CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION
The Congress had struggled hard and made stupendous sacrifices, underwent staggering suffering to win freedom of India. The freedom that was acquired had been broad-based on the four corner-stones of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice and people's democracy has been raised for the glory of mankind. It was further widened by the integration of all the native States into the new democratic set up.

After full discussions and consultations, through the seventh Constitutional Amendment, the States were reorganized in which the division of States were abolished. Now there are only States and Union Territories. These linguistic States were principally accepted by the Indian National Congress, prior to the Independence. All the Opposition parties were in agreement with the creation of linguistic States.

The preservation of internal order and peace is the primary and basic function of any Government. Unfortunately law and order have failed in the country and that people's lives and property are not safe from the attacks of violent mobs. This is, however, not a new phenomenon. It has been there in some form or the other at the time we became free. It has assumed larger and more alarming proportions today. It is quite true that a certain degree and kind of direct action is consistent with democracy, but no Government should tolerate direct action accompanied by large scale violence as has been the case all along, here. It is the people those who suffer from this State of affairs. The Indian National Congress and all the Opposition parties realise the gravity
of the situation and tried to cure and improve the prevailing situation, the only exception is the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which welcomes it as a growing sign of popular discontent with the Congress rule and puts forward the strange thesis that violence is all on the part of Police. There is nothing surprising in this attitude. The Communists believe in violence. It is a part of their creed that real social change cannot be brought about except through the use of force.

This breakdown of law and order is only one aspect of the administrative breakdown in the country. There are other facts to it. Laws are made but not enforced. The failure of prohibition is a case in point. Now almost all the State Government's have relaxed the policy of prohibition. Failure regarding procurement of foodgrains and distribution is another. The legislation regarding the ceilings on land has become practically a dead letter in many states because of administrative incompetence and corruption.

There has also been a fall in administrative morale. Government employees are more busy with the assertion of their rights than with the discharge of their duties, corruption is widespread. It extends from the highest to the lowest, Vigilance Commission have not proved effective in reducing it.

The Congress Government appointed the Administrative Reforms Commission and in accordance of the recommendation forwarded by the Commission, the Government is introducing the bill to appoint Lok Pals and Lok Auktas. They will take
the proper measures accordingly. Both sections of Communist Party of India are not worried much because they believe that administrative breakdown would certainly result in chaos and make a leftist triumph easier. The Jan Sangh wants to put an end to corruption; it proposes to constitute a high power commission of enquiry into all such cases. The SSP pleads for judicial enquiry into charges of corruption. The P.S. P. has assails the corruption.

In almost all countries of Asia and Africa, the newly formed Governments have taken to some kind of economic planning. The same is the case with the Congress Government in India. The Congress Party believes in the total planning of the country's economy with the implication that the Central Government should mobilise all the resources available material as well as human for co-ordinated economic development. By the planned development, the Congress has been able to take economy of the nation by steps and stages on the road to progress and the assessment of the three Five Year Plans is that our economy. It was initially stagnant, stepped on to the stage of development, then gained the momentum of growth turned to reach the stage of reliance. It may be that the plan performance has not been adequate. Nevertheless, it has taken the economy to a momentous march and there is no halting on the way.

In this respect, the two wings of the C. P. I. do not differ from the Congress on the other hand, they want much more to planning that what the Congress is prepared for. The
C. P. I wants to replace the plan by alternative people's plan. Such a plan would be worked out with the co-operation of democratic parties, patriotic economists, experts and the people's with the objective of self-reliance, rapid growth, democratisation of the entire economy, social justice and people's welfare. According to the CPM, the failure of the development plan is the failure primarily of political leadership. It is futile to talk of planning if it is not socialist planning. The ISP also believes in planned economic development, but its emphasis is 'on the base and not on the apex'. It will decentralise planning and give a more important role to the administration at the district and village level. This does not make its planning very much different from the Congress as the latter also believes at least in theory in planning from below through the panchayati raj bodies. The SSP spells out planning as its foundation.

The Jan Sangh is also prepared to work on the basis of planned economy, although it is convinced that the three plans which functioned hitherto, were complete failure. The purpose of its plan will be to lay the foundation of self reliant, prosperous and egalitarian economy. For this, it will prepare not a five year plan but a plan of longer duration indicating only the broad outlines and leaving the details to the executors. It will replace the present Planning Commission by small committee of experts who will prepare a perspective plan.

The Swatantra Party has been opposed to planning of centralised character. It condemns what it calls the
coercive type of planning associated with Soviet Russia.

Planned economy as conceived by the Congress, the Communist and the Socialist parties goes with the idea of mixed economy consisting of public and a private sector with former continuously widening. It results in the nationalisation of a much of economy as possible. In spite of the low profits accruing from the public sector enterprises, the Congress believes in a dynamic and growing public sector as an important tool for a socialist transformation of society. It also pursued to widen the scope of the co-operative movement. The Congress has earlier nationalised the Imperial Bank as well as fourteen leading Commercial Banks with the life Insurance and the General Insurance Companies, so that they better serve the society than the individuals. The PSP also stands for nationalisation of banking and general insurance with a view of getting a more adequate supply of capital for industrial purposes. The SSP pleads even to nationalise textile industry. The CPI is for nationalisation of banking, insurance, textiles, sugar and oil industry owned by foreign companies. The CPI (Marxist) speaks of a selective nationalisation and its scheme comprises wider field.

The Jan Sangh is on the whole opposed to nationalisation. It believes in a mixed economy with private sector playing a relatively greater role. It is against nationalisation of banking in particular and existing private sector industries in general.

In this regard the Swatantra Party is at one with the
Jan Sangh. It is definitely of the view that the widening of the public sector has resulted in the stagnation of our economy. It believes that there can be significant moral and material progress only when the creative potential of individual efforts and enterprise is released, developed and harnessed for the common good. It is only when the investment market is resorted to its vigour and more freedom given to private enterprise that there will be real economic development.

The shortage of food is the most serious of problems which the country has faced. All our schemes in the field have failed.

The Congress pursued the land policies, during the three plans were introduced through agarian structure. Land ceilings have been fixed. Law of tenancy have also been enacted. It thinks that there should be improvement in the implementation of the legislation already enacted. The Government has issued the directive to the States in this regard. It also places more emphasis on the improvement of minor irrigation projects instead of concentrating major and medium sized ones. It pursues a policy of embarking on a scheme of modernization of agriculture with greater effectiveness. It makes adequate provision for the supply of fertilizers, improved seeds, pesticides and credit as well as up to date tools and implements. It adopted more vigorous measures to free cultivators from the shackles of the local moneylenders and supplying him with credit and marketing facilities through strengthening the co-operative movement.
The C. P. I. and CPI (M) pleads for more drastic land legislation, ceiling at a lower figure, expropriation of big landlords and the distribution of land among the landless and the smaller peasant, drastic reform of land taxation, fixation of prices profitable to the producer and levy of food.

The PSP believes in a revision of land laws, making the tiller the owner of the land, abolition of land revenue and replacing it by an agricultural income tax, guaranteeing a reasonable price to tiller, reduction of charges for irrigation and the creation of a land army to reclaim land and cultivate it. The SSP advocates reforms more or less on these lines, though it stresses the importance of co-operative forming to a greater extent. The PSP wants to abolish food Zones. The Jan Sangh believes in peasant proprietorship.

The Swatantra is against all forms of co-operatives and collective farming. It is also for abolishing all compulsory levies and all Zonal and other barriers to the free movement of agricultural products.

The Jan Sangh pleads for development of forests and more important than this, it urged to amend the Constitution and imposed a legal ban on the slaughter of the cow and its progeny. The need for such a ban is also recognised by the Congress Governments. The danger however is it may give rise to certain communal suspicions which have to the alloyed.

The Government of India's industrial policy since independence has been shaped broadly in the terms of Industrial policy Resolution of 1948. That resolution emphasised clearly that responsibility of the Government in the matter of promot-
ting, assisting and regulating the development of industry in the national interest. It envisaged for the public sector increasingly active role. The 1948 Resolution were reviewed in the light of the experience gained. From the adoption of the socialist pattern of society as the national objective require that all industries of basic and strategic importance, on the nature of public utility services, should be in the public sector. The C.P.I. (Marxist) belittle the advance made in industrialisation and the States that all advance made has only resulted in strengthening the American imperialist hold on the country. The party has demanded nationalisation of all big enterprises without compensation, encouragement of medium and small scale enterprises and industrial co-operatives and assistance to State, Governments for taking over weak factories. The CPI stands for comprehensive programme of industrial development in which the public sector must have commanding position. It should be extended to the field of big consumer and export industries. The FSP believes in the nationalisation of all basic and key industries. Public sector enterprises should be reorganised so as to serve as an effective instrument of democratic socialism. The SSP pursued the same policy more or less. The Jan Sangh wants industrialisation but it should be labour-intensive and not capital intensive, as is the case today. "Swadeshi" is its motto and it undertakes to delicence all industries that can be started with internal resources. The Swatantra Party welcomes industrialisation provided it is mostly left in the hands of the private sector. The difference between the parties who advocates it as a part of the public sector and
those who emphasize the importance of private sector is wide.

The Congress recognizes the seriousness of the problem of unemployment and it depends upon the comprehensive programme of decentralized industry. The C.P.I and socialist parties have no constructive suggestions of specific character on this subject. The same is in the case of Jan Sangh and Swatantra.

There has been a great deal of legislation to ensure that progressive labour has a fair deal. Apart from this, other reasonable conditions of work and minimum social security and institutionally established facilities for labour participation in management, is accepted. But there is a great deal of confusion about how to decide the representation of the labour. It is yet to be implemented. The CPI (Marxist) and the other socialist parties, accept that they all welcome the strengthening of trade unionism and collective bargaining. The CPI stands to wage as agreed upon the tripartite agreement and wages and working conditions will be decided on a national and industrial level by means of collective bargaining. The Jan Sangh pleaded to provide labour with a share in profits and management. While the Swatantra Party supports the worker's right of organization and collective bargaining, increasing association with management and a fair deal.

The better treatment of labour and assigning to it an honoured place in the running of industries have now become recognised items in the programmes of all parties.
One of the more serious problems facing the country is one which has ruined the middle class and created unrest among all sections of the people. This is an inevitable accompaniment of deficit financing which has become a part and parcel of the five year plans. The need for establishing the prices has been recognised by Government but no effective measures have been adopted for the purpose. The remedy proposed by CPI (M) is nationalisation of banks and State trading in foodgrains. The BSP proposes to eliminate the middlemen and replace him by co-operatives. It also pleaded revision of tax structure, nationalization of the wholesale trade in foodgrains and bringing foreign trade under State control. The Jan Sangh proposes to effect drastic economy in the Government expenditure and increase the supply of consumer goods. The Swatantra is the only party which stress the need for abandonment of deficit financing, if prices are to be stabilised.

The Congress pursued the policy in the field of education to provide each citizen the maximum facility through a system of scholarship, the expansion of technical and scientific education and linking up of employment opportunities with educational facilities. No specific policy has been pursued during all these years for the growing problem of student indiscipline which has assumed alarming proportions.

The C.P.I. (Marxist) pleaded for seven-year free and compulsory elementary education for all, free secondary education and promotion of mother tongue as the medium of instruction at all stages.
The SSP demanded to do away with expensive public schools which cater to the needs of the children of the rich and better salaries of teachers with maximum equality. English will cease to be the medium of instruction. The mother tongue will take its place. The PSP more are less pursued the same policy.

The Jan Sangh pleads for compulsory education and to make the regional language the medium of instruction into the highest level.

The Congress accepted Hindi as a language but English will be continued as a link language in definitely. They have now adopted the three language policy. The C. F. I. (Marxist) favours a more gradual transition from English to Hindi more or less in accordance with Pandit Nehru's formula. The CPI stands for introduction of Hindi as an official language shall be only in gradual manner, with the consent of non-Hindi speaking states and full encouragement and development of the regional mother tongue. The SSP is in favour of immediate abolition of English from public life. It is opposed to the use of English as language of administration. The PSP stands for Hindi. The Jan Sangh stands for introduction of Hindi at the Central level with option to use English for only ten years.

The Congress has always stood for betterment of the masses and the underprivileged. They promote the interests of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In this purview they have extended the reservation of seats twice, each for
ten years in the Union and States legislatures through the seventh and twenty third constitutional amendments. Untouchability has been made as punishable offence and in all these years they are safeguarding the interests of minority with the maximum care and always disfavour the communal activities. The Communist parties want the better enforcement of the law against untouchability and allotment of more funds for their improvement. The SSP pleads for stopping difficulties like passage through the houses to which the weaker section are subject. The Jan Sangh presses for special measures to rehabilitate the refugees primarily. The Swatantra undertakes to carryout more faithfully and effectively the protection of rights and interests of all minorities and backward classes.

Almost every party stands and pursued an ideology. The Congress ideology has undergone a change from time to time. It was a co-operative common wealth at one time, a socialist pattern of society at another and to-day it is democratic socialism with planned economic development as the instrument for realising it. It aims at achieving social justice and this is possible only when the whole economy is run by the State itself or under its control. It has also fixed a ceiling on landed property and now it proposes to impose limitations on urban income and property.

The ideology of communist Parties is the creation of a classless society. To the PSP, a society based on complete equality and social justice, is the ideal to be achieved. It proposes to limit the minimum and the maximum income to the ratio of 1 : 10. The SSP ideology is same as that of the PSP
generally. The creation of a united India based on the sentiment of nationalism and the restoration of the values traditionally associated with the country is the ultimate ideal of Jan Sangh. The complete integration of Kashmir in India by deletion of Article 370 of the Constitution, the immediate settlement of all inter State disputes through arbitration, the political incorporation of Eastern Frontier Zone and putting an end to all separatist demands and discriminatory practices, is the goal of Jan Sangh Party.

The ideology of Swatantra is the ideology of nineteenth century liberalism of the west, a State where the individual enjoy the maximum amount of liberty and the State discharge only a minimum number of functions. The Swatantra believes in the building of property-owning democracy, where economic power, as Gandhiji has envisaged is decentralist and ownership is as widely diffused as possible.

India accepted aid from capitalist as well as 'Socialist' countries. As the need and pressure for economic development in India mounted during the second decade of its independence, these motivated its foreign policy and made it less doctrinaire. All the parties are more or less in agreement with the idea of accepting economic aid without strings and military aid from all quarter to meet the threat.

During the period of study there is a growing criticism of the role played by the Supreme Court of India. Many progressive enactments, approved by the Parliament and enforced in the country has been declared void. There is a growing frustration in the Government that Supreme Court is hindering
in the policy implementation. It will be decided definitely by the future Parliaments and mostly by the sovereign people. The Judiciary is almost separated from the executive in all the States except a few exceptions; it is in process of separation. The Communist parties want that judiciary shall be separated in all respects. The Swatantra Party is advocating all these years for maintaining the independence and powers of judiciary. Jan Sangh too wants that judiciary shall be separated in all levels.

The rapid growth of population has disturbed the entire economic development. For meeting this situation the Family Planning programme has been introduced. The greater success of the plans depend upon this factor also.

The President issued the Proclamation of Emergency on 26th of October, 1962 under clause (1) of article 352 of the Constitution to meet the situation arising out of the invasion by the China in the northern frontiers of India. The motion was approved by the Parliament and Defence of India Rules were made. The Opposition parties gave unqualified support to the Government.

The Defence of India Rules were effective when India and Pakistan comes into armed conflict. It was, revoked only prior to the fourth general elections.

All the Opposition parties charged the Government that the State of emergency has been needlessly prolonged and which has been misused by the Government for party purposes and demanded to repeal it and restore all civil liberties.
The Communist Parties demanded that the emergency power of the President shall be abolished. The emergency in the case of invasion in the country will be exercised only and exclusively by the Parliament and the emergency shall be lifted as soon as the war situation is over.

It is the duty of the union to ensure that the Government of every State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. There was no consistent policy followed by the Government for dissolution of State Assemblies and imposition of President's Rule in the State. In some cases Assemblies were dissolved on the advice of the defeated Chief Minister. In other cases Assemblies were suspended for sometime, and latter on President's proclamation was revoked and the Ministry was formed. In some cases the President did not accept the advice of the defeated Chief Minister for dissolving the Assembly and allowed alternative Ministry. After the General Election when no clear majority was mustered by any single party or groups, the Central Government allowed the largest single party in the Assembly to form the Ministry. But in other cases such single largest parties were refused the premission to form the Ministry.

The Communist Parties, S.S.P. and P.S.P. pleads to abolish the office of Governor and the majority in the house shall be tested only in the Assembly not outside nor the Governor should be given the discretionary powers to test the majority other than the Assembly itself. The Jan Sangh pleads that the majority should be given the chance to form the Ministry and the same can only be tested in the Assembly. The
Swatantra Party is of the view that the Government should fair while imposing the President's Rule in the State.

There is much deal of confusion regarding the use of the powers under this article. If the British precedents are of any use, and in case Government is defeated in the House, the Opposition groups should be given a chance to form the Ministry. When they are unable or unwilling to form the Ministry only in that situation the Assembly should be dissolved.

Among the many controversies, thrown up by the fourth General Elections, one of the most important concerns the institution of Governors. With the Congress unable to return in clear majority in nine States, the crucial importance of the Governor's rule has been high lightened.

A norm should be laid down that no Governor should dismiss a Ministry except when it refuses to resign after a vote of no confidence is passed against the Government in the Assembly. If the Ministry which has ceased to enjoy support is not in a position to be responsible to the legislature becomes also reckless and irresponsible, the Governor's task is clear. Talk of Governor's discretion is dangerous in this regard because it can led to the creation of a series of undemocratic precedents which the ruling party itself may regret. This democratic constitution and the very foundation of democracy would be endangered.

In the multi-party countries like France where a Chief Minister who had resigned or had been defeated had no right to demand the dissolution of the House. Indian expert opinion also accepts this situation.
The State Government's were pulled down by the ruling as well as Opposition parties through the politics of defection. Both group of political parties are responsible for this act of omission and commission. In this concern some uniform legal opinion should be formed and accordingly the law should be enacted and enforced as soon as it possible.

On August 13, 1963, the leave of the House was granted to move the motion of no confidence in the Council of Ministers for the first time by the Opposition Parties. Onwards several motions were discussed in the House, but always negatived. The Opposition took this opportunity to criticise the ruling party as well as their political opponents in the Opposition Parties too. They were never united and voted together against the Government nor they have forwarded constructive suggestions, and alternative programmes to be replaced.

India had virtually no foreign policy of its own until 1947. During the preindependence period, the Indian National Congress was the only organisation to bestow any thought on the various aspects of the foreign policies.

The foreign policy problems with which India was faced in the first few years of independence were its relations with Pakistan and Britain. The policy of non-alignment with power blocks was formulated to serve India's national interest at that time.

Foreign policy is inextricably linked up with domestic problems. It usually requires adjustment in domestic policy; similarly changes in domestic policy affect the conduct of foreign affairs. Thus foreign policy is a projection of
domestic policy into a wider field and in this sense, the views of the Opposition parties in the foreign affairs truly reflect their posture in domestic affairs.

The international relations of India are guided by certain fundamental principles and moral values which are deeply rooted in the rich culture and the historical heritage. It has inspired the philosophy of universal brotherhood and peaceful co-existence representing the assimilation of everything good in human life. According to the logic of Indian thought, religion, culture, geography, history and tradition made us tolerant and non-aggressive. They dominate minds and rise up the moment of crisis.

The idea of non-violence which had been adopted as to the means to achieve freedom and then as the sheet anchor of Indian foreign policy in form of non-alignment and world peace. Geographically, India is on the most strategic point of international affairs. Non-alignment was therefore, a natural and inevitable thing.

On the basis of Buddha's Five Principles Nehru framed the principles of 20th century as the moral code of international behaviour. This has been a guiding principles for India's foreign policy: (1) Mutual respect for each other territorial integrity and sovereignty (ii) Mutual non-aggression (iii) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs (iv) Equally and mutual benefit and (v) peaceful co-existence.

Political pressure is generally used by big powers to add different opinions to justify their doings when their
national interests are involved. This policy of pressure and influence has brought a new area of economic empire and regionalism in the name of ideologies that govern big powers. India's foreign policy attempts to keep as much independent as possible from absolute political and ideological interference and pressure.

One may be compelled to locate its position among the giants of Nuclear Powers. It may also be compelled to find its place in military alliance to face the ideological conflicts and encirclement. And to protect oneself by these economic and military alliances amount to military commitments. The Congress remained non-committed to these military and financial aids for the purpose of power.

Congress adopted the non-alignment attitude as a denial of ideological power politics. It wants to link them by bonds of humanity and everlasting peace.

The Indian National Congress were opposed to any type of Imperialism and Colonialism. Even before independence the Congress expressed and urge to end Imperialism. India stood for the principle of self-determination without any reservation.

The policy of non-alignment has prevented the growth of economic empires, has worked as instrument to the United Nations, and checked the wars from becoming more destructive. It has reduced tension by promoting healthy feelings of cooperation, disarmament and reconciliation. And since, both the power blocs neutralised each other militarily, the non-
alignment has become an abiding factor in world politics. It has a positive and dynamic approach to such problems as confronted us.

In the present day world no Government can be pledged to non-violence. Circumstances compell and permit a state to use violence in self-defence. And under no condition India is willing to give up this right. Our policy is not a passive policy or not a negative policy.... where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be neutral. There is no aspect of India's policy more clear and emphatic then her refusal to enter into any military pact and alliances.

The Communist Party of India being a part of the international Communist movement, had a global outlook. It stood for a policy of socialism, anti-imperialism and world peace and supported the anti-imperialist policies of the Government. It strongly opposed what it characterised as the manifestations of western imperialism'. It adopted an uncompromising attitude towards 'Western imperialism' and racialism.

The party gave partial support to the Nehru Government in 1947. During the early years of independence, the Government was closer to the Western bloc than to the Soviet bloc. This made the Communists sceptical about the Government's foreign policy. The main plank of the party's criticism of the Government's foreign policy from 1948- to 1954 was that Government adopted a foreign policy which bore the imprint of British pressures and inclined towards the 'Western Imperialists'. The party changed the attitude towards the foreign policy of
India when the Government sought greater friendship with the Socialist countries during 1954-55. Since then, the party supported and defended the foreign policy which it characterized as a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) demands a foreign policy firmly opposed to all imperialist wars and directed towards the elimination of danger of nuclear wars; a policy based on opposition to U.S. imperialism and colonialism and support to the freedom struggles of all peoples; a policy of firm friendship with the Socialist camp. It demands that India should quit commonwealth. In the interest of our own freedom and well being, the party pleads that the Government should take initiative to have direct talks between India and China and peaceful settlement of all disputes with Pakistan.

The Socialist Party too had a global outlook because of its affiliations with Asian Socialists and European Social Democrats. It took an independent stand on international issues. It denounced both "Western imperialism" and "Russian imperialism". It was highly sensitive to problems connected with India's security. It never believed that Sino-India friendship of 1952-55 would last very long.

The Samyukta Socialist Party stands to pursue a policy of non-preference between powerful countries like U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. and without prejudice, except co-operation from their peoples and Governments without any prejudice. The first step for improving foreign policy is to end borrowed thinking
and start thinking independently, but this step can be taken only when we stop borrowing.

With regard to divided countries, particularly the partition of India and Pakistan, it stands for clear policy of confederation or reunion. Where this is not possible on the Government level, the people and their parties or organizations will carry on this work.

The Praja Socialist Party supported the Government's foreign policy. The Party had no basic disagreement with the Government so far as the basic policy was concerned. Their criticism were directed against the methods adopted to implement the policy. The party held that under the garb of non-alignments the Government showed emotional alignments with one of the power blocs and often succumb to the pressure of big powers. It expressed the view that the manner in which the Government dealt with the "Western imperialism" and "Russian imperialism" was indicative of a "double standard". It urged the Government to pursue strictly to the policy of non-alignment.

The Jan Sangh held that the foreign policy should reflect the enlightened self-interest of the nation. It stands for non-involvement in issues not directly affecting India's interests. It supported the policy of non-alignment but demanded a deliberate silence on issues involving USA and USSR in which India's interest were not directly involved. It criticized the Government for insincere way in which the policy was implemented. It held that India's foreign policy leaned more.
on one side or the other by turns making India suspect in
the eyes of both the blocs led by USA and USSR.

The party showed active interest in India's relations
with Pakistan and China. Its sensitivity to foreign policy
matters also manifested itself in problems like Goa, Indians
Overseas and India's membership of the Commonwealth. More
than any party the Jan Sangh was obsessed with Pakistan. At
times, it adopted a militant posture towards Pakistan as
the focal point of its international concern. It advocated
development of closer relations with those countries of south-
east Asia which are threatened by the "Communist Chinese
expansionism" or whose interest otherwise dashed with Commun-
ist China. In its view borders are meant to be defended
and not debated. Following the border conflict with China,
the party called for a "re-evaluation" and "reorientation" of
India's foreign policy.

The Swatantra Party sought to correct the "pro-commu-
nist bias in India's foreign policy. It questioned the valid-
dity of non-alignment and openly pleaded for, a positive
alliance with the West. It maintained that an alliance with
West in effect the US, is absolutely indispensable, every-
thing must be done to bring this about.

The party was strongly critical of Communist China in
foreign policy matters. It wanted the Government to estab-
lish cordial relations with Pakistan. In its view, the real
danger to India's territorial integrity came from China
rather than from Pakistan and hence the objective of foreign
policy must be "containment of Chinese communist imperialism". It called for "friendship and understanding" with Pakistan while it considers negotiations with China on the Himalayan border issue a "national humiliation". As foreign policy was not included in the fundamental principles of the party, its members were free to express their views on foreign policy matters. There have been sharp differences in the leader's approaches to international events. The party accuses the Government of following a "double standard" in foreign policy. It called upon the Government to give a "new orientation" to its foreign policy.

It might be said that the opposition parties, with the exception of Swatantra, more or less agreed with the basic principles of India's foreign policy. They expressed their dissatisfaction at the manner of its implementation at one time or the other. The nature and the degree of their dissatisfaction varies from party to party and from problem to problem.

The sensitivity of the Opposition parties often led them to take the initiative in foreign policy matters. The initiative was more in the nature of bringing to light certain foreign policy issues for active and serious consideration by the Government. By arousing public enthusiasm they sometimes brought pressure on Government to follow a particular course of action. Their influence was not sufficiently felt in the first decade of independence, but from 1963 there have been a study increase in the influence of the Opposition parties.
The Indian Constitution came into operation on the 26th of January 1950, and up to 1970 Parliament has exercised its power to amend the Constitution under article 368, 23 times with two exceptions. The Seventeenth Amendment was negatived for want of requisite numbers to form the absolute majority in the Loksabha and the Twenty Fourth Amendment was negatived by Rajya Sabha for want of a vote for two third majority.

Parliament proceeded to amend the Constitution only when it found that judicial decisions either inadequately or erroneously interpreted the intention behind the relevant Constitutional provisions or they pointed out certain lacuna in them.

In one sense, the process by which the Constitution was amended by Parliament from time to time is a shining example of the democratic process itself. In a democratic country governed by a written Constitution, the interpretation of the Constitution is entrusted to the judiciary. The judiciary also is appointed the sole custodian of the liberties and fundamental rights of the citizens. The independence of judiciary is guaranteed and its verdict is binding on all the citizens and the State.

If experience shows that words used in the Constitution were in adequate or inappropriate or have been erroneously interpreted, reasons, requires that amendment should be made in the relevent words and the Constitutional process allowed to function in aid of the basic objectives of the Constitution. That broadly stated, is the reasonable conclusion any student of democracy and of constitutional law would draw from the process of amendments.
The Communist parties advocated to change the Constitution outrightly. India is one and indivisible whole. This conviction is a cordial principle of the Jan Sangh. The federal character of the Constitution is exotic and does not symbolize unified mainhood. The Jan Sangh will amend it and declare India a Unitary State. The Swatantra Party deplors the repeated Amendments to the country's Constitution, which have resulted in a serious erosion of the Fundamental Rights of the citizens and pledges itself to restore these Rights in the Constitution to their original form at the earliest possible opportunity. Fundamental Rights are now no more than merely a chapter in the Constitution and democratic institutions have so often been subverted that democracy itself is now in danger. The S. S. P. wants to reoriented the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly.

A trite comment on the First Lok Sabha used to be that it was a mere 'rubber stamp' for the Government. It had little function beyond according formal parliamentary sanction to already settled policy. The ruling party had a 'steam roller' majority which assured for more than the required number of 'eyes' for any official motion. Parliamentary approval of Government measures had routine significance, and obtaining it was only an act of faith for the Government.

In the eyes of the Government, the two Houses of Parliament imperceptibly grew in status as the authentic representative of the people whose opinion deserves serious consideration. The Second Lok Sabha added emphasis to this trend. Despite the undiminished strength of the ruling party, the
the Opposition Parties acquired a place of importance in the Parliamentary set up, bar in excess of their numbers. Lok Sabha's approval for Government decisions were no longer taken for granted. Debate and discussions in Lok Sabha became means of canvassing active popular support for Government policies. This growth in the political significance of Parliament which was marked in the life time of the Second Lok Sabha and is more pronounced during the Third, is in keeping with the change in the task of Government from simple administration to the manifold responsibilities of the prime mover of national development.

The evolution of parliamentary system and the recognition of Parliament as the sovereign institution of political power, not because the Constitution says so but as a matter of fact, is its best justification. The preponderating majority of the ruling party has significantly not been used to ride roughshod over the Opposition though the latter has never been a homogenous Opposition. To maintain all the ingredients of parliamentary democracy, permitting Opposition to take almost as much time as the Treasury Benches is one of the great virtues of the parliamentary system in India.

Some of the most devastating attacks on official policies and actions have originated from the Government Benches rather than from Opposition.

The 1967 general election had effected a radical change in the character and composition of the Lok Sabha. In the three previous elections, the ruling party had what
was called a steam roller strength of 364 (1962), 371 (1967) and 358 (1962) in a House of 522 members. But in 1967 the tide turned against the Congress. Its strength was merci-
lessly slashed to a precautions 279. Till 1967, the main Opposition party in Parliament was the Communist Party, closely followed by the PSP. But in 1967, the divided Communists and Socialists were pushed to lower rungs. Swatantra and the Jan Sangh emerged as the leading ones. With the split in the Congress in November 1969, the breakaway Cong-O became the first official Opposition party with a strength of 65. Its leader was designated by the speaker as the Leader of the Opposition. On the eve of dissolution, the ruling party had become a minority party, depending on left-wing Opposition groups for survival.

The shattering of Congress power in many States and the split in the ruling party at the centre gave rise to many new political formulations during the period of the fourth Lok Sabha. Most parties firmly believed that the era of coalition Governments had begun at the Centre also. The idea of a single-party majority was considered not only fantastic but even dangerous—even by a party like the CPI. The Rightist parties on the other hand, fondly believed that an alliance among them would shift the balance in their favour.

The break-up of parties shows the utter insignificance of some of the Axis parties in the new House. Cong-O strength has dropped from an aggressive 65 to a pathetic 16. Swatantra from 44 to 8. The Jan Sangh had been growing ever
since 1962. It had only 3 members in the first and 4 members
in the second Lok Sabha but its strength jumped to 14 in 1962.
In 1967 the party made a spectacular break-through with a
strength of 35. But the party received a severe licking at
the polls, and its strength has been reduced to 22. All hopes
of remaining at least the first Opposition group vanished as
results came pouring in from the States. The SSP entered in
the fourth Lok Sabha as an inconoclastic left party, with a
clamorous 17 members and with the proud claim of having for­
ged the new political anti-Congressism. The SSP is left with
3 members.

The second important result of the election is the
expressed determination of the people to have a strong Gov­
erment at the Centre. They gave a massive mandate to Cong­
ress raising its strength from 220 to 350. The ruling party
now has a two third majority in the House. No more can it
complain that it does not have sufficient backing to amend
the Constitution when the need arises.

The new Lok Sabha will be faced with grave problems
of socio-economic development. The election results have
raised the confidence of our people in themselves. They
voted for "gharibi hatao" and expected the Government to
take effective steps towards the goal. The immediate pro­
blems that will knock at the door of the new Parliament
are unemployment and rising prices. Stagnation in the
economy calls for urgent and imaginative measures. Public
opinion will anxiously watch how the Government will tackle
these grave problems.