTITUDE"

The party did not approve the constitution of 1950 on the grounds that it is not democratic enough. Until 1956, the party did not believe in the parliamentary democracy, but in that year at the Palghat session it changed its attitude and declared its belief in the parliamentary democracy. 150

The C.P.I. demands the implementation of the Directive Principles of State Policy and makes a part of the fundamental rights of citizenship should be justiciable. It needs the abolition of the upper house and provides with powers


150. Hindustan Times May 12, 1956.
especially in the sphere of finance to the state and demands the separation of the judiciary from the executive and limits on presidents power, proportional representation and election by secret ballot should be introduced in election.

The wider power of the bureaucracy and police should be severely curtailed by replacing malitia. It demands the revision of police code, curtailing the power of the police to restore to shouting and lathi charges etc. and requires judicial enquiries and exemplary punishment ruled out officials, guilty and excessive violence.

"SOCIAL ATTITUDE"

Education:

The C.P.I. stands for free compulsory elementary education upto the age of 14 years and imparts education to the adults illiterate. Education should be within the reach of common people. Provisions should be made to meet the requirements of scientific and technological advance and confirm the development of rapid industrial development.

Education of all levels should be in regional languages and the provisions should be made for the teaching of minority as their mother tongue. Protection will be given to Urdu and the study of Hindi should be encouraged as a regional language.

It is this, that Mukherjee opposes that Hindi should be the medium of education and the Devnagri as a common script for all regional languages. He does not want Sanskrit as a compulsory subject in higher secondary class. There should be girls education and co-education especially in the middle school stage and imparts hospital facilities to them.

**Linguistic State Re-organization:**

Gopalan stands for the redistribution of state on the basis of language, culture and traditions provided that the security and unity of India will not be disturbed. He demands unity above all thing. His faith is based on the basis that unity is necessary to preserve freedom and independence and to build up the country as well as to derive out the colonial forces from the Goa and other parts of India. He believes that there is small diversity which need not to be strengthened to such an extent that it jeopardised our unity. Various small cultures, languages and traditions are to be strengthened in such a way that over all unity of India is developed and strengthened. Unity in culture and traditions will be a small unity within a larger unity of India. So far as the unity and security of India is concerned, there must be some unity

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152. Mukherjee H.N. 17 March 1961 Vol. 52 No.24 Col. 5781-84 D. Nagri S.

among the people speaking the different languages in the larger unity of India. He stands that, "there are certain principles on which we believe, the redistribution of the states must be done. They are common languages, common culture and the desire of the people of the areas, the antiquity of villages and so on. If the redistribution of the states is taken on this basis there would not have been much quarrels as we see today."

Press:

Mukherjee favours the freedom of press the fifth estate because it leaks out the evils and discloses the secrets of the government. But he is against the obscure journalism. He says that, "certainly punish obscure journalism certainly punish vulgarity and obscurity. But do not punish expression of opinion. Do not punish exposure of evils. Do not punish these people who are bringing to move out those secrets on which flourishes autocratic kind of administration that we are getting in the country at the present movement the insensitive administration."


Minorities & Scheduled Caste:

The party paid greater attention to the needs of religious minorities as well as language minorities. Their rights must be adequately protected and incitement of hatred against minorities must be severely punished. All discrimination against minorities which is in various forms and *paxiz* pursuits should be ended. The government will separate from all religion and would be secular one.

The C.P.I. stands for the improvement of the conditions of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes by taking various plans and projects. Their assurance gives to them in the constitution and the period of assurance will be extended. The party will be demanded the practical measure to implement the laws against untouchability and the racial operation by upper caste to lower caste will be abolished.

Following the party lines, Mr. H.N. Mukherjee also wants to improve the conditions of the schedule castes and scheduled tribes and wants to list them how agriculture should be practised by them. He wants to give them all facilities and allot them the reservation of jobs which should be truely and really followed. He stands that all our efforts should be

Truly and really followed. He stands that all our efforts should be to treat these peoples as human beings. And observes, "if we can not look after their property, not in a philanthropic, condescending manner, if we can not look after their property. If we cannot raise them to the level, all of us want to reach, then good bye to all our hopes regarding Indian reconstruction and the function of our aspiration for freedom.

158. Mukherjee, H.N. / Vol.VII No.4 Col. 14076-87
III "THE BHARTIYA JANASANGL"

FOREIGN POLICY:

The Bhartiya Jana Sangh does not find fault with India's foreign policy of non-alignment but believes that its implementation has, instead of promoting national interest, relegated it to a subordinate place. This has been a constant and continuing refrain of Jana Sangh leaders ever since 159 Mr. Mookherjee in March 1953, has regretted in the house that the history of our foreign policy is of dismal and dynamic failure and "with regard to the question on Indian's in South Africa and Ceylon, liquidation of foreign pockets in India, the question of East Bengal minorities, pass port system, question of canal water, evacuee property and the question of Kashmir," shows the failure of Indian foreign policy. Further, Mrs. Prem Nath Dogra in December 1954, stood that our foreign policy had failed to advance the country's interests, particularly in Kashmir and Goa", where not only vital national interests but the very integrity and security of the country are at stake." The Manifestoes of the party and the succeeding president endorsed this view which was summarized by Mr. A.Rama Rao: "So far as our own problems are concerned we can say that our foreign policy has completely failed whether it is Goa or Kashmir, Chinese

160. At the third Annual Session at Jadhpur, 1954.
aggression on Pakistan's incursions, we have not been able to mobilize international public opinion in support of our stand. We have not been able to secure justice for Indians abroad, whether in South Africa or in Ceylon. Moreover we have been able to protect the lives and honour of Hindus in Pakistan and get them their rights. We have failed to strengthen the already existing hands either with Nepal or the countries of South East Asia. We surrendered our rights in Tibet and Sinkiang, and watched helplessly the enslavement of these independent territories."

According to Mookherjee, India should adopt the policy of Foreign Policy of its own freedom and not of the other country's brand. He stands that, "we should not want that our country should be tied to any foreign ideology or country, be it of the American or the Russian brand. But that does not mean that we wish to quarrel with any country. We will be friends with all countries, but India must develop according to Indian's own fashion and that is possible."

He believes in the policy of peace and is against the extension of the threat of war, and stands to do every thing to avert

161. At the Ninth Annual Session at Lucknow, December 1960.

or catastrophe which may not only destroy portion of Asia but may effect the stability of the entire world.

One striking feature of the Jan Sangh's "Foreign Policy is its advocacy of the policy of "non-involvement" in such international affairs as do not directly affect India. Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee spelt out this at some length when he criticized the prime minister's habit of pronouncing on any and every event or issue in the world. The party officially supports non-alignment with the power blocs, non-involvement in international languages, friendship with all nations, cooperation with the U.N.O.

**Indo-Pak Relations:**

The party believes that the genesis of Pakistan is such that so long as it exists it will continue to be hostile towards India. India and Pakistan can become friends only when the Muslims of India shed their separatist outlook, and attune themselves to the national tradition and heritage. The realization of "Akhand Bharat" is an article of faith with party and the party's viewpoint regarding Akhand Bharat is in the words of General Secretary, Mr. Deendayal Upadhyaya:

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"Akhand Bharat is not only the expression of geographical unity of the country but also indicates the Bhartiya view of life, which manifests unity in diversity." He did not join the peoples' doubt that Akhand Bharat could ever be achieved. Their doubts is the result of their defeatist mentality because they have been the failure of their efforts for unity and the success of separatism in 1947. But for him, it was not the defeat of the realization of Bhartiya unity. "It was the defeat of these particular efforts that were made in the name of national unity. We failed not because our goal was wrong, but because our means were wrong."

Obviously it has not reconciled itself to the partition of the country and promises to strive for a united India Akhand Bharat. However, as long as Pakistan exists as a separate state, the party believes in adopting a policy of reciprocity towards that country. It accuses the congress government of pursuing a policy of appeasement even at the expense of India's vital interests and cites the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan without taking the people and parliament into confidence.

165. The Organizer, 24 August 1953 Consistently.

166. This stand is and vigorously maintained by the party in its first two manifestoes.

167. Mr. Pitamber Biss in his presidential address at the Right Annual Session of B.J.S. at Nagpur in January 1960.
The party believes that "India-Pakistan problems such as Kashmir, rehabilitation of displaced persons, economic in-stability, increase in defence expenditure can all be permanently solved only by the establishment of Akhand Bharat in which Hindus and Muslims and people of other faiths live as loyal citizens of one great nation. Evidently this unity can not be achieved by any use of force. It will need a psychological change. The programme of cultural unification of the Bhartiya Jan Sangh aim at such a change."

It must be conceded that there is much force in the Jana Sangh contention that Pakistan has taken the maximum advantage of India's non-belligerent attitude which is clear from Pakistan's aggression in Tukeragram and Lakhimpur and Mr. Nehru's gift of Berubari. It desired effective measures like stopping the supply of coal steel, and cement, and other strategic materials, and giving military training to Indian youth. Simultaneously it has favoured showing the big stick by warning Pakistan, "To clear out of Tukergram and Lakhimpur by a specified date failing which the Government of India should take all steps within its power to throw out the aggressor. Pakistan should be told that any unilateral breech of the cease fire line whether in Kashmir or in West Bengal

or Assam would be treated as an act of aggression against India as a whole and would be dealt with as such....

The party also holds that the government policy of appeasement and surrender, which instead of satisfying Pakistan makes Pakistan hungry for more land, more monetary compensation, and more concessions. The party also criticized the Indus Water Treaty and the agreements for through rail links between the two wings because in both these "the interests of India, the demands of her security and of her development needs, have been sacrificed. It seems that the government of India is more anxious to supply water to west Punjab than to the arid tracts of Rajasthan and Haryana.

K a s h m i r:

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh stands for the unity of India. It considers the state of Jammu and Kashmir to be an integral part of India and believes that its accession to India should be on par with that of the other princely states; the accession is and must be regarded as full and final. The continued occupation of about one-third of the state by

169. At the seventh Annual Session of Bhartiya Jana Sangh in Bangalore, December 1958.

170. Resolution passed by the Bhartiya Jana Sangh at its Session held at Lucknow from 30 December 1950 to 1 January 1951.

171. A Rama Rao Presidential Address at the Ninth Annual Session at Lucknow December 1950.
Pakistan, therefore, amounts to violation of India's territory and is a disgrace for India.

The leaders of the Jan Sangh opposed the policies pursued by Sheikh Abdullah because they tended to muslimize the state in the name of secularism to establish totalitarian one-party rule in the name of democracy and to sever or weaken the age-old cultural, historical, as also the constitutional links of the state with the rest of India. They could not comprehend the continued incorporation of Article 370 which was originally meant to be a temporary provision. National interest was ill served by its retention because in effect Sheikh Abdullah explored this provision with the connivance of Mr. Nehru for making Jammu and Kashmir a republic with all the trappings of sovereignty, only loosely bound to India in respect of defence, Foreign Affairs, and communications. Presiding over the opening convention Mookherjee said: "Kashmir is an integral part of India and should be treated as any other state. It is indeed tragic that one third of Kashmir should be in the hands of the enemy and our government should be unable to free the area from foreign occupation inspite of occasional outbursts of determination to fight any future penetration."


He further emphasized on the point on the floor of Lok Sabha on 12 February 1952 that, "there should be complete integration. Kashmir is a part of Indian territory....Now it has been decided that the integration will relate only three subjects. There are many people in India and also in Kashmir who may feel that for the sake of Kashmir and for the sake of better understanding between India and Kashmir the integration should be complete, and it should be in relation to all subjects as has happened with regard to the other state which have merged with India."

Standing on the above base, he demands the withdrawal of the case of Kashmir from the U.N.O. and opposes the question of Plebiscite in Kashmir and adds "so far as Kashmir problem is concerned, in my humble judgement you will never be able to recover any portion of that territory now with Pakistan through the good offices of the security council. The Security Council should have declared Pakistan an aggressor of Kashmir long ago and the Security Council has not done so." And that matter should be settled if possible by negotiations amongst ourselves, if negotiations fails by the adoption of other methods.

175. Ibid., Jana Sangh approach, Delhi 1960, p.70.
Speaking on the question of Plebiscite, Mookherjee took stands that, "if you wish to ascertain the will of the people of Jammu & Kashmir, the only manner in which you can do so is through the constituent assembly which is functioning in that state, and ascertain must be drawn on this drama if India could be partitioned on the decision of the people who had been elected to legislatures on a limited franchise, why can't the finality of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir be decided on the decision of the constituent assembly which has been formed on a adult franchise."

Following the party lines Dr. Mookherjee opposed Kashmir government to have two flags. He stated that "after all Kashmir is a part of Indian territory and we should not encourage the adoption even in Kashmir of another national flag because then that would lead to disintegration that would lead to the disappearance of the Unity between India and Kashmir which we should like to establish." He opposed the idea of separate constitution for Kashmir and the idea of double parliament and prime minister. He also opposed the division of Jammu and Kashmir which would create Hindu Muslim zone.


In February 1964 the constituent assembly of Kashmir unanimously ratified the accession of the state with India. But the party was not fully satisfied. Its stand was that Kashmir should be completely and finally integrated into the Indian union like any other state; its political and administrative set-up should be identical with the other states. The party believes that the Kashmir issue was bungled by Mr. Nehru because when the Indian troops were on the point of expelling the invaders, he ordered, "cease fire" leaving a territory in Pakistan's hand.

Its dissatisfaction with the handling of the issue is also manifested in its 1967 election manifesto. It is the considered opinion of the Jana Sangh that Pakistan has no locus standi in Kashmir. She is an aggressor and should be treated as such. The proposal to divide that state along the cease-fire line is cowardly and anti-national. Jana Sangh will make efforts to get Pakistan declared aggressor by U.N.O. and will take all possible steps for the liberation of Pakistan-held Kashmir. Jana Sangh is opposed to a separate constitution for Jammu and Kashmir because it will encourage fissiparous tendencies by keeping alive a feeling of separation and duality between Bharat and Kashmir.

179. Deva Prasad Ghosh in his presidential address at the Bhartiya Jana Sangh Pritinidhi Sabha at Jaipur Session in April 1956.
The party was greatly exercised over Pakistan aggression and the separate status of Kashmir. It could not reconcile itself to Mr. Nehru's declaration that he was prepared to maintain the status quo in Kashmir, "Acceptance of status quo in Kashmir means partition of the state. Jana Sangh would not agree to it." And Vajpayee is not ready to slumber before attack and stands to try to take back that land which has been snatched by attack and is not ready to give it up.

"CHINESE AGGRESSION"

The Jana Sangh has been worried about the North. The warning of Dr. Mookherjee, the founder of Jana Sangh gives a clear indication of the Chinese menace. In the foreign policy debate in parliament, taking a grim view of the Chinese occupation of the Tibet he said, "with regard to Tibet, we sent frantic appeals to China asking her not to be violent, but did China listen? What is the policy behind China's action? It is no use our trying to gloss over things because there are matters which affect not only the people of Tibet but also the security of India.....

"No doubt we stand for peace, but the inconsistencies of our foreign policy are making us slowly drift towards


something which may bring disaster to India more quickly than many think."

It was also the Jana Sangh’s leader, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, who demanded the publication of White Paper, the government had conceded his demand° it was at my suggestion that the government agreed to place the White Paper° which lead the government to inform parliament as well as the people about the Chinese incursions into our territory. Year after year at their annual sessions, working committee meetings, General Council Sessions, they drew the attention of the government and the people to the danger from the north. They believed that it was due to the short sighted policy of Prime Minister Nehru that China could run Tibet by sheer force of arms in 1950-51, and establish her frontiers right on the Himalyan’s borders of India. Subsequently, the Dalai Lama °was forced to accept a 17-point agreement which made short work of Tibet’s age-old autonomy, preserving only a remembrance of it."

Addressing the Tibet convention in Calcutta, Mr. Deva Prasad Ghosh, the President of B.J.S. said, "Nehru should have taken


185. Deva Prasad Ghosh in his Presidential Address at Pritinidhi Sabha at Poona, June 1959.

186. Ibid.
a much stronger attitude in 1960-61 when China was overrunning Tibet, and his pact with China in 1954 setting his seal of approval on the Chinese occupation of Tibet and handing over Indian out posts and installations in Tibet --- not to the Tibetans but to the Chinese aggression --- was as disgraceful as it was foolish for the result was that Tibet ceased to exist as a defunct 'Buffer State' between India and China, and a great and aggressive military power was brought to right to the borders of India.

Apart from organizing a powerful demonstration of protest before the Chinese embassy in Delhi on 30 March 1959 and on 4 April 1959, in Calcutta by the presentation of a memorandum addressed to the prime minister of China before the China consulate, the party also arranged numerous public meetings to bring home to the people at once the tragedy and the menace of the Tibetan situation in the context of Indian's own security. Three important suggestions of the Bhartiya Jana Sangh for safe guarding national security and for helping effectively the cause of Tibetan, independence are noteworthy. The party wanted India to take up the Tibet's case in the U.N.O. as a moral duty and thus undo the wrong India did in 1951 by not supporting Tibet's plea in the world organization. It suggested that India should extend full facilities to his Holiness Dalai Lama to function in India on the political

plane as the Government of Tibet. India should sound the free nations of Asia outside the communist orbit on the issue of China's aggression in Tibet so that they might make common cause in support of Tibetan independence.

Vajpayee also suggested to advocate the case of Tibet's membership of U.N.O. with the case of China otherwise advised to drop the China's case of membership if any one raise it and voiced against the injustice, cruelty and the abolition of humanity and would guard the right of depressed. He accorded full freedom to Dalai Lama so that he might work for the freedom of his country, and finally stood for the evocation of public opinion in favour of the case of Tibet in the world organization U.N.O. and required to raise the voice against new born imperialism on the top of Himalaya.

But the strongest condemnation of the policy of government towards China came at Nagpur where the Government of India confessed in parliament two years later the event that the Chinese had penetrated into Indian territory and occupied more than 12,000 square miles of barren land where, in the


190. Ibid., 22 November 1960, Vol.47 No.7 Col. 1660-70.
words of prime minister, "not a blade of grass grew". The resolution soundly condemned government for its several acts of omission and commissions and for its "masterly inactivity first in respect of China's cartographic invasion of India's frontiers and then in regard to their actual violation.

For the Bhartiya Jana Sangh, settling international disputes by peaceful negotiations should not be tantamount to placing a premium on invasion which India was doing by seeking to negotiate with the aggressor without first securing the vacation of aggression. In its opinion, "India's dogged perservance in trying to argue out the case with China through protracted correspondence has only whetted its expansionist appetite and gradually improved upon its fantastic claims, China has in its latest communication made hold to dispute the entire northern border."

At the time of India's Prime Minister's invitation to Chinese Prime Minister to visit New Delhi as an honoured guest in the second half of March 1960 for talks on the Sino-Indian border question, Jana Sangh felt that the government had revised its declared policy. Vajpayee spelt out that,

191. See Resolution "on Chinese Aggression" passed at the eight annual session of the Bhartiya Jan Sangh at Nagpur, January 1960.

192. Ibid.
"the government policy towards China is going to be changed slowly and the Prime Minister is going to be drifted from his high seat," and added that, "His two persons came before the house — one person is of such an actor, who filling self respect wanted to attack with great honour and the second pose is of such a weak man who has not been defending the country's self conscious. One pose has the shadow of Churchill who begot the Britain war and the second one has the shadow of Chamberlain, who adopting the policy of appeasement, inspired the valour of Hitler." It registered its protest against this policy by observing the week commencing from 27 February as a protest week. And when the Chinese Prime Minister accepted the invitation. The working committee of the party decided to mobilize public opinion to seek an assurance from Mr. Nehru to the affect that he would not surrender Indian's interests in his talks with Mr. Chou en-Lai with this aim in view, the party observed the week from 10 April 1960 to 17th April 1960 as 'No surrender week' throughout the country by organising demonstrations and public meetings. The party deputation met prime minister and got the assurance.


194. Mr. Deen Dayal Upadhyaya in his annual report to the Ninth Annual Session of the B.J.S. at Lucknow on 30 and 31 October 1960 and January 1961, p.4.
The political parties of the country, except Jan Sangh were hardly conscious of the defence needs of the nation. They summarily dismissed threats from Pakistan as fantastic non-sense of a communal mind. This reactions to the boarders violation by Pakistan had always been weak and submissive. The communist China posed a problem for the territorial integrity and inviolability of India was only to dawn slowly on their comprehension. Panchaheed served as a hope to lull leaders and people into a false sense of confidence. But the Jana Sangh is the sole party which reveals its sensitivity to dangers to the country’s security and territorial integrity. The party stood that, "Nor is the northern frontier of Bharat completely secure. Not withstanding her declarations of peaceful co-existence, communist China has made short work of Tibet’s independence and is keeping the country in bondage. Even in her treaty with Nepal, China has not honoured Bharat’s special position in Nepal. Inclusion of Bhartiya territory in China maps (which was latter sought to be explained away as a slip), entry of China force in Burma (which was described as due to misconception) and the activities of people of Chinese origin in the several countries of South East Asia, are pointers to the need of watchfulness on the part of Bharat. And further, the Vajpayee.

suggested when the mention regarding the white paper on Sino-Indian relations was taken into consideration in Parliament. (a) More effective steps should be taken to meet Chinese in roads into Indian territory then hitherto adopted and to this end; (i) China be asked to vacate aggression by a particular date line. (ii) China be informed that negotiations in respect of any border adjustments can be held only subsequent to such vacation, and that two only on the basis of the Mc Mahan Line, and (iii) Circulation of Chinese Maps which have falsely depicted parts of India as Chinese territory, and of Chinese magazines, or other literature, which have been publishing such maps, be banned in India; and immediate steps be taken to reinforce our northern defences and develop transport and communication facilities in border regions for protection of the area.

Presiding over the Eight Annual Session of the B.J.S. in Nagpur on 23 January 1960 Mr. Pitamber Dass not only asked for a firm, honourable, and realistic China policy but urged on the Prime Minister to issue an appeal to the nation over "this crucial issue -- let the Prime Minister give the call. I am sure the nation will respond to a man. There must be no more vacillating talk, and a plan for action must be got ready." But Jana Sangh had to meet the challenge posed

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by China, not only by the valiant armed forces of the country but by all the country-men in what so ever sphere of nationalist activity. They might be working. It expected every Indian to contribute his utmost and prepared for the Supreme sacrifice for the cause of the nation's defence.

A few months later, in August 1960 the same views were expressed at the General Council meeting in Hyderabad when its President demanded military action by India as an "imperative favour, national dignity and our sovereignty," and the party resented that the prime minister had allowed "a clear case of aggression to be converted into just a "boundary dispute: The party stood to call back the ambassador as it did not serve any useful purpose and its continuance there had exposed India's diplomatic and trade personnel to recurring indignities and insult. Further more China has started a campaign of accusation against India, where as the China's embassy had been violating diplomatic privileges and immunities by the publication Anti-Indian material in China today, should be ended.

And in August 1961 Vajpayee decided to take military action against China to chalk out them from our country. He

stood for war for liberation and not to invade other land. He believed that if there is a place for sword in Gandhi’s non-violence, then there must be a place for military action.

Defence:

As regards defence requirements of the country, the Jana Sangh has been very active and vocal even since its birth. And "Looking to the trends of power bloc conflicts and (the) strategic position which India occupies, it is essential that top priority is given to the immediate building up of military strength commensurate with the great needs and resources of the nation. To this end the party will strive to prepare the nation both morally and physically by—

"providing military training to both young men and women on a nation wide scale.

"Full nationalization of all wings of the defence forces in personnel as well as inspiration.

"Creation of a large territorial army.

"Building up of defence industries as fast as possible."

Strength is needed to win peace as much as it is needed to win war. "It is the considered view of Jana Sangh


that the country needs to be awakened to the problems of the country's security, and that top priority should be given to the task of developing defence industries and otherwise militarizing the country.

To strengthen the defence of the country, Shri Mookherjee advocated for the technical advancement in the art of warfare. He opposed to add the unnecessary numbers to the army because he believed that it is the quality and not the quantity which would be able to defend the country in case of emergency. But the government is following a contrary path. He observed, "obviously today any defence arrangements with their name must be dependent on highly technical skill and knowledge and also on the amount of freedom that a country enjoys from its dependence for the supply of essential requirements for keeping its defence in tact.

But to prevent any further incursion by the China, the Jana Sangh suggested that the military potential of the country should be especially augmented and the Himalayan passes through which Chinese incursions had been taking

\[\text{\footnotesize 201. See the Prem Nath Dogra in his Presidential Address to the Third Annual Session of the B.J.S. at Jodhpur 30 December 1954.}\]

place should be effectively fortified; steps should also be taken to create in network of advance bases in the Himalaya's and link them with the plans by road and other media of communications, steps should be taken to revitalize the springs of India patriotism and nationalism, to check communist activities in the border areas; at the same time attention should be paid to the rapid economic development and cultural renaissance of the people to make them immune to communist influence.

"ECONOMIC ATTITUDE"

The party aims at "the establishment of an economic democracy with equal opportunities for development to all and with no chances for any exploitation. To this end it will introduce revolutionary changes in the present economic order. These changes will be in keeping with Bhartiya values of life." It reflects imitation of Russia or America because "the condition of Bharat is different from both U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., it has more men than land, and it is industrially backward. The market for ready goods is limited due to low purchasing power." Rather it seeks to "develop a new economic order suiting the circumstances and needs of Bharat in which there will be full freedom for individual enterprise but economic power shall not be allowed to be concentrated in

a few hands. Nor shall the state be given unlimited powers. This is the way to avoid individualistic capitalism as well as state capitalism and to establish real democracy."

Although originally the party was not opposed to the public ownership of such means of production as one concentrated in a few hands it soon moved away from this position. It expressed opposition to the congress policy of widening the scope of the public sector and curtailing that of the private sector, because "Logically and inevitably, socialism heads to totalitarian state of the monolithic type in which one party reigns supreme, all activities of the state are controlled by the party .... individuals are reduced to the status of mere cogs in the wheel of a vast state machinery which controls all social activities and becomes a leviathan under the pressure of which the people are smothered. A socialist state becomes a slave state; and if socialism does bring about equality, it is equality in slavery and serfdom."

The party is not opposed to state ownership of defence and strategic industries and state regulation of capital goods, and other essential industries. But it supports


205. At the Fifth Annual Session of the B.J.S. at New Delhi December 1956.
private enterprise, especially the small entrepreneur, as a solution to the twin problems of relieving large-scale unemployment and producing goods in short supply. The party thinks that nationalization of industries does not avoid concentration of power. It only shifts the centre of power from private to the state sector.

The party promises to introduce "revolutionary changes" with a view to removing exploitation and reducing inequality by adopting measures such as regulation of large-scale industries and for their decentralization whenever technological factors permit, cooperativisation, labourisation, adoption of suitable fiscal policies and ceiling on income for ploughing back into the economy through investment, loans, charities etc.

Planning

The need for planned economic development is recognized by the Jana Sangh. But it is critical of the composition of the planning commission, the manner and method of planning and the size of the plans. It proposes to reconstitute that the planning commission should be all party commission and not of one party i.e. ruling party commission. And the members of the commission should be experts of their

field and who have experience of handling the practical problems and who can work fearlessly and without partiality. He opposes to include prime minister defence minister and the planning minister in the organisation of planning committee. He believes that they may work within their specified field of their departments and not in planning. The party advocates the association, at the highest level of experts to the exclusion of congress men. Able economists and other social scientists should have the final say in mapping out the plans. Further, the plans should cease to be capital-intensive as they are and become labour intensive, this would serve the purpose of decreasing unemployment.

The composition of the planning commission is related to the nature of planning and to the arrangement made for its implementation. Democratic planning differs from the totalitarian variety in that in the former the social objectives to the attainment of which planning is to be used are decided in a free political process. These have to be accepted by the planning commission as a part of the context against which it has to function. Secondly, in democratic countries, implementation of the plan is not the responsibility of the planning commission but of the general machinery of the government. It is therefore essential for the effective

207. Ibid., 20 November 1957 Vol. 8 No.8 Col. 5547-56
II p.
execution of the plans, that there must be a permanent liaison between the planning body and the ministers of the government. Hence it is necessary that the planning commission should be already consisting of experts as well as politicians. The former have the task of preparing the blue-print of the plan, the latter are charged with providing the philosophy behind the plan. Communicating the plan to the people, and conveying the people's wishes and priorities to the planners. It can not therefore be purely a body of technocrats.

Planning requires a unitary system of government and it is therefore obvious that most of the problems of that the present plan faces are due to the federal structure of our constitution. The plan has to be conditioned by certain generally recognized social and political values. It advocates planning within the frame work of the parliamentary democracy.

Agriculture

The main complaint of the party has been that economic planners have not assigned to agriculture the importance necessary for an orderly development of an economy and that they have paid more attention to the problem of industrialization in India. The Jana Sangh's approach seems to be

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pragmatic for it believes that "so long as programmes of agricultural development and targets of production are not determined, taking into consideration the needs and capacities of each farmer-family, village, and region, these will continue to be unrealistic and being divorced from the specific contribution that each unit has to make towards the attainment of those targets, they can hardly be realized. But the development of agriculture has to be accompanied by a measure of industrialization so that the additional agricultural production may find a market in the cities where industries are growing. With greater industrialization the demand for food as well as raw materials will increase which will help to raise the income in the rural sector. It requires a balanced growth of agriculture and industries.

(1) **Land Reforms:**

As regards the land reform, the party satisfies both the land lords and the tiller by 'giving' land to the tillers and by promising a rehabilitation grant on a graded lines to the Zamindars and Jagirdars. It opposes ejection of the tillers and sought restoration of all lands from which they had been illegally or improperly ejected. It accepts the ceiling on land-fixing the upper limit at 30 acres and the lower at 5 acres of well irrigated lands or its equivalent.

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209. Resolution passed by the B.J.S. at its Sixth Annual Session at Ambalan, 24th April 1958.
210. The party also stands to illegalise the so-called legal transaction, which were made by the poor people due to its poverty.

The party will take step to inspire or enthuse to people to work hard and will consolidate of small scattered holdings and put a check on further fragmentation. The party will provide better seeds and modern methods to Agriculture. Fertilizer will also be provided and more house facilities will be given. Cooperative Bank and schemes for insurance of crops will be carried, modern irrigation means would be developed and some major irrigation projects would be given top priority. It would increase the innate instinct of national services to execute them as a national programme through large bonds of volunteers workers.

The party stood for the utilization of technology in the field of agriculture in such a way that it might provide more employment for the increased population. And it is on this basis that Vajpayee opposed cooperative farming because the tendency of machinising farming will enhance in big field and will increase unemployment among the people.

The party saw in this a cause of widespread disturbances in political and economic structure of rural India. The only result is collectivisation and the denigration of the peasant proprietor to the position of a landless labourer destroying his individual liberty and initiative and thereby strengthening totalitarian trends at the cost of democracy.

It accepts the beneficial contribution of service cooperatives marketing, purchase, and credit and other services like loans of implements etc. which will bring to all holders advantages of large-scale operations through pooled financial resources. It believes that service cooperatives are essentially ancillary to the operations of independent peasant proprietors and should not be perverted to transform independent farmers into wage-earning workers on cooperative farms.

**Cow Protection:**

The party is pledged to the amendment of the constitution for banning the slaughter of the cow, because the cow is a point of honour and a symbol of national unity, besides

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215. See Resolution passed by the Central Executive of the Jana Sangh at New Delhi on 15-16 March, 1959.

216. See all the Manifestoes of the B.J.S.
having been the basis of our economic life all through the ages. Special steps will be taken to improve the breeds of cow to make it an economic unit in our agricultural life.

Industry

Like the other political parties the Jana Sangh also desires rapid industrialization of India with a view to reducing the burden on land and fulfilling the various needs of the people; but it strikes a moral note in seeking to develop an independent technique particularly suited to Indian conditions. Through this technique every family would become a productive unit on the basis of a decentralized system of economy; production would be maximized together with an automatic, and more equitable, distribution of wealth and income.

Small-scale and cottage industries should form the basis of the programme of industrialization. Following the same line of thought, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee speaking in parliament on the resolution regarding review of the industrial policy observed that small-scale industries should be made the basis of industrialization in our country and that co-ordination between the large and small-scale industries should be brought about. He said, "it is my suggestion that it is not enough to help small-scale industries. The fields of production should be decided upon such a way that small scale
industries may develop in an unhampered manner.....To end the competition between the small-scale and large-scale sectors, their spheres of production would be clearly demarcated. Further, these are necessary for the construction of villages and the means for providing employment to people. "There should be a full integration between small-scale industries and large scale industries because this must be the pivot of our further reconstruction." But as far as the big industries are concerned, "there should be more of those industries which are going to manufacture machines. It is imperative that at some time or other we must be free from our independence on foreign economy. So, the basic thing is that we should collect and concentrate all our energies to put them into big industries for the purposes of manufacturing machinery and other essential requirements, so that whatever machinery we need for our essential requirements whatever we need for developing our country will come from our soil and we need not go outside.

"Jana Sangh stands not only for mass production but also for production by masses. It will therefore oppose mechanization of agriculture and other labour-services, which are going to augment unemployment."

217. Vajpayee, A.B., L.S.D. 5 August 1960 Vol.44 No.6 Col. 1194-1199
220. See all the Election Manifestoes of the B.J.S.
The party believes that most of the consumer goods could be manufactured by small-scale industry which should be rationalized with a view to increasing its productivity.

Nationalization:

Jana Sangh stands for nationalization of basic and defence industries. All other industries should be given full opportunity to develop freely subject to state supervision and regulation. Jana Sangh is not opposed to controlling inclination of exploitation in private industries or to equipping the government with powers for raising the resources needed for economic reconstruction but it considers all round nationalization as unnecessary. Because the present tendency to take over more and more industries in state ownership and control is not only harmful for democracy and economic development but it is credited for wastage of public funds and an attitude of indifference to the general public. Mookherjee believed in the policy of laissez-faire and advised to take the undertaking to run through by Government hands only when it came to be closed due to managerial failure and economically desertedness. In such cases he provides a chance of enquiry first.


222. Mookherjee, S.P., L.S.D. 22 April 1953 Vol.4 No.1 Col. 4837-44.
Foreign Companies:

With regard to foreign companies, the party thinks that the combination of Indian and foreign monopoly interest is dangerous to the country and wants, "to work in such a way that we help to encourage the foreign investors to come here, and at the same time we protect Indian national interest." He stands that 51% of the share should be held by the Indians. Not only labourers but the experts and the officer in such concerns should mainly be nationals of Bharat. He observed, I am not against the appointment of any foreigner in India. Not at all, if for any technical job, no Indian is available by all means let the foreigners be appointed, but if they are appointed, these companies should make an attempt and appoint Indians after providing training within a certain prescribed period. But so far as ordinary jobs are concerned which can easily be filled up by Indians, there should be restriction on the appointment of foreigners to these posts. The party also seeks to set a limit. For the foreign companies to the amount of profits remitted outside the country.

Opposition to importing foreign technology is well expanded by its general secretary: "Foreign capital to some extent may be necessary in basic industries. But they are also entering consumer goods industries. Foreign capital is intimately connected with foreign technology. This does not suit us. The fiscal commission (1941-50) wrote, "The industrial pattern that we conceive of will be same where-in between the highly capital intensive production of the west and that followed by cottage industries in the Indian villages. Even loan capital cannot serve the needs of our technology."

Workers:

The party's view on the role of labour in developing economy are radical. It is pledged to make labour a co-sharer in the management and profits of industry. It advocates adequate representation of labour on the board of directors of different concerns. It supports the appointment of a permanent wage board to draw up a pay scale for workers in various industries and revise it from time to time after taking into consideration at the cost of living as also the national minimum. It favours the setting up of industrial tribunals composed of impartial judges whose decision will be binding on both the industrialists and labour. It is of the view...

227. Dean Dayal Upadhyaya on "Foreign Capital" Foreign technology and the Indian way of life. The organizer 3 April 1961. This article elaborates view on Foreign Technology and its impact on the culture of a country.
that during the transition period till the country's industrial production reaches the required level, all strike and lockouts, especially in respect of industries of national importance, should be discovered. It accepts that the state should be responsible for the social security of labour. There should not be retrenchment unless alternative employment is provided. Special allowances should be given to labour engaged in hazardous duties. Contributions from the employers to the state employees. Insurance Scheme should be abolished. As regards women employees, there should be equal pay for equal work. Two months' maternity leave with pay should be allowed to them. The party would take steps to encourage every labourer to join some of the other trade union and defend the rights of labour union. But workers should keep away from active politics and the party allowed to attend the meeting to think what they include in their economic and future programmes.

**Foreign Aid:**

The Jana Sangh welcomes Foreign Aid coming to our country but without any political strings attached to it. Foreign aid should be used for the purpose for which it is meant.

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228. This is based on the two election manifestoes of the Party.

meant. Dr. Mookherjee laid down the pattern of thinking which the party adheres to, to this day. Participating in the discussion on the budget Dr. Mookherjee favoured foreign aid without any political strings attached to it. He continued: "I do not share the view that if India accepts foreign aid, she immediately sells her birth right. I do not accept that view. We are strong enough to resist outside intervention...." and adds that", so long as foreign aid comes unfettered, unconditioned, that is no harm in accepting it.

Taxes:

The Jana Sangh is highly critical of the Government of India's taxation policy. This should be so directed that it lessens inequalities of Income/brings enough revenue to the state for defence and nation-building activities. Mr. Vajpayee endorsed the same view and advised to follow a policy of direct taxation to raise the standard of living of the masses. He also advised to see the capacity of the people of surviving the burden of tax. Believing on this hypothesis, the party advocates revolutionary changes in the system of taxation. It believes in the abolition of taxes on

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the necessities of life since the incidence falls mainly on the common man. It argues that sales tax should be abolished on necessaries and cottage and small-scale production. It is in favour of imposition of uniform rates of sales tax at a single point and of rationalization of the sales tax structure.

Taxes on the so called consumer goods and necessaries, both excise and sales tax, are the major earning heads for the centre and state governments. To ask for their abolition would mean depriving the government of a substantial portion of their revenue. This is not a feasible proposition.

Apart from earning revenue, Excise duties and sales tax have another useful economic function of making commodities costlier, thereby curbing the consumption in the country and increasing the export potentialities of those commodities in order to earn much required foreign exchange.

Following the party lines, Mookherjee stood for a policy of taxes on estate duty on those who represents the rich section of the community. He also stood for the salt tax and tax for donation of charitable purposes. But opposed the postal tax and demands the reexamination of government

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policy prohibition of privy purse and income tax.

For party's deficit finance is a bottom less pit and may disaster for the country and may bring the finance of the country to serious position. The party thinks it suitable for the country which have not man power and have abundance of capital equipment. But in India, which has vast manpower and is want of capital or equipment, it is not suitable because man power may play its part in undoing the financial future of the country. Mockherjee said; "In our country unfortunately the question is want of capital and equipment, manpower is there, and we do not know how to utilize it. Therefore, this obvious difference in the economy of our country may pay its part in undoing the financial future of this country if we depend to much on deficit financing.

"SOCIAL ATTITUDE"

Education & Language

The party contemplates to evolve a new educational pattern capable of blending India's ancient education (Grukhul) modes with modern methods and their technical, vocational, and scientific basis. Education should be free from interference and control by the government; autonomy of educational

institutions and universities should be respected and protected. It accepts that free education should be given to all in the primary stage and to needy students in higher stage.

It seeks to provide facilities for research and instruction in scientific education and aims of establishing technical scientific and multipurpose institutions. It supports a countrywide campaign for adult literacy but has not chalked out a programme for doing so, it has promised encouragement to the study of the Fine Arts and to vocational and technical training, specially in the rural areas, where it should be linked up with the development of cottage industries. To correct a defective system of education, the Jana Sangh holds that the first requisite was", a thorough reorientation of the system of our education in spirit as well as content. It must be a synthesis of ancient cultural system of education with its emphasis on ethical values and character and the modern system with its emphasis on scientific and liberal study, special attention to sanskrit for mental culture and physical education and military training for physical health and inculcation of spirit of discipline in students."

It favours the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the primary stage, use of the regional language as the medium for secondary and higher education up to graduation.

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236. See Resolution "On education passed at the Third Annual Session of the B.J.S. at Jodhpur, Delhi 1954."
Hindi must be in a compulsory subject for study through out and ultimately become the medium for post-graduate and specialized scientific studies.

The party is also opposed to retaining English as an official language for a long time, and favours the introduction of Hindi and the regional languages as official languages in the place of English in their respective sphere within the constitutional time limit, that is, fifteen years from the commencement of the constitution.

Vajpayee, stands that if Hindi is to be given the place of English, English should not be compulsory subject at higher secondary level. All science students should read English compulsory while Hindi should be compulsory subjects for literary students. He also stands for a sanskrit paper in every medium language of India if it is not to be a compulsory subject at higher secondary level, to gain the knowledge of Sanskrit and to increase unity.

Jana Sangh also stands for the development of all regional language. Mockherjee said that "even the constitution provide that Hindi will not thrive at the cost of the regional

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237. See Res. Adopted by the All India Working Committee of the B.J.S. on 8 May 1954.

238. See all the election manifestoes of the J.S.

language. It will be a rumouraday for India if these great Indian languages which have made their contribution to the development of Indian culture as a whole, and some of them also contributed not in insignificant manner to the world culture and civilization, should disappear from the face of free India."

State Re-organization on Linguistic Base:

Jana Sangh is opposed the division of provinces on linguistic base, because of the factors of administration efficiency, security, economic prosperity and the unity of the country, are also very important factor. The party wants only to have districts in place of province without any question of language controversy. But Mookherjee accepts language to be an important consideration in forming provinces. "As I said at the beginning, if the decision of parliament is that there will be no provinces, it is all right," but, "if you have provinces based more or less on linguistic considerations then you must give unit to each particular section of the people so that they may develop an area in accordance with their own traditions and sentiments and add to the national interests and solidarity of India as a whole" and adds that," I stand for a strong central government. Although not suggesting that the powers should be given to the provinces in such

a way that India may be Balkanised..... Far from it, let there be contentment, let there be satisfaction in the minds of each section of the people that they are getting what is their birth's right, and that they are being allowed to contribute the best that they can give to the consolidation of their mother land."

Minorities:

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh does not recognize the concepts of majority and minority in respect of Indians. It has faith in one nation with a single culture. It stands for one country, one nation and one culture. It proposes to cure those sections of our society which due to historical and other reasons have fallen apart and have imbibed some unnational or even anti-national traits, while full freedom of faiths and worship should be guaranteed, the party is opposed to the tendency of dragging religion into politics and of demanding special privileges on that basis.

Atal Behari Vajpayee made the position of the party very clear in the note he circulated among the members of the National Integration Conference, which was convened by the Government of India "All the main political parties must resolve not to have any political alignments with religious

or sectional bodies. Communal or caste considerations must not determine their choice of candidates, to fix a definite proportion of seats to be allotted to candidates of a particular community on the basis of population of that community and to set up candidates of a community from those areas where that community happens to be in a majority are proofs of communal thinking. Candidates ought to be selected on the basis of their merit and their faith in the principles and programme of the party.

"Let the leading political parties also decide not to permit their members to participate in conventions of a communal character with a view to wrestling political or economic interests and privileges for a particular community. If there has really been discrimination against any individual or group, due steps must be taken after the inquiry, but no separate platform must be created for the purpose. The communal politics of the British era must be given no quarter in free and democratic India."

The urge for national integration and unity is so vitally felt that the party supports the demand for surrendering the federal form in favour of a unitary one.

242. For a further elaboration of the Jana Sangh proposal for a unitary form of government with the decentralization of power to the lowest level. See Deen Dayal Upadhyaya's article "The Jana Sangh's election platform". The Organizer, Diwali Issue, 1961.
In the second half of 1961, the country and the government were preoccupied with all important problem of national integration. The government felt compelled to associate the Jana Sangh with the deliberations on national integration, but the party, however, cannot reconcile itself to the charges of communalism levelled against it by the highest in the hand. Mr. Vajpayee was stringently critical of the attitudes of prime minister Nehru and the other Congress leaders and even officially of the Congress for condemning "Hindu communalism" but turning a blind eye and deaf ear to Muslim communalism however blatant it may be. Referring to the Muslim Convention at Delhi in June 1961 he said: "The congress, the communist party, the P.S.P. all allowed their Muslim members to participate in the Conference. Whether they were congressites first, or Muslim first, whether they were Bharatiyas first of Muslim next were questions which appeared of no consequence to the congress. At this conference allegations were made that Muslims are being treated as class II citizens, that they are being discriminated against in an organised manner in government, in education, in trade, in commerce, My pointed question of the Home Minister is : Did not the speeches delivered and decisions taken, at this convention promotes communal feeling in the country? And if they did, why has no action been taken against the sponsors of this meet? Why have the provisions of the Indian Penal Code been kept in abeyance in this matter?....
"The Jana Sangh stands for a secular state which draws no distinctions on the basis of creed. The state should not be prepared to entertain demands made on a communal basis. No one should be permitted to press for separatist demands under cover of minority rights. We have had here a minister demanding reservation in the services for a particular community and threatening that if the communal problems is not solved, India would become a Spain --- Union Minister Mr. Humayun Kabir said so at the Hubli convention and held at a threat of a civil war? This is how a central minister talks? It is an open incitement to violence and an invitation to civil war. But the provisions of the Indian Penal Code become impotent and worthless so far as the things go. They seem to be designated solely for us. Today the congress government appears to be raising this bogey of communalism just to distract public attention from its own short-comings."

Though the congress is wedded to secularism and theoretically denounces communalism in all shape and forms. Yet there is no doubt that it compromises with the principles. Ptamber Dass made it clear in his presidential address in 1960 when he said, "while making the most unreasonable concession to pomper their communalism, the congress has been utilizing Indian Muslim as veritable pawns in its game of

political chess, and to accept Muslim or Christian as minorities, say Vajpayee, would be tantamount to making religion a permanent division line in politics, in economics, in fact, in every walk of social life. Indirectly, this would mean upholding the previous two nations or multi-nations theory."

The Jana Sangh believes in the equal rights of all citizens of India irrespective of caste, creed, or community: Yet it justifies "special efforts to get an equal and honourable treatment to this socially depressed and economically backward sections of the society. As a corollary to this principle, the party stresses the importance of eradicating untouchability and castism, and opposes restriction on the entry of any section of Hindus into temples. In order to improve their conditions, priority should be given to the depressed classes and tribes in the matter of redistribution of land. Their traditional arts and crafts should be developed, arrangements for providing housing and drinking water to them should be made; special facilities for their education should be provided; necessary steps should be taken to link the tribal areas with the cities.

246. See all the manifestoes of the Jan Sangh.
Its concern to refugees and their rehabilitation is easily understandable. After all, the party took birth on this as one of the issue. It considers partitions of the country as a political blunder and is not reconciled to it even today, particularly since Pakistan has failed to protect the Hindus minority there. And the party stands that the refugees should be rehabilitated in the true sense of the term.

The party strongly opposed the government's policy of not encouraging migration of Hindus to India. "This denial of the right of migration goes not only against the repeated assurance given at the time of partition but it also goes against the provisions of the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact of 1950, so that it is a gross betrayal of the Hindu minority in East Bengal. The situation cannot be allowed to continue. The Jana Sangh accordingly demands that the government must at once reverse the policy of stopping the migration of Hindus from East Bengal and must revive all East Bengal Hindus who desire to come over on account of the conditions prevailing that and demanded to rehabilitate these refugees in West Bengal itself and next in congenial areas in Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Tripura, and Manipur, where there were already big Bengali speaking populations.

248. Resolution on Refugees Rehabilitation passed by the B.J.S. at its Sixth Annual Session held in Ambala, April 1958.
Hindu Code Bill:

The party is rather conservative on the issue of the Hindu Code Bill. It is true that social reform should not be brought about as an imposition from above. It should work from within society. Any far-reaching changes such as envisaged in the Hindu Code Bill, therefore, should not be made unless there is a strong popular demand for them and a clear verdict is obtained from the electorate. The party deeply deplored the attitude of the government of India in proceeding with the enactment of the Hindu Code Bill in different forms in the shape of piecemeal legislation like the Hindu Marriage and Hindu succession Acts. Such innovations sought to be introduced by law were opposed not only to the basic concepts of Hindu society, Dharma and culture but also the directive principles and fundamental Rights embodied in the constitution itself. The Jana Sangh would, therefore, repeal the Hindu Marriage and Hindu Succession Acts.

It demanded the enactment of a uniform Civil Code (as enjoyed by the constitution) for all its citizens and considered the said legislation which sought to make discrimination in respect of only one community, as repugnant to the constitutional provisions. The Jana Sangh has continuously


250. Resolution on the Hindu Code Bill adopted by the All India J.S. Working Committee at its meeting held on 14 and 15 April 1955 at (Gokak) near Belgaum Karnataka
stood for removing social and educational disabilities of woman with a view to enabling them to fully discharge their responsibilities to the family, society and nation; the party promised to afford them full and equal opportunities in every field. It has further advocated enlarging the property rights of women subject to an important provision that "the age-old scientific principles of social organisation should not be altered nor be fundamentally change.

(iv) "THE SWATANTRA PARTY"

**Foreign Policy**

The Swatantra Party, like the Jana Sangh, believes that a country's foreign policy should be based on its enlightened self-interest and should aim at furthering the national interest. It believes that the preservation of the country's territorial integrity and national sovereignty should be of paramount consideration. But, unlike, the Jana Sangh, it stands for and advocates a total surrender of non-alignment and linking up with the West. At the first National Convention of the Party in Patna, Professor Ruthnaswamy won

(Continued footnote from the previous page)

see also manifesto & constitution B.J.S. Bombay: Sivaji Printing Press 1951.


applause when he declared that the policy of neutrality or non-alignment has become odious. "Neutrality, according to all international experience, is feasible only as long as one's neutrality is respected. But when a foreign power, with which one has concluded pacts of peace or peaceful coexistence, invades one's territory, neutrality falls to the ground. Neutrality having failed to prevent aggression, the only alternative foreign policy is one of alliance —- alliance with those who can hold one to defend the integrity of one's country. The Swatantra Party calls for such an alliance, first with our immediate neighbour in South Asia, Pakistan included, and if necessary with free nations of the world. There should be no difficulty in changing over to this policy as it is one recommended by historical experience. Neutrality, even if you call it dynamic neutralism is a fair-weather policy."

China:

More than ten years earlier, Mr. M. R. Masani, general secretary of the party, had warned that "the invasion of Tibet was the first step towards the invasion of India", a warning which went unheeded. The birth of the party synchronized with China's silent incursions; and no opportunity was missed of attacking the government on its failure to take the people into confidence. "I do not know", said Mr. Masani in the Lok Sabha, "if the full consciousness of its implications
has sunk into the mind of our country yet, but I do say this in all humility that the prime minister will have a heavy responsibility before the bar of history for the action of which he has been guilty." And adds that, "I say it was criminal negligence on the part of our government at least not to get a quid pro quo ——— But on the point of sheer national interest and cold-blooded foreign policy. When you sold out Tibet, should you not have asked in return for a guarantee of MacMohan and Laddakh frontiers before you accepted the conquest of Tibet, thereby removing a valuable buffer? Why was that not done. I do not want to be uncharitable. I hope it is not too unkind to suggest that it was not done because the people of India would not have tolerated this policy of appeasement and longer if they had known the facts."

He denounces the government for its idea that any action against China would be an action of war and deviating from the policy of non-alignment. But his faith is that to defend our territory is not to wage war and to throw out bandits from our territory is not an act of war. It is just police action in our own territory. He is certainly abide by non-alignment, and does not suggest any thing against it. But, "by non-alignment, is it meant that we cannot repel any attack on our


254. Ibid.
own territory? Is it non-alignment against ourselves also? Are we neutral against India? What is the meaning of non-alignment when we are being attacked by another power? Non-alignment certainly involves defence of one’s own territory, if you like, by one self.

"Secondly, non-alignment does not mean that we cannot equip our forces adequately — so equipping an army with arms obtained from other countries is completely consistent with non-alignment;"

"Thirdly, non-alignment is not inconsistent with the capability to recognise a dangerous-neighbour. Non-alignment does not mean that we keep our own people in the dark."

"Finally, non-alignment does not mean that when our people show patriotism, the prime minister should advise otherwise. He has been selling our people. Instead of leading them in a crusade he has been attacking there, instead of attacking the outside aggressor."

The party's opposition to non-alignment persists, speaking on the international situation on 31 August 1960 Mr. N.C. Ranga stated that, "we should strength a way begin to search for other friends, other allies, and think in terms of

pacts and other things. But it is high time that we should, first of all, be able to tell the rest of the world that we are no longer uncommitted. We are no longer wedded to that policy of non-alignment, we are not willing to take any sides in this cold war. We are not responsible for this cold war at all... but when it comes to the continuation of the policy of non-alignment, touch me not and so on, then I can only say that we cannot afford to continue with that."

The Swatantra Party is opposed to communism. It is uncompromising in its criticism of the government of India's foreign policy, in which in its opinion, was responsible for the silent incursion and occupation of Indian soil by the Chinese. Clearing out the party position in this regard, M.R. Masani said that, "we are up against an expansionist imperialist communist power of the most ruthless kind, a power that has before our eyes murdered our neighbouring country of Tibet, a power that under the guise of volunteers invaded the republic of South Korea, a power that even today is infiltrating through its North Vietnam satellites regime into the country of Laos, a power that is striving to expand in every possible directions."

256. Ranga, N.G., L.S.D. 31 August 1960 Vol. 46 No.30 Col. 5992-6001 I.S.

The party also opposed the prime minister Nehru's policy of invitation to Chinese Prime Minister to come to India and to negotiate on border's issues. The faith of the party is clear from the Masani's words. He stated, "The Chinese communist regime does not believe in negotiations and it has been never negotiated in good faith till now. Every promise which it has made, it has violated, whether in Tibet or else where, for the Chinese communists regime negotiation is an act of war, an act of war at the conference table, a continuation of war by other ways.

The party also stood for a strong policy against China and opposed a weakneed policy of appeasement which has been followed by the governments. The party wants to maintain vigilence against the possibility of further appeasement and capitulation to the claims of communist China. "This invitation is the result of a complete bankruptcy..... Masani observed "The continuation of that weak policy, the policy of appeasement which found its expression in the latest communcation will take this country farther away from our goal."

To party, the respected opposition to military alliances of congress, is meaningless. In the face of the aggressive

258. Ibid.
259. Ibid.
intentions and activities of some of our neighbours, proper
defence alliances with reliable powers are not only expedient
but legitimate:. The party regards communist China and the
U.S.S.R. as the principal threats to freedom in Asia and
calls for the building up of a system of regional security
by the countries of South and South East Asia, Japan and
Australia in which it would like to see India play its proper
part. Masani stated, "let us form a regional organization of
the countries of South and South East Asia and let that organ-
ization invite assistance of aid from other parts of the
world as that the independence of judgement and the independ-
ence to foreign policy of any single country is not endangered
in the slightest." And added that, "I am suggesting a regional
organisation of the countries of south and south east Asia
for common security and defence --- I am saying that the
uncommitted countries of Asia, like Burma, Indonesia and
Ceylon and others should be asked to come and sit with us to
find out as to what can be done for the greater security of
the region from external aggression. Let such a group --- it
will not be a military bloc, it will be a group for common
consultation, be the channel through which foreign equipment
can come into the country without foreign troops or without
foreign interference." Professor Ranga advocated the severing
of diplomatic relations with China putting a stop to sponsoring

260. Ibid.
China's claim to a seat in the United Nations, changing the policy in regard to Tibet and championing its right/regain its lost national freedom and not going to claim control over her so called five fingers, the five fingers being Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Laddakh and NEPA.

**Pakistan:**

Swatantra party believes that normal and friendly relations between India and Pakistan are required in the interest and security of the entire sub-continent. Professor Ranga uttered that, "we are glad this dispute is coming to a close, but we would like this approach to be extended to the various other aspects of the relations between Pakistan and India ... because if we really want to develop our own social economy in our country we should certainly try to minimise the points of friction between Pakistan and Indian and in that way save quite a lot of expenditure on defence forces and also have peace of mind on these frontiers. So that we can in a better way face the other adversaries who have shown themselves on our frontiers.

"ECONOMIC ATTITUDE"

The party stands for full scope to private enterprise and favours curtailing the sphere of the state. It is totally

261. Ranga, Professor N.G., L.S.D. 4 December 1961 Vol.60 No.12, Col. 3014-21 C.I.

262. Ibid.
opposed to socialism, particularly as stressed in India. All
its spokes men are agreed on this issue. Its most respected
leader Mr. C Raja, Gopalachari is a staunch supporter of
unrestricted individual freedom, which cannot be had under
any form of socialism. He stands for having a party wedded to
the freedom of economic enterprise: "The Swatantra party
stands for the protection of the individual citizen against
the increasing tress passes of the state. It is an answer
to the challenge of the so-called socialism of the Indian
congress party. It is found on the conviction that social
justice and welfare can be attained through the fostering
of individual interest and individual enterprise in all fields
better than through state ownership and government control.
It is based on the truth that bureaucratic management leads
to loss of incentive and waste of resources. Where the state
tresspasses beyond what is legitimately within its promise,
it just hands over the management from those who are interested
in frugal and efficient management to bureaucracy which is
untrained and uninterested except in its own survival.

"The Swatantra Party is founded on the claim that
individual citizens should be free to hold their property and
carry on their profession freely and through binding mutual
agreements among themselves and that the state should assist
and encourage in every possible way the individual in this
freedom, but not seek to replace him."

Apart from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. M.R. Masani and Professor N.G. Ranga are the two brains behind the party's economic thinking. Both these erstwhile socialists today are opposed to the socialist pattern of society, "as enunciated and advocated by the congress party, "whatever that ill defined phrase, the Socialist pattern of society, may mean, it has only resulted in the accretion of power to the Congress Government. The Congress has become the major beneficiary of the vast network of bureaucratic regulations and controls which stifle individual initiative and enterprise and cheat the prudent people of their savings through indirect taxation and inflation. The Swatantra party believes that the key to prosperity through freedom is in increased production and that any measure which restricts production is anti-social. If a socialist pattern of society is one in which the state becomes the most powerful capitalist, the Swatantra party is certainly opposed to it." Their belief is that history reveals that people in totalitarian countries have been enslaved in the

263. See why Swatantra? (Bombay : Central Office, Swatantra Party, p.3) also see Jhan Gian Motilal, A. Quoted in the Jana Sangh and Mr. Swatantra Party, A profile of the Rightist Parties in India, Bombay, 1967 p.lil.

name of socialism. In the post-war world, several democratic countries have become disillusioned with socialist promises.

Planning

There is a general impression in the country that the Swatantra party is totally opposed to planning. In fact, we find that the party (though opposed to socialisation) does believe in planning but has its own conception of it, and in Masani's views, "the issue is not between planning and non-planning. The issue is between one kind of planning and another kind of planning, one kind of regulation and another kind of regulation. We must have regulation;" He rejects the current pattern of centralized and top-heavy planning of the soviet-type, being directed and commanded from above. "There is a basic confusion lying at the root of this. You cannot make a communist economy, a command economy, co-exist with a parliamentary democracy. Sooner or later one or the other will have to go."

The party accepts democratic planning through persuasion as in France, Britain and the Scandinavian countries. Professor, N.G.Ranga would rather associate with Mr. Nanda, Union Minister for Home Affairs in preparing a Gandhian Plan, which has, "for its foundation dharma, a plan that is based on the initiative of our people, a plan that stands for self-

employment and security of our people, a plan that believes in our people. Mr. Masani, again, is not against planning as such, but against the efforts made, "to foist on the people of this country the soviet pattern of state capitalism." He has been the severest critic of planning and its implementation in the country. He also criticized former prime minister Nehru and his undiminished faith in Planning. In this connection he made a reference of a letter which was written by Gandhiji to Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur on the subject of Pandit Nehru's Planning on date 29 June 1939, when the planning commission was just being set up. This was what Gandhiji wrote: "I have advised you about Jawahar Lal's invitation. In my opinion, the whole of his planning is a waste of effort. But he cannot be satisfied with anything that is not big." The ex-congress men harked back to Gandhiji, and Gandhian principles are prescribed by party spokesmen; agriculture, small scale industries, large scale consumer goods industries and best of all, "those white elephants, the steel plants, which are the most unremerative that this country can afford?"
"Against that command economy they put before the country the concept of decentralised economic power that Gandhiji had at heart that is the economic power is divided and a little particle is given to every man, woman and child in the country.

On the other hand, Professor M. Ruthnaswamy solemnly declared that the party holds the view that the state should not be a producer of wealth but should content itself with fostering the conditions helping to the production of wealth by individuals and voluntary corporations of individuals, it is against planning, that is planning for the whole economic and social life of the country for all purposes big and small, first thing and last things and all things together for five years at a time."

The party has spoken of dismantling the planning commission in its present form because it has threatened to become a parallel executive and unknown to the constitution of the country, the party will therefore seek to replace it by expert advisory bodies which can deal with the specialized problems relating to agriculture, industry, labour and other field.

Agriculture:

Having taken birth on the issue of opposition to co-operative farming as advocated by the congress, it is only natural that the party gives top priority to agriculture. The party has naturally set its face against joint co-operative farming. It does desire land reforms but considers the Nagpur Resolution as three pronged attack on the way of life in the Indian village: the imposition of ceiling on land holdings, the attempt to establish state monopoly in the whole sale trade in food grains, and joint co-operative farming which was in reality an attempt at introducing collective farming of the soviet-chinese type. Its opposition was based on the belief that Joint Co-operative Farming would seriously compromise the individuality of the farmer and reduce him to the position of a hired labourer and seek his initiative. It apprehended that this would lead to a collectivist economy under a thorough going bureaucratic management. Irrespective of whether a country is under-developed or not, greater food production can be achieved only by offering material incentives to the farmers and through psychological persuasion and not by resorting to measure which destroy ownership and distrubs the even tenor of rural life. However, the formation of service-co-operatives may be encouraged so as to make possible voluntary co-operation in tackling the common problems
of the production, storage, and marketing of food grains."

Further Masani thought it a mistake because the peasant of India will find that a very dangerous attempt will be made to snatch their lands away from them under the slogan of Joint-co-operative farming. The party thinks that the agriculturist has such a great attachment to his land that to part with it is to lose one's most valuable possession, both psychologically and materially. Professor N.G. Ranga cleared this party image that so-called co-operative and voluntary co-operative can only lead to compulsion. And the question of imposing ceiling cannot be for purpose of satisfying ideological fads of government. Because the government want to remove all differences between the people who own land whether they are small or big and those who do not own any land at all, so that the people led the Indian villages will be on the same footing and thus want to achieve equality. As regards the agriculture labourers, the is not opposed to the present proprietorship or their self employment, and is not opposed to small holders, on the other hand prepared to place these hundred million acres which are still in possession of government to be distributed among the land less people, and

270. Swatantra Party : Your Question answer. Ibid., p.11.


we want that more and more of these land less people should become land-owners in their own right and become self-employed persons in their own right and we are not going to condemn these to more wage earnership in the cooperative farms."

Co-operative farming creates wage labour and provide such management which assume such powers which are beyond democracy. And the ordinary share holders are not really able to arrest themselves and exercise and achieve democratic rights and also obtain democratic benefits from the working of co-operatives. Therefore, he thought that, "it would be the primary duty of this government as well as the state governments to give the highest priority, the sole priority indeed in regard to co-operation, to the vitilisation of all these existing co-operatives and organising a many more in those particular sections of co-operative efforts, and in that way, providing more and more of these services in a cooperative manner.

Co-operative is very costly that, "we wanted to liberate our peasant from the clutches of the money lenders. And this is the way in which co-operative have turned themselves into more money landers.

Therefore, he suggests that it would be wise on the part of the government to concentrate on the development of
co-operatives on the service line. They should improve the working to the extent that they are cooperative at present, then they should provide them with the necessary properly trained persons and should assure them sufficient credit.

**Industry:**

The party believes in a "decentralized distribution of industry throughout the countryside." While recognizing the need for a certain amount of urbanization and organized industry, it favours the idea of taking industries to the villages especially since electricity is being introduced in rural areas. "The party stands for the preservation of the freedom of the small and self-employed artisans, craftsmen, and traders and will work for a decentralized distribution of industry."

Mr. N.G. Ranga did not believe that power should come in few hands. He also opposed that financial and political powers should not concentrate in the hands of the government. The faith was that when the police power is confined with economic power and when the policemen and the judge and the factory-owner becomes one, then there would be no appeal to bring them to justice which is possible in private enterprises.

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274. Ibid.

when the government and the community would be on top to pull them to justice. He stood for triary system of industries that is large, medium and small scale industries. Medium and small scale industries, and some of the basic industries have to run by private sector. He put all such industries and factories under state enterprise as to serve the public interest. He uttered that, "can we not possibly have some basic industries, do we not want triary industries, medium scale industries, cottage industries and so on. Any thing to be developed only in the state sector? I say, no, they should be developed also in the private sector.

The Swatantra Party requires the balanced development of these branches of industries and of agriculture, Masani cleared this by saying that, "we are for a well balanced, all round development. We believe that there should be heavy industries, that there should be industrialization, but it has to go side by side with the development of the agricultural base and the development of light industries to supply the needs of the people.

He stood for the free competitive enterprises and there should be no control and no restriction that any one wanting to produce any thing should be able to do so without

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going to the government for a licence, which creates monopolies and wishes the private sector able to exploit the consumers. "The bulk of the private sector does not deserve a part on the back for its behaviour any more than the government does. Therefore, it is an unholy alliance between the state capitalists and some private capitalists against which we have to fight on behalf of the interests of the middle class and the peasantry of the country." 

He favoured the joint stock and co-operation of the people if they are sincere in their desire to help all kinds of genuine cooperative, because joint-stock enterprise is the application of the principle of co-operation to industry and business. He also stood for their minimum control and much freedom as much as possible for this function, because they are grown citizens knowing what they are about and are the best judges of their own interest than the bureaucrats and politicians in the office.

The party opposed to monopoly whether of the state or the free sector; and hence would seek to terminate the privileges enjoyed by the life insurance corporation and, in certain fields of trade, by the state trading corporation. It would

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279. Ibid., 16 November 1960 Vol. 47 No.3 Col. 653-676 C.A.Bill.
restrict state enterprise to the field of heavy industries whenever essential in order to supplement private enterprise and such national services as the railways. The Swatantra Party is altogether opposed to nationalisation in industry and trade. It believes that government should not actively participate in industry and trade; its role should be that of a guide, friend, and philosopher and not that of an owner or a dictator. It should be a helper and a regulator and not a direct manager. It is this reason that Professor Ranga is not totally opposed state trading in export and import. He did not want to abolish it but, "would like the state trading corporation to justify its existence not merely by showing to us that it is making such and such profits, but also by standing the competition of private trade and in that way demonstrating into our people that it is capable of serving our consumers and also the industrial development of our country, by competing in an efficient manner with similar enterprises in our export and import trade.

Nationalization

It is only to be expected that the party is opposed to nationalization which is according to it only another name for confiscation and expropriation of property." It has a

280. To prosperity through freedom, Ibid., p.17.

telling slogan: The business of government is not business but governance." It is convinced that people's enterprise can run industry more efficiently and profitably than the government, with its bureaucratic attitude, its red tape and its lack of managerial skills. Realizing that the modern state cannot be the laissez-faire state, it wants to restrict economic functions of the state to the adoption of corrective and regulatory measures to curb anti-social activities. At best, it might act as a catalytic agent in the development of the economy. Moreover, "the government should restrict itself only to providing the infrastructure for industrial development and choose to enter the field of industry only where private enterprise is either unable or unwilling to do so."

So far as the private sector is concerned, the party stands for individual freedom against state and other compulsions. From the principle stems the attitude of the party towards all forms of activity like industry, agriculture, trade etc. It is with a view to opposing the statism of the congress government that the party came into existence. Therefore, it must stand for the encouragement of the private sector a system of free people's enterprise restrained as well as enriched and reinforced by a sense of social objection.

Nevertheless, it does not demand abolition of the public sector.

**Foreign Capital:**

The Swatantra party is not opposed to foreign capital coming to India. In fact it is one with the ruling party when it recognizes the need for foreign capital coming to India for many years to come. But it favours foreign capital coming to our country in the form of equity capital and not in the form of foreign loans, which it considers as a burden on the country. This point of view was ably presented by Mr. Masani on the floor of the House when he mentioned that if India borrowed money from foreign governments, she had to repay the capital and interests, irrespective of whether she used the money profitably or otherwise, whereas in the case of foreign equity capital, a foreigner brought money at his own risk. If he made a profit he could take it out of the country. If he incurred a loss he lost his money. "We want foreign capital, but we want foreign capital to come at its risk and not at the risk or at the cost of the interest of this country."

**Taxation:**

The party is the only party that stands for the removal of direct taxation policy. It is highly critical of the

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taxation policy of the ruling party. It stands for enforcing a drastic reduction in the present excessive burden of taxes which hamper production and employment. Following the party's views, Masani opposed the government which has imposed the heavy load of taxes on rich masses in the name of equality of socialist pattern of society. He thought inequality necessary for life, which is a necessary evil to be tolerated for progress within earlier limits and under certain control and regulations. Obviously he opposed the government policy of direct taxation, which has touched the saturation point and no further increase was possible for the capital formation. He suggests not to follow a Russian type of taxation system, but allow to follow it in the particular regard of economic realism, that in the country's capital forces should be taxed with a view that the vital process of capital formation must not be impeded or retard. Further the capital formation depends on private profits, and no government would be possible unless there was private profits which enable the government to draw taxes. He also believed that more in money should be left with the people to fruitify in their pockets so that saving money be accumulated and incentive must be given. He would limit taxation to reasonable proportion so that money is left to fruitify in the pockets of the people to be denoted the investment.


Party thinks Deficit finance and inflation as an anti-social measure, while hits the poorest of all proportion to the capacity to bear the losses. There is no doubt in that indirect taxation on wage, goods and industrial raw materials is going to set inflation at a galloping rate. Indirect taxation as much as an inflationary weapon as deficit finances. But inflation means misery and starvation to the people in which people are being cheated of their money. But Masani suggested to avoid this inflation and deficit financing by investing in the industries agriculture and by allowing people to have their own way of investment. Then agriculture and industries would give higher returns and saving would come voluntarily.

"SOCIAL ATTITUDE"

The Swatantra Party believes that in a democracy political parties should not bind their members on every thing that affects the individual and the body politic. Rather it allows its members to hold independent opinion on all matters except these that are included in its statement of principles.

286. Ibid., 7 March 1960 Vol.40 No.21 Col. 4516-29 G.No.
287. Ibid., 24 August 1960 Vol.45 No.18 Col.4649-66 III P.
288. See Statement of Principles of the Swatantra Party adopted at the preparatory convention held at Bombay 1,2 August 1959.
As a result of this, party leaders follow their own point of view in many matters. This principle however, strikes at the very root of the unity and discipline of the party. But the party insists on its members sharing a common ideology regarding certain fundamental principles which are mainly economic. But here are the matters that are included in the statement of policy.

Education

The Swatantra Party recognizes the need for introducing a spiritual element in education with a view in providing adequate background of human values for future citizens. It stands for the autonomy of Universities and other academic institutions and the vindication of the fundamental right of every citizen to educate his children according to his choice in a free atmosphere untrammelled by official directives. It rejects measures like the nationalization of text books and advocates the establishment of central universities for maintaining common academic standards throughout the country and raising the status and remuneration of professors and teachers on a uniform basis, so that their movement from one region to another is not impeded.

Its attitude to students and politics is worth noting. Indian students should acquire some knowledge of the various schools of political thought in the country before graduation,
but should keep themselves aloof from active politics. The party, while favouring the formation of study circles and college unions among the students is opposed to the idea of the formation of political groups inside universities and colleges.

Though it does not have any official stand on language its president, Professor Ranga, expressed himself in favour of universities concentrating on their local or regional languages as the first language in their universities because there happen to be the mother tongues of the people in their respective places. But at the same time if we do not lay equal stress on the need for our students being taught in Hindi and English, we are likely to throw open the doors for national disintegration."

In his opinion, teachers, lecturers and professors should not enter legislatures while in service, if they want to be true to their own conscience do also to enjoy their freedom of speech. The Swatantra Party, in like the Jana Sangh believes that the knowledge of ancient India and its traditions has much to contribute to the development of physical and social sciences of the present day. Thus there is great

290. Ranga, N.G., L.S.D. 7 August 1961 Vol.56 No.1 Col. 238-244.
291. Ibid.
similarity between the views of the Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party on education as both believe in synthesising the principles of ancient Indian and modern education.

Property:

The Swatantra Party revolves on the right to property. Favouring "Minimum interference by the state" in all areas the Swatantra Party demands "Freedom of party", just compensation for any property compulsorily acquired, and to this end "strict adherence to the basic constitutional rights", to be protected by the full play of the powers of Judicial review given to the courts by the constitution."

The party believes in Gandhiji doctrine of trusteeship while in gist, means, that the rich are to be left in possession of their wealth but they must regard themselves not as owners but as trustees of their wealth and use it for the benefit of society as a whole, taking for themselves no more than a fair return for service rendered.

292. See Statement of Principles of the Swatantra Party adopted at the preparatory convention held at Bombay on 1 and 2 August 1959.