FREEDOM IN PERIL

By

Prof N G Ranga

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P. Simhanarayana

both were deeply moral beings, and

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Old friends who became political adversaries.

Page 3 Freedom in Peril

CONTENTS

		Page
PROFESSOR RANGA	...	1
THE SWATANTRA PARTY		
I The Conception	...	11
II The Movement for Swatantra	...	22
III The Birth of the Party	...	28
IV Challenge to Congress	...	35
V Maintain Peasant Economy	...	40
VI Credo of Freedom-Lovers	...	47
VII Freedom in Peril	...	71
AGRARIAN POLICY		
I Peasant Proprietorship	...	80
II Self-Employment	...	93
III Trap to Push Peasants into Cooperative Farming	...	99
IV Congress Policy a Menace to Agrarian Economy	...	102
V From Prosperous to Needy Countries	...	110
PLANNING IN INDIA		
I Third Plan Draft	...	115
II Third Five Year Plan	...	124
III Commission for Panchayat Administration	...	133
IV Remunerative Agricultural Prices	...	136
V Defence Ministry Mishandled	...	139
WHY [illegible] RANGA RESIGN FROM PARLIAMENT ?		
I [illegible] Congress	...	148
II [illegible]nder to Congress	...	150
III Congress has no Right to Demand Resignation	...	158

PREFATORY NOTE

This volume is a humble offering [illegible] Professor Ranga's Shashtyabdapurti Celebrations Committee [illegible] C. Rajagopalachari at the 2nd National Convention of the Swatantra Party being held at Agra on November 24-26, 1961. The Shashtyabdapurti of Acharya Ranga was celebrated in New Delhi on November 12, 1960 under the distinguished presidentship of Dr. K.M. Munshi. Leaders of different political parties, in that function, paid glowing tributes and expressed appreciation for the services rendered by Acharya Ranga during the past four decades.

We have brought together, in this volume, some speeches, writings and musings of Acharya Ranga, which deal specially with the aims and programme of the Swatantra movement. We have also included in this volume some of the articles by eminent journalists about him.

Acharya Ranga is one of the national leaders of the Indian freedom movement. He was a valued colleague and follower of Mahatma Gandhi. He was President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee (1946-51), a member of the Congress Working Committee and Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party. He organised the United Congress in 1955 in Andhra sacrificing the Krishikar Lok Party to prevent Communists from capturing power in that State. He is the father of the Indian peasant movement, and one of the founders of international peasant movement. He has been pre-eminently the champion of the self-employed masses from the very beginning of his political career. While presiding over the Shashtyabdapurti celebrations in New Delhi, Dr. Munshi observed that "Only three leaders in India believed in the gospel of the farmer the three leaders that came from rural India—Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, and Professor Ranga." As rural India is the real India, he dedicated his life for the cause of the rural and self-employed masses.

In choosing Acharya Ranga for the [illegible] of the Swatantra Party, Rajaji took the [illegible] the first leader of parliamentary opposition [illegible] Congress Party and the parliamentary alternative [illegible] fitting national role for this veteran peasant leader.

Rajaji, while showering his blessings on Acharya Ranga on his Shashtyabdapurti celebrations at Vijayawada observed: "Ranga is a great sword. This sword is as good and powerful a weapon as the one hidden on the top of a tree which Arjuna took during the Kurukshetra battle in the Mahabharata."

Acharya Ranga distinguished himself by his courageous and pioneering opposition to the controls regime of the Congress (1946-52). He raised his voice against the resolution of the Nagpur session of the Congress which presaged Sri Nehru's conception of socialism, and resigned the secretaryship of the Congress Parliamentary Party. He then sought the leadership of Rajaji, Dr. Munshi, Sri Masani and other leaders of the Swatantra Party to protect Family, Farm and Freedom.

We are grateful to Dr. K.M. Munshi for not only having presided over the Shashtyabdapurti celebrations but also for his 'Foreword' to this book. We thank the managements of 'Swarajya', 'Bhavan's Journal' and the 'Statesman' for their permission to publish their articles and photos. We are greatly indebted to all our friends and admirers of Acharya Ranga who have cooperated with us and given us the needed assistance to make the function successful and the publication of this volume possible.

We also place on record our appreciation of the immense pains that have been taken in collecting and editing the material for this volume and seeing it through the press by Mr. K.R. Seshagiri Rao and Mr. Srimannarayana.

We trust this volume would contribute to strengthen the cause of freedom and protect and further the interests of the self-employed masses of India for whom Acharya Ranga has consecrated his life.

We are glad to place this volume at the disposal of the Indian Peasant Institute.

B. BHUJANGA RAO
MANIBHAI N. PATEL
Conveners

Celebrations Committee,
Delhi,
Oct. 26, 1961.

FOREWORD

Professor N.G. Ranga, though an alumnus of Oxford, is a peasant by birth and conviction. He is an agricultural economist with practical experience—a rare thing in India. Throughout life he has maintained contact with the peasants. He has visited almost all the villages in Andhra and quite a few in several other parts of this country. He has voiced the peasant's ambitions and worked for his welfare. He has joined and left political organisations in the interests of the peasants. He has often sacrificed his political advancements for the sake of the peasant.

Sincere, ardent and passionate, Professor Ranga has a keen sense of mission. His life has been a dedicated one.

Professor Ranga's political philosophy is based on the conviction that a country like India can have no salvation without the village economy being vitalised by the self-employed peasant coming into his own.

Professor Ranga helped Rajaji to found the Swatantra Party, again in the interests of the peasants. It was the Nagpur resolution of the Congress which led him to part company with it. That resolution embodied a policy which, he and many others believe, would lead to collectivization and, as a result, to a fear-dominated despotic State.

His wide knowledge and experience of the working of co-operative societies in India and foreign countries has convinced him that in no country had joint farming been an economic success. As he puts it, the various Soviet experiences that the urban interlopers are so fond of recalling belie the idea of cooperation.

The Swatantra Party, of which he is the President, finds in him perhaps the staunchest champion of a free peasantry as the basis of democracy.

In this book are collected most of the important speeches delivered by Professor Ranga as the President of the Swatantra Party. With passionate eloquence, he has preached the gospel of social and economic freedom through progressive, non-exploitative means. He rightly sees in the Swatantra Party an instrument to safeguard the all-round *swatantraya* (freedom) of our people, particularly of the peasants, artisans, tradesmen and professionals. 'The Swatantra movement', he says, 'is the political expression of the spontaneous peasant revolt.'

A charge is levelled against the Swatantra Party that it is the party of capitalists. The charge is as unfounded as it is ridiculous. No movement with which Acharya Ranga is associated can have anything to do with the monopoly of vested interests which the charge of capitalism implies.

In reply to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Professor Ranga stated: "He complained that the Swatantra Party is a projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise. He forgot that the peasant-proprietors who form 167 millions (47%) of our population and the self-employed tenants who form 31 millions (8.8%) are free entrepreneurs who exploit none and who need exploit none to eke out their earnings, which are, in most cases, far less than the professional incomes which are exempted from income-tax."

The Swatantra Party stands pre-eminently for the freedom and security of the common man and the self-employed peasant, and with Acharya to preside over the Party, one can be sure that the fight will be in the nature of a crusade against the attempt of the party in power to introduce State control over free sectors of society. For, throughout the speeches which are published in this book, we can find the crusader's zeal, the unflinging courage and the burning conviction which consume Professor Ranga.

K. M. MUNSHI

New Delhi,
November 20, 1961.

PROFESSOR RANGA

(With a view to introducing Professor Ranga and his political ideology since he joined the national movement in 1923 to the readers, we reproduce below four articles written by eminent journalists.)

A healthful hunger for a great idea is the beauty and blessedness of life—Jean Ingelow.

Professor Ranga has two great all absorbing passions: the workers and peasants, and Mrs. Ranga. He is one of the most happily wedded beings that one can ever come across. For hours together he can expatiate with gathering warmth and unflagging energy on the qualities of head and heart of Mrs. Ranga. "Mrs. Ranga. By Jove. What a woman !"—so his plaudits would run; and with chapter and verse he would maintain that there is more good sense in one little finger of hers than in the brains of all the great politicians put together.

The object of Professor Ranga's admiration is a demure lady of originally retiring disposition, but her nature has undergone a radical transformation under the influence of her reciprocating regard for him. Affection which is of the heart, is found generally in conjunction with intellectual detachment; and the loyalties of the domestic circle are often disturbed by cleavages that have their rise in the capacity of its members for free and independent thought on the burning topics of the day. The peace of many households is clouded by the irrepressible antagonism that subsists between persons who find themselves ranged in hostile camps of political and public life. But Professor Ranga's household of two knows no disharmony. A perfect accord of mind and heart reigns supreme there, and Mrs. Ranga has adopted in toto all her husband's enthusiasms; she has trained herself with thorough house-wifely devotion to be his faithful feminine counterpart in practically everything that matters.

Our leading political figures have to battle continually with adverse forces emanating from unsympathetic homes, and what they are able to give to public effort is a small residue left over, after a great deal of energy is expended in self-defensive justifications against unsparing accusers in the family. The renown that attends on highminded patriots is ordinarily attained at the cost of unceasing curtain lectures from a nagging wife. Professor Ranga is one of the fortunate few exempt from liability to

stormy domestic scenes on the score of public activities entailing economically nonbeneficial personal consequences. He should have been the principal of a great college had he stuck to the professorial line. But when he renounced an assured career, he had not to reckon, in addition, as so many ill-starred non-cooperators had to do, with an altered and disgruntled household. For, in the midst of much abnegation of a heroic type, collective material self-interest happens to be the basis of family life, and if it is endangered by any voluntary decision fierce resentments start in subtle forms from all sides, poisoning its atmosphere. The beginning of any renunciation of material benefit tends therefore to be the end of domestic peace, and not a few that are greatly appreciated abroad, are cordially detested at home. A type of environmental influence that is generally found confronting politicians adversely hampering their initiative, has, in Professor Ranga's case, been changed into a fine propelling force accelerating the momentum of all his activities; he has had helpful relatives.

This explains the enormous output to his credit as a peripatetic propagandist. He is frail physically. But his zeal for getting together gatherings of people and haranguing them on themes that command his own interest, is inexhaustible. It has given him an indomitable will to overcome all hankerings for ease and comfort, and spend himself without reserve in a never-ending process of mass lecturing. With the possible exception of Mr. Prakasam, none has visited so many villages in Andhra Desa or established such close and widespread contacts with the tillers of the soil as he. By dint of practice he has become an effective speaker and his capacity for mass appeals is strengthened and consolidated by his record of sacrifice, his simple and hard life with no element of luxury in it, his continual dedication to a great purpose in life, and the fervour of his identification with the problems and vicissitudes of the poor. Among the younger Andhra politicians he is a power to reckon with and he is fast overtaking the veterans of the older generation in influence and personal prestige.

The cause of the workers and peasants is constantly on Professor Ranga's lips. One result of it is that he is classed as a faddist by critics of extended interests and limited earnestness. In the Central Assembly whenever he rose to speak, it was instinctively surmised by the House that the workers and the peasants were about to be immediately dragged into the discussion, and Professor Ranga never disappointed it. He acquired a spreading reputation as a man of one-track mind, and was often subjected to facetious comment by fellow legislators who lacked his vision of the importance of the peasantry. In Czarist society, the pioneering Bolsheviks must have been

regarded as impossible bores. Ridicule is a risk not to be avoided by single-minded advocates of one supreme cause, and the incurring of it is a hard part of the trial to be borne by ardent spirits in advance of their time, who pledge themselves to objectives involving a tussle with traditionally powerful and privileged sects. Professor Ranga has borne ridicule blithely; it may be said that the carrying power of faith has been to him an enviable asset, softening his sensitiveness to hurt in the heat and passion of many political controversies.

An alumnus of Oxford, Professor Ranga is a man of wide reading and is very well informed in political and economic subjects. He is a good organiser, an independent thinker, a fairly adequate debater and an incomparable agitator. His adherence to any view is of the challenging kind that must get translated forthwith into demagogic activity for securing converts. There is an element of the proselytising missionary in his restless political crusading. He is apt to be facetious; also, unfair and intolerant towards those that differ from him. There is no lack of detractors charging him with ambitiousness and love of publicity. These attributions of imperfection need not make any substantial detraction from the fundamental worth of Professor Ranga's pattern of leadership. Whatever his blemishes may be, they carry with them the saving grace of sincerity. Virtues like tolerance reflect a do-nothing sort of puritanism of rather problematical value in a world where results count. All life is imperfect; and imperfection becomes condemnable only when it reaches an intolerable level which is far from being the case with Professor Ranga.

—By the late Sri Khasa Subba Rao in "Swatantra" (1952)

II

SWATANTRA PARTY AND ITS LEADERS

The Swatantra Party enjoys, in the leadership of Sri Rajaji, the greatest advantage of any Party in the country. Among other leaders of the Party we find able and devoted men who have made their mark in their respective spheres of activity or in public life.

Professor Ranga, the President of the Party, won his laurels in the Congress. He threw himself heart and soul into the Non-cooperation Movement of the Mahatma and has several jail terms to his credit. He rose to be the President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. His energy is dynamic. Indefatigable in service of peasants, he has visited practically every village in his native Andhra Pradesh. His contact with peasants and his knowledge of their problems is wide and varied.

He is an undisputed leader of the nation's peasantry, and a symbol of their unity. His mind works internationally in evolving programmes for the association, organisation and uplift of peasants. He left the Congress through disillusionment. His importance in the Congress organisation while he stayed there could have easily won for him rich rewards, but Professor Ranga has an uncommercial mind disdaining profit for public services rendered and he has maintained his non-official status unsullied by any acceptance of official position through his forty-year record of intensive political activity. This is a unique and unusual phenomenon.

Leaders like Prakasam went in for direct contact with the masses under the impetus of the Gandhian movement. Professor Ranga also did so, but he realised from the outset the importance of a middle pier of lieutenants. He took keen interest in the political training of the young, and these constitute a body, a bodyguard even, of devoted lieutenants who follow him through all reverses of fortune and variations of political affiliation.

With all his vast experience, Professor Ranga retains a certain charming innocence. He is ambitious, but not in any personal self-seeking way. He is unspoiled by any of the temptations and blandishments of power. He is a disinterested, hard-working patriot, well skilled in all the intricacies of the political game. He lives in constant admiration of his wife and it is like a tonic to him. Often he would exclaim ecstatically: "Mrs. Ranga ! by Jove ! What a woman !" A happy domestic life is not the lot of many of our politicians. They lack the buoyancy of competent and congenial companionship at home and their spirits are bedraggled by it. Professor Ranga is an exception to this rule.

—By the late Sri Khasa Subba Rao in "Swarajya" (1960)

III

A CONGRESS FARMER AND THE NAGPUR SESSION

Professor N. G. Ranga is an agricultural economist. He is, in fact, an eminent agricultural economist whose theoretical contributions have been based on practical experience. For Prof. Ranga is a farmer in his own right, and has in the last 30 years amassed a wealth of experience of the conditions of Indian agriculture and the workings of the peasant mind.

Prof. Ranga is also that rarity, a politician who is not afraid to defy the party whip and give full vent to his views, quite regardless of personal consequences. Perhaps it is his sincerity

and unquestionable bona fides—he has been a Member of Parliament for 30 years—that gives Prof. Ranga the power to speak as he does. When I met him in New Delhi on Thursday he was an outspoken critic of Congress policy.

Of the Nagpur resolutions Prof. Ranga had much to say. He believes that the Congress Party has adopted principles that will lead to a collectivized, fear-dominated Soviet State. Prof. Ranga, whose fervent faith in democracy dates back to his early days at Oxford, finds it difficult to believe that the Congress leaders could so unthinkingly have committed themselves and the country to a policy that "would negate much that they so vociferously claim to stand for".

Prof. Ranga's objection to cooperatives takes two forms. On the ideological plane he is opposed to any unnecessary proliferation of the State's activities and, more pragmatically, he believes cooperatives to be expensive, wasteful and conducive to "Bossism".

"In no country have farming cooperatives been a success." In no country, claimed Prof. Ranga, "has the wilful cooperation of peasant proprietors increased agricultural productivity. The very Soviet experience that these urban interlopers are so fond of recalling belies the idea of cooperation." In Russia cooperation failed and collectivization was only achieved through the mass liquidation, first of the Kulaks and later of middle-holding peasants. But there is no need, Prof. Ranga felt, to look for examples abroad. In India itself over 200 experiments were carried out in the formation of cooperatives in U.P. and Bombay. Great concessions and incentives were provided to induce farmers to form cooperatives. It was not a happy experience. Quite apart from the additional overhead charges that the system of cooperatives implies, he says, there soon developed amongst the farmers a sense of frustration, a blind hostility towards the supervisors and an apathy to greater production.

Prof. Ranga is far from satisfied with the present state of agriculture. As a substitute for cooperatives he proposes the formation of what he calls Service Cooperatives. This would involve the setting up of tractor stations, pesticide squads, fertilizer distributing centres and so forth. The peasants could make use of these facilities on a payment basis. It is a great mistake, in his opinion, to consider India's peasants backward. They are perfectly capable of making the best use of any facilities within their reach. They are both progressive and enterprising. Prof. Ranga considers that Congress policy is too much concerned with the condition of the peasants of U.P. and Bihar who are by no means representative of the country as a whole. They have been free from the oppressive zamindari

system for a mere seven or eight years. If the Congress leaders considered the peasant proprietors of Mysore, South Kerala, Tanjore and Andhra in the South, and those of Punjab and Gujarat in the North, who have been free for centuries, they would form a very different estimation of the ability, and initiative of small-holding farmers.

Prof. Ranga has been accused of being a proponent of landlordism. I found him far less agitated over the proposed ceilings on land holdings than on the subject of cooperatives. He did, however, feel that the ceiling was ludicrously low; he thought it extraordinary that the Prime Minister could oppose the ceiling of Rs. 30,000 per annum on industrial incomes and yet agree to a limit of Rs. 3,600 on agricultural incomes. It would certainly drain agriculture of what little talent it had. "They are conspiring to make land the sediment of all stupidity", he remarked. It is certainly inconceivable that men of ability would be prepared to slave away for a pittance, for a fraction of what they would earn in urban employment. In addition, he felt that this unwarranted discrimination between agriculture and industry was a travesty of social justice.

The example of China does not fascinate Prof. Ranga; in fact, it appals him. The Government seemed to have set its heart on following China at any cost, he said. For Mr. Nehru ("an amateur in agricultural economics") cooperatives have become "a matter of mission". For Prof. Ranga, unrelenting opposition to such a state of affairs has also become a mission.

—"*Statesman*" (*14.2.59*)

IV

A MAN OF COURAGE AND RESOLUTENESS

(*A tribute paid by Sri K. Iswara Dutt, the veteran journalist, to Professor N.G. Ranga, on the occasion of his Birthday Celebrations in New Delhi on November 12, 1960*)

It gives me great pleasure to join in the public tribute that is Mr. N.G. Ranga's due on his attainment of sixty, and offer him my warmest felicitations on the happy occasion.

Stimulating is the thought, as agreeable is the coincidence, that he has, so to say, simultaneously grown with this tumultuous century (now about to complete sixty), keeping pace with its heart-beats, and growing familiar with its convulsions as well as dominant trends. Lo and behold! sixty years sit so lightly on him, neither leaving a wrinkle on his face nor making him

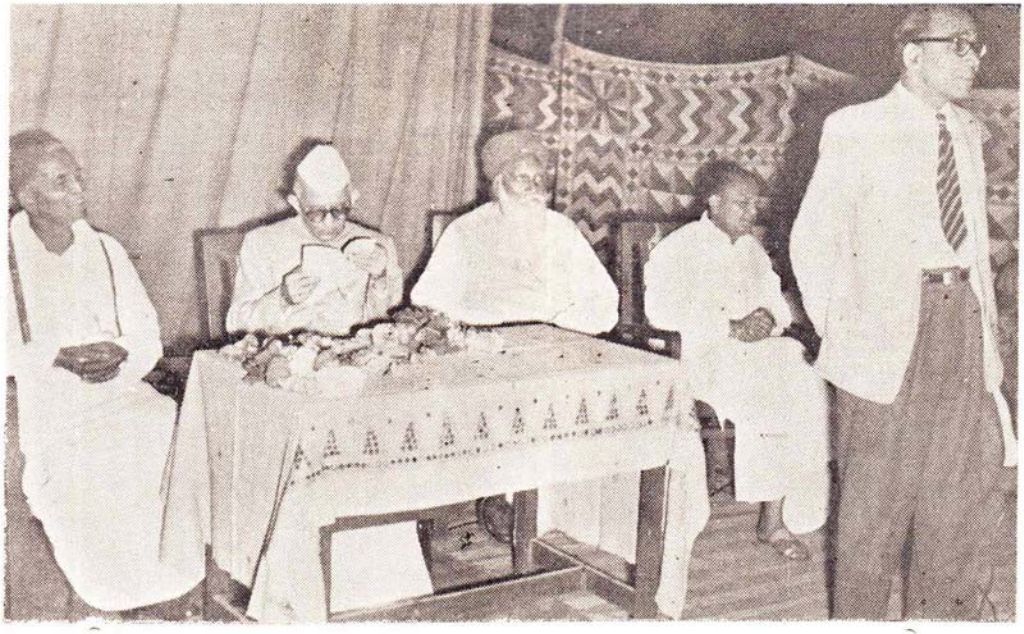
weary in spirit. It is characteristic of the man that, after forty years of active political life, if not of intense political strife, he has retained his buoyancy and spirit of defiance. And it is a proof of his amazing vitality that he has not ceased to be as controversial as ever.

Indeed, it is in controversy and conflict that his gifts and qualities have found their most eloquent expression, and his prowess and courage their best display. Having emerged in his own Andhra Pradesh as an agrarian radical in the line of William Cobbett, subsequently he cought the nation's eye as a kisan leader in the line of Wat Tyler. Rough, tough and of the right stuff, it was his distinction as well as privilege to have brought to political debate of the countryside. The smell and feel of the fields is still the tonic that acts best on his nerves, and draws him more readily into the fray. It was his passionate concern for agrarian security and arcadian calm that led to his revolt against Congress policies—a revolt that did credit to the man who had won international recognition as "the spiritual leader of the Indian peasantry".

Mr. Ranga is never happier than when he takes his gloves off, in the arena of party warfare. He is essentially a rebel and fighter, a rebel against the bosses and a fighter for the common man. When political expediency and personal meekness could have landed him amidst the Congress hay-stacks while the sun was shining, he has the courage to hurl his thunderbolts against the Caesars of the day and court wilderness. To the easy charge of political inconsistency, a certain constancy in his basic ideals provides no ineffective answer. Whatever paths he treads, he is a whole-hogger. He knows no half-way houses, and looks at none for purposes of shelter, out of fear of any gale or storm; he is never half-hearted in whatever he does. His spirits are as high as the stakes.

Today, on the threshold of his seventh decade, Mr. Ranga could hardly have asked for anything better than that the pre-eminent and patriarchal Rajaji should have publicly claimed him as a sword in his hand, when the grim fight is on, for the deliverance of the country from the ideological aberrations and political absolutism that threaten to reduce our freedom to mockery. Whatever be the fortunes of the big battle at the polls, one who knows Ranga can feel sure that he will command more than nation-wide attention, as the shining symbol of Rajaji's immaculate conception.

It is a tribute to his personality that his friends and admirers would rather like to greet and cheer him as a bonnie fighter who delights in the big game, rather for its thrills than for its spoils. A man of courage and resoluteness and, above



Acharya Ranga Felicitated

Professor Hiren Mukharjee paying tributes to Acharya Ranga on the occasion of the Shashtyabdapurti Celebrations of the latter at New Delhi on November 12, 1960

all, of unflagging energy, if sometimes in the wrong, not unoften in the right, he is always positive and forthright. Let us salute him as one of the more ardent arresting figures of his generation, with the confidence that "the best is yet to be". May the Angels of Grace guard and guide his footsteps as he proceeds on his life's journey—characteristically, with a smile for his friends and a snee for his foes! And may many more years in the services of his fellow-men, be vouchsafed to him, with fortune smiling on him, and with laurels thickening on his brow!

* * *

While paying tributes to Prof. Ranga on the occasion of his 61st birthday celebrations in New Delhi, Prof. Hiren Mukharjee observed : "Professor Ranga has been a national figure for many years, and I remember those days when he was in the forefront of the National Movement... I have very serious fundamental differences with Prof. Ranga; but that does not prevent me from expressing my admiration, or even my appreciation, of the talent which he has brought to bear in the services to the country... What I admire about him, even though I differ from him very drastically and fundamentally in regard to his formulations, is that a spirit of protestantism, a spirit of non-conformism, a spirit of defiance which seem to run in his blood."

At Madras

Rajaji and Acharya Ranga

THE SWATANTRA PARTY

I

THE CONCEPTION

That was a bright, warm morning of Madras when we gathered at the *Woodlands* on the fourth of June, 1959 in response to the All-India Agriculturists' Federation. I did not have any idea as to how many and who would come. I know who were all being invited, in the first instance on the suggestion of Rajaji and a few friends who had assembled in Bangalore five or six weeks earlier and also on the initiative of several others who had been in touch with Rajaji or some of the Bangalore friends.

In all, thirty of us assembled. We were waiting for Rajaji to come. Word came that he arrived. I hastened to greet him at the head of the stairs. How slowly, and carefully he walked up with the support of that goldwhite stick! He greeted me so affectionately, clutched at my hand and acted me to sit to his right and act in unison with him. I had no idea what he had in his mind. I could know through my talks on the previous day, with Sri S.Y. Krishnaswami, Sri B. Ramachandra Reddi and Sri Jinraj Hegde, the draftsman of the Agrarian Programme, Vice-President and General Secretary of the Agriculturalists' Federation respectively only about the draft statement of principles. We also discussed the Agrarian Plan prepared for the Federation in the light of the observations sent by its President, Sardar Lal Singh. So, I was under the impression that we were going to discuss on the fourth only both the Plan and the Statement and publish them to elicit public criticism and meet at a much later date to concert what else we were to do, in order to protect and promote the interests and cause of our agriculturists as well as the urban masses.

Now, when we sat down for the meeting what actually began to take place was entirely different from what myself and Sri Hegde had thought of on the previous day. After some preliminary talks I suggested that we should request Sri Ramachandra Reddy, Vice-President of the Federation, to make his inaugural observations. But some one asked as to who would be the President. A number of us simultaneously said that Rajaji should preside. But he was inclined to demur, and so I rose quickly saying that in that case there would be no use of having our meeting. Rajaji held me by my left arm and tried to dissuade me, but had

eventually to agree to preside. That cooperative gesture of his gave me immense pleasure and satisfaction, because when I had last met him on 31.1.1959 in his long rectangular but narrow room, the utmost favour I requested from him was just that he should be kind enough to preside over such an inaugural meeting and he was then disinclined to agree.

After Sri Reddy had welcomed the delegates and explained how we had met to concert measures for the protection of our agriculturists against the threat of Sovietism hurled by the Congress from its Nagpur platform, Rajaji took up the reins of our discussions.

It did not take long for him to bring the conference to the discussion of the need for a new political party. All were agreed that there should be such a party, if the country was to be protected from the growing tentacles of Statism, the all-embracing extra-constitutional and totalitarian plans and powers of the Planning Commission and the growing ambitions of the Government to encroach upon the freedoms of the people. Then Rajaji and others began to moot the idea as to who should be the leader. Evefyone of us suggested that Rajaji should be the leader. He would not hear of it. He said that someone else should be and would be made the leader. Then he took us into his confidence as to what efforts he had made to sound a number of prominent leaders at the national level and with what results. He mentioned prominently the name of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan also, and informed us that he was soon going to join us in our deliberations. When actually Jayaprakashji came and was appraised of our thoughts, he gave his reasons for not undertaking any such responsibility in political parties. So, Rajaji proceeded to suggest that I should be asked to undertake that responsibility. When I repeatedly suggested that he should agree to be the leader and I would stand by him and give every possible assistance, he said to the meeting that he would certainly be glad to lead the leader if he would allow it. Eventually all hailed it as the best possible solution. Thus arose the party and its leader and the leader's leader.

We then took up the consideration of the draft principles of the proposed party, and discussed it in detail.

Somebody suggested that we should give a name to our party. Then I took the initiative and requested Rajaji to bless the party by performing the *namakaran* ceremony during a public meeting which was to be held that afternoon, symbolically enough in the Vivekananda Hall at which Sri Masani was to speak. He agreed. Thus closed the first stage of the birth of our party.

Sri Masani has been mooting the idea of a "middle of the road party" for some months past. He organised a couple

of informal meetings in Delhi during 1958 and 1959 for this purpose. He was also in touch with Rajaji through correspondence and was trying to persuade him to give the necessary lead. He was fortunate like so many of us to be present on that day when Rajaji christened our party as the *Swatantra Party*.

Sardar Lal Singh, the President of the Federation, who was responsible for that meeting, was unfortunately prevented from taking part in this function, owing to ill-health.

Sardar Udham Singh Nagoke, the leader of the Punjab Kisans and Dhehati Janata Party, also could not attend as he could not obtain air passage. Both these great leaders of kisans played the key role in the success of the now famous Punjab Kisan Conference held at Daroha on the 31st of January, 1959. I had the honour of presiding over that mammoth Conference of more than a lakh of kisans. I then warned the country publicly against Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's Soviet-oriented campaign against the freedom-loving kisans and dukandars through his unfortunate lead given to Nagpur Session of the Indian National Congress. I called upon peasants to organise themselves to resist the communistic trends within the Congress leadership. I offered to continue to be in their vanguard in their struggle against the threatened Congress campaigns for cooperativisation of agricultural production and management. It is interesting to note that I was associated in that platform with the Maharaja of Patiala and General Cariappa. Sardar Nagoke offered to provide the needed falanxes of the heroic kisan fighters in the struggle that we were to wage against the Congress programme, in the same manner in which the Punjabis had fought for our national freedom. It was in the wake of that Conference that these two Sardars and myself have been pressing Rajaji to come to the rescue of our kisans.

Sri Masani and myself found ourselves on a similar common platform on the 28th February in Belgaum organised by Sri Patil, who has later become the President of the Mysore State Swatantra Party and we took the same stand vis-a-vis the Nagpur resolution of the Congress and offered to organise opposition to them on all fronts. In fact, Sri Masani was the first among our parliamentary politicians to appreciate my opposition to the threatened cooperativisation of agricultural production and to offer to stand by me in my defence of the kisans. He made an effective and well documented speech on his cut motion on the Budget of 1957, i.e., soon after the last general elections, and I proceeded to warn the Congress rulers against the Planning Commission's proposals to convert kisans into wage earners under Co-operative Joint Farms. Therefore, although I was in the Congress and came to function as the Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party and he was attempting to develop an independent

political platform as against the communistic trends within the Congress, we were coming nearer to each other.

The Vivekananda Hall witnessed the conception of our Party just as Swami Vivekananda inaugurated the spiritual soul of our national freedom movement. Rajaji declared on that day and in that Hall all so fittingly that while Sri Jawaharlal was keen on keeping out God from his politics, the Swatantra Party would pray to God to become its senior partner.

It would be interesting to note that prior to this Madras meeting, Rajaji has held a couple of meetings with a number of friends in Bangalore. They also mooted the need for such an independent party for safeguarding and strengthening the freedom of the people. Leaders from different parts of India and associated with various sections of people gathered there and they all felt that the time was ripe for the development of such a party. But who was to be the leader? Who were all to join it? What were the main common points of agreement? I came to learn through various friends who were in touch with those discussions that all were agreed that if only Rajaji would agree to lead the country there would be universal response.

It was at the last of those preparatory gatherings that Rajaji gave his historic call to the people that they should concert measures "to protect the farm and the family". It has ever since become one of the most effective slogans of the Swatantra Party.

Rajaji has been thinking for a long time before he gave this call to the nation of developing a national front for the protection of our national *dharma* and the propagation of the Gandhian ideals. He espied years ago how the Union Government aided by the Planning Commission has been trying to encroach upon the autonomy of the States as envisaged by the Constitution. Therefore, he pleaded for a campaign in favour of States' autonomy. He found it necessary to ask the people to resist the growing passion of the Congress and Government for more and more doses of Statism. When I felt constrained to protest in October 1957 against the political use that the Congress and Government wanted to make of the Yelwal Conference decisions in favour of so-called Gramdan and offer to start Kisan Satyagraha against the threatened Panchayat Landlordism to subvert peasant economy, he was good enough to raise his voice against cooperative farming. The *Swarajya* of Madras which has by now come to play the same role in our movement for freedom as the *Young India* used to play in the National Movement hastened to strengthen me when the Congress leaders threatened to take disciplinary action against me for that protest. Therefore, Rajaji's "call for the protection of the farm and the

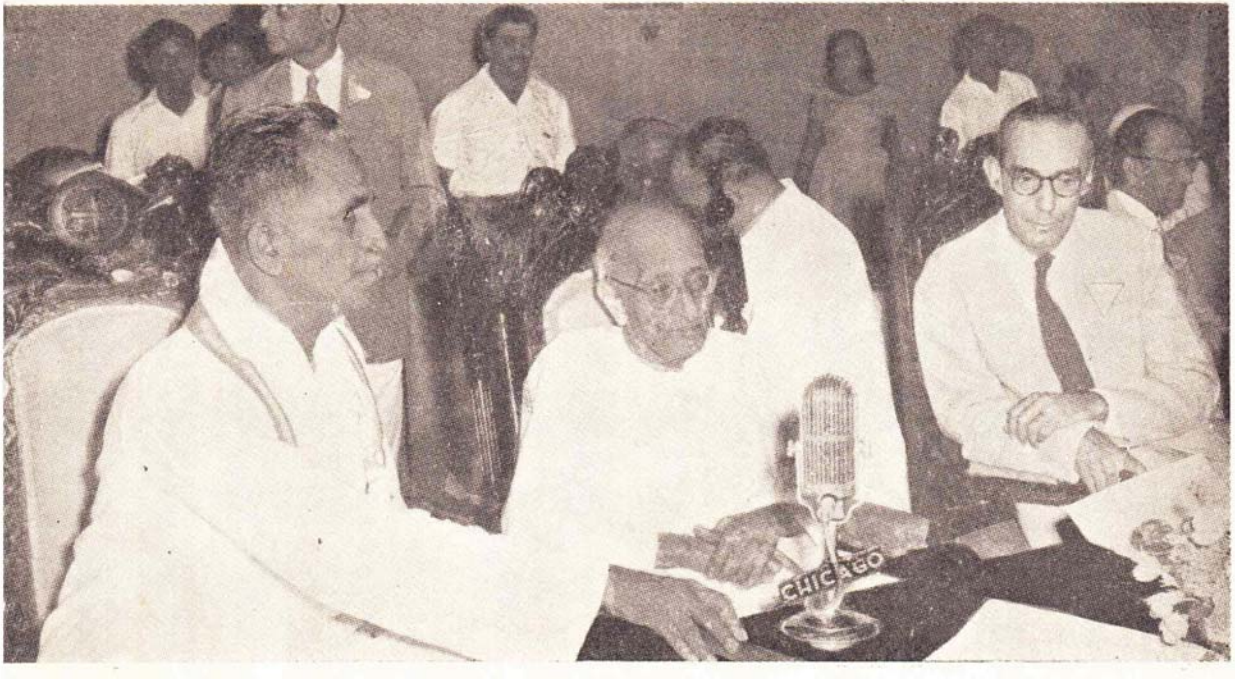
family" was based upon his two-year-long championship of our peasants' struggle for survival in the face of the Congress manoeuvres against peasant economy, under the guise of Gramdan and Cooperative Joint Farming.

We found another great ally in the veteran leader Sri K.M Munshi. Steeped as he is in the scholarship and spirit of Indian culture, he too visualized the totalitarian tendencies underlying the Congress proposal of cooperative farming and therefore made bold to protest against the Nagpur resolutions. His spirited rejoinders to the Nagpur lead gave us much encouragement. But we had to wait till our August Convention before we could gain his comradeship in our new Party.

I went on the 6th June to Ongole Taluk with the three Gujarati leaders, Sri Dadubhai Amin, Sri Bhai Lalbhai Patel (Vice-Chancellor) and Sri Ramchandra Amin, to inaugurate the Peasants' Institute Forum on Peasant Economy versus Cooperative Farming, and returned to my home "Gobhumi" on the 8th to find that Rajaji called me to a Conference in the Gokhale Hall at Madras on the 9th. So I rushed back to Madras just in time for that meeting. Rajaji's special representative met me at the station, and that grand gesture of his has set the pattern of the relations, exquisitely dignified and affectionate that have come to prevail between all of us in the executive levels of our new Party.

The Gokhale Hall was packed to the full when we reached there. Rajaji quietly asked me whether I had made up my mind to accept the leadership of the Party. I assured him that since there had been a decent interval after our Vivekananda Hall ceremony and the despatch of my resignation to the Congress President and the publication of the brochure entitled "*Why Ranga Resigns*?", it would be appropriate for me to declare to that meeting that I would take up the responsibility at his behest. He was pleased with that gesture. That is how I came to be installed in the Gokhale Hall as the President of the Swatantra Party.

During those first six days, the Swatantra Party succeeded in hitting the headlines of the Press and the Radio. The leading British and American as well as the Indian Press hailed it as heralding a wholesome, and progressive Freedom Movement, calculated to strengthen Indian democracy and broaden the area of resistance to totalitarian Statism. Rajaji's lead was welcomed by many a statesman. His decision to give this new lead and emerge from his self-imposed political retirement and to march in the vanguard of the resurgent forces of kisans, kalakars, dukandars and professionals in defence of the home, the family, the farm and the crafts was admired as an unparalleled heroic



At Bombay

Acharya Ranga, Rajaji and Sri M.R. Masani

act of the oldest statesman. Most of us felt therefore that we were justified in pressing him to undertake this onerous responsibility because he alone could launch such new party upon our political arena with the requisite appeal to the classes and the masses and also to all those who have been yearning for the breath of integrity, efficiency, wisdom and Gandhian spirit in both the administration and legislatures as well as national life of Swaraj India.

Three weeks after the conception of our Party, Sri Masani formed the *ad hoc* Committee for Bombay City and invited Rajaji and myself to an informal meeting of the leaders. When we reached Bombay, we were pleasantly surprised by the response given by the educated people, business men and students and youth at every one of the public meetings. We could see how within such a short time the public of Bombay came to realise the birth of a new political force in their midst. Bombay rallied to Rajaji as it used to rally to Bapu in days of old. The packed audience at the public meeting held in Jehangir Hall was one of the great events of that visit. The two former Governors, Sri Modi and Sri Munshi came to welcome Rajaji. Thousands of Bombay's youth and students came again and again to our meetings to greet Rajaji as a veritable saviour from the evils of controls and inefficient, corrupt and wasteful administration, and also from opiamatic propaganda about Nehruism.

From Bombay platforms, Rajaji thundered against the growing and wasteful plan expenditure on State enterprises and bureaucracy. He criticised the ruling Party's misuse of administrative machinery and governmental power for its own ends. He warned the people against the encroachments of administration over the areas of their essential and basic freedoms. He laid stress on the need for respecting the Rule of Law and independence of the judiciary. He declared that the Swatantra Party was the party of agriculturists par excellence and also of all freedom-loving peoples and their free and independent professions. He assured the public that if only the independent entrepreneurs with small, medium-scale and even large-scale capitals, who would number many millions, are encouraged and assisted by Government, there could be much greater and more rapid industrial development and more widespread employment opportunities and greater production and wealth. In this vein, his messages went out from that highly political-minded city of commerce and industry.

No wonder, the Press responded to this timely call of this Bheeshma of Swaraj India. But it excited the anger of the Prime Minister. So he stepped beyond the bounds of decorum and decency and proceeded to abuse the Press and the Swatantra Party. When he ventured to attack our Party as the projection

At Bangalore

Acharya Ranga, Dr. K.M. Munshi and Rajaji

of the Forum of Free Enterprise, Rajaji denied the charge and said that the Prime Minister should remember that Ranga, the kisan, happens to be with our Party, and that anyhow there could be nothing wrong with either the free enterprise approach or its Forum, so long as they could call their souls as their own.

We decided to meet in Bombay on the 1st of August, the birthday of Lokmanya Tilak, to hold our preliminary Convention.

During those seven weeks we went on receiving from all over India response from people of different callings and experience. Small donations began to pour in by thousands. Units of Swatantra Party began to take shape in different parts of the country and our office at Bangalore had a hectic time in coping with that rush of organisational activity all over India.

Sri V.P. Menon, the famous Secretary of the States Department of Sardar Vallabhai's regime, and Sri Jinraj Hegde, Secretary of the Federation, and Sri Sarangapani Mudaliar, the first munificent donor, rose to the occasion, managed the office and proceeded to organise the first Statewide Convention in Bangalore on the 27th July. From that Convention we went to Bombay Convention.

In Bombay, Rajaji was lodged in the Kasturi Buildings named after the founder of the famous Madras English Daily, *The Hindu*. The leaders from various parts of India, notably Sri S.K.D. Paliwal, Sri Raghavendra Pratap of U.P., Sri Maheshinder Singh, Sardar Nagoke, Sri Bhalinder Singh and Sardar Lal Singh from Punjab, Sri Kamakhya Narayan Singh of Bihar, Sri B.D. Patel, Sri Dayabhai Patel and Sri Dadubhai Amin from Gujarat, Sri Kalyan Singh, Sri Bhatnagar and Sri Bhandari from Rajasthan, Sri N.C. Zamindar and Sri Puranik of M.P., Sri N.V. Naidu, Sri G.V. Subbayya, and Sri B.R. Reddy from Andhra; Sri Kanungo from Orissa; Sri Ratnaswami (Vice-Chancellor) and Sri Mariswamy from Madras and many others including the of the host organisation and State rallied to the Convention.

Though it was the monsoonic season, Bombay Convention was favoured with freedom from rain and dry and smiling weather throughout our sessions. Thus we enjoyed good weather leader in politics and from nature during that Foundation-Convention.

On the first day, the Madras Party announced its merger with the Swatantra Party. It was followed by the Gram Raj Party of U.P. and the leader of the Janata Party of Bihar announced that his party might also decide to merge. From Punjab and Andhra came encouraging news that they were already organisationally attuned to the Swatantra Party. The leaders of the Democratic Party of Andhra expressed their good will. Sri Ghanshyam

Singh Gupta of Madhya Pradesh offered cooperation. By the time the second open session of the Convention met, Sri Munshi decided to join forces with us and thus rally to our banner all those who have been feeling forlorn because of the Nehru-inspired arid campaign of secularism.

The Convention put its seal of approval on the amended statement of principles. It also reorganised the *ad hoc* Committee that was initiated at Madras. The sessions of the Convention were attended by more than a thousand delegates hailing from different parts of India. They all came so spontaneously in answer to Rajaji's appeal. I felt during those two days of our deliberations that they were all as completely attuned to the principles and spirit embodied in our statement as the members of the A-.I.C.C. used to be whenever Mahatma Gandhi used to call its momentous sessions. The great majority of the delegates were the erstwhile Congressmen who had taken prominent part in our national struggle for freedom. It appeared to most of them that our present struggle is only a continuation of the earlier struggle, and, therefore, their response was also equally passionate, heroic and persistent.

Our Convention had the good fortune of the prayer and benediction songs sung by that famous artiste, Srimati M.S. Subbalakshmi. Srimati Kurshid Ben, the granddaughter of Dadabhai Nouroji, also came to assure us of the support from the spirit and soul of that founder of the National Movement for Freedom.

The Press responded so generously and gave us the benefit of its attention and services that both the Indian and Foreign correspondents offered us their company and responsive assistance. They helped our message to reach the public in India and all over the world to the great annoyance of Sri Nehru. The coping stone for their services was placed by the *Life*, international magazine, through its special article on the aims and objects of our Party.

The most inspiring achievement of the success of this Convention was witnessed by the delegates and the public when Rajaji, rich in age and wisdom, rose on his feet to deliver his concluding message. For full thirty minutes he stood on his feet and made his vigorous and passionate appeal to the country to respond to the call of the new Party. The public were wonder struck at his energy, strength and moral and physical verve. Not many weeks earlier, Bombay people were wondering how he could stand the strain of hours of committee work and public speaking, even while being seated. But at that Convention, they were amazed to witness him standing for so long and speaking with such vigour. No wonder they had reason to congratulate themselves

because it was their enthusiastic response to the message of the Party that has reinvigorated Rajaji and proved to the Kaya Kalpa. I am glad to say that ever since Rajaji has found a new zest in life, he has been able to draw more and more strength from the inner springs of life and his communion with God and Gandhiji's spirit and give to the country and the Party the inspiration, moral strength and guidance which are far beyond the capacity of much younger people. Such indeed is the contribution made by the lakhs of people who have been rushing to the many of his public meetings held in Madras, Mysore and Andhra States, where I had the honour of accompanying him.

From Bombay, we went to Ahmedabad. We were given a phenomenal reception at the station. The public meeting on the 5th August broke many a record and the sight of those lakh and more cheerful but determined people in the affectionate evening sunshine of Gujarat was both pleasing and inspiring. Rajaji was particularly struck with the huge concourse of women and youth. If it is remembered that we went there after making it clear that our Party would take no sides in local controversies regarding division of States, that mammoth gathering as a sign of public response to our Party and our founder Rajaji becomes politically significant. No wonder, the declaration of the Government's readiness to bifurcate Bombay State did not take long to follow in its wake.

On the fourth of August, we paid a visit to the Sabarmati Ashram. It was a sacred visit to us, as we had had the privilege of visiting it on so many occasions when Bapu was alive. Rajaji was visibly moved. He told us all and the present inmates about his first visit, when Bapu played the host. Our Party was thus ceremonially launched as from the Sabarmati Ashram and the banks of the venerable river Sabarmati.

(*From Prof. Ranga's Notes*)

II

THE MOVEMENT FOR SWATANTRA

The movement for "Swatantra" has arisen out of our people's long-felt need for the protection and promotion of their legitimate and much cherished freedom from exploitation, regimentation and suppression by the rapidly growing and suffocatingly aggressive era of Statism, inaugurated by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his Congress Government. The Swatantra Party is the political weapon of this movement. It seeks to help our people to remain free and to expand the area of their social and economic freedom, through all progressive and non-exploitative means.

The movement for Swaraj began to make rapid strides and became irresistible to the British because it arose out of the natural and irrepressible urge of our people for national freedom. Mahatma Gandhi helped the Congress to utilize Satyagraha as its most effective weapon, because he had the genius to ground it on the traditional urges of our people for sacrifices through non-violent action. Similarly, the present-day movement for the all-round "Swatantra" of our people and its weapon, the Swatantra Party, are based upon the millenium-old urges and freedoms of our kisans (peasants), kalakars (artisans), vyaparis (tradesmen) and buddhijeevis (professionals).

Our planners have tended to depart farther and farther from Gandhiji's conceptions of planning, based upon the bedrock of India's traditionally decentralized social economy of production through free producers. They have chosen to follow the Soviet means which are based on the concentration of more and more power in the State agencies and withdrawal of it from the toilers.

The real intention of the Industrial Policy Statement of 1948, which has been clothed nicely with all kinds of patriotic sentiments of mixed economy, was unravelled only in 1956 by the Second Industrial Policy Statement which made a bolder bid for placing Statism in rivalry to private enterprise. Through all these years, the planners have been trying, thanks to the country's faith in the leadership of Sri Nehru and his professed passion to lift up our masses from their economic misery, to gain a strangle-hold over the peasant masses. They tried to squeeze out of them, to the maximum extent, their surplus value by such means as the imposition of uneconomic procurement prices of food grains. Thanks to the administrative genius of

Rajaji and the late Sri Kidwai and the pressure of the Bharat Kisan Sammelan, the removal of food controls in 1952-53 prevented the planners from subjugating our peasantry to their price-squeeze machinations. So they made bold to persuade Sri Nehru and Congress Government to accept their proposals to utilize the mechanism of cooperatives to get hold of peasants and superimpose their controls, albeit in an indirect and almost invisible manner, over the increasing sections of peasants. Thus arose, since 1955, the new enthusiasm of Government for the development of cooperative farming. The Nagpur Congress decision to start first service cooperatives is obviously intended only to envelop the great mass of our peasantry by cooperative farming.

To strengthen these moves, Government has been busy constructing, in great haste, a large number of capacious warehouses in all key-centres, to maintain buffer-stocks, ostensibly to save peasants and stabilize trade in food grains, but actually for the purpose of conditioning the free market for food grains and thus indirectly controlling peasants. Side by side with this move, the Commission was also attempting to remove from its path the large body of grain traders. The Government heeded its advice and proposed to socialize grain trade on the pretext of saving peasants and consumers from their exploitation. Hence the Nagpur Congress decision on State trading.

Our peasant masses who have however been watching these moves as being capable of stifling their freedom to market their produce at economic prices have reacted violently to the Nagpur resolutions as they gave away the real intentions of the Congress and its planners. They have realized that once the competitive grain traders are brushed aside in favour of the monopolist State trading and their self-employment is swallowed up by cooperative farming, their freedoms would be lost for ever and their plight would be no better than that of the Soviet peasants. Hence their nation-wide revolt against the Nagpur-*cum*-Nehru lead. *The Swatantra movement is the political expression of this spontaneous peasant revolt.*

One wonders naturally, in the wake of the emergence of the Swatantra Party, why it should have taken so long for Indian politicians and people to realize the designs of our planners and to revolt against this Nehruism. It should however be remembered that most of our freedom fighters had come to be so impatient for achieving economic progress that in the first blush of national freedom they turned more to the West than to our own home-bred foundations for inspiration despite 40 years of Gandhian teachings.

It is of great significance that during the first four years after India became free, the British Labour Government enjoyed

substantial majority and a large number of us who were then in the Congress Working Committee and on the Executive of the Congress Parliamentary Party had for long been avowed socialists. No wonder, the Congress Ministry was most anxious to develop India's economy on the most practicable socialist lines. By rapid strides, the zamindari and jagirdari systems were liquidated and tens of millions of peasants were assured of proprietorship over their holdings. Great impetus was given to the trend for developing State enterprises; from the Housing Factory to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, from the Hindustan Machine Tools to the Indian Telephone Industry, from the Hindustan Ship-building to the Integral Coach Factory. All that passion culminated in the nationalization of the Imperial Bank of India and the great Life Insurance Corporation.

But it did not take long before Parliament and public began to be shocked by successive scandals in the management of the State enterprises. The controls regime opened the eyes of the public to the growing intensification of inefficiency and corruption in the administrative services and the railways. The cost of administration was mounting up manifold, while inefficiency was becoming chronic and the inability of the Cabinets and Legislatures to control corruption, avoid inefficiency and tone up the administration has shocked our public and created a reaction from their earlier blissful faith in Congress leaders' ability to make the State management yield magical results.

The L.I.C. and Mundhra deals, the jeep, fertilizer, tractor, Hirakud and Bhakra Nangal episodes, the Steel plants' losses, the contracts negotiated by ordnance factories and ever so many more such scandals have shocked the country and contributed so largely to the loss of public's confidence in the ability, honesty and public spirit of Congress rulers.

The misuse of governmental power by Ministers at the Centre and at State levels for Party and personal ends and for inflicting vindictive injuries on political or group or factious rivals and people behind them have been making our public to lose their interest in public panchayats, cooperative societies etc. Most of the social service organizations have ceased to interest the public, especially since the so-called Social Welfare Wings of the Congress Government have begun to swell with funds and powers.

The public have come to react violently to the unashamed misuse of governmental power to pervert administration of justice, to pack services with favourites of political bosses, to divert public funds for non-public purposes and into political channels and to wink at or indulge in callous waste of public funds through the swelling ranks of State employees on the ever new State enterprises.

The Swatantra Party is being hailed by the public as holding the most powerful promise of cleaning up this inefficient, over-staffed, costly and corrupt administration; especially because it has the blessings and guidance of Rajaji, who has built up the best reputation for incorruptibility and efficiency and scrupulous use of power.

None in this post-war age wishes to stand for or defend exploitation of man by man or class by class. None also stands for the continuation or intensification of class or clan or colour struggles, thanks to the terrible experiences of the world through Nazism and Sovietism. Indeed no humane or civilized person wishes that any country or people should be condemned to or misled into the horrible experiences of Soviet Russia or China, merely in the mad pursuit after get-rich-quick national endeavours or power and prestige. Even the Indian people have come to realize the misery of the Soviet peoples who have lost their spiritual, cultural and economic freedoms during the past forty years. So they do not wish to part with their own freedoms in exchange for the economic progress that Jawaharlalji and his planners promise to achieve through their Plans. Especially is it so, after their past 13 years of experience of the mounting tax-burdens, swelling civil services and dwindling efficiency and administrative morale. On the other hand, the decision of the British electorate through three successive general elections, not to favour the programme of nationalization and the resultant Statism has begun to make our people re-examine their Nehru-induced faith in the Statism of planners.

The confessions made by the arch-planner, Sri G.L. Nanda, after his recent tour of Yugoslavia and other European countries, that the Soviet countries are now hankering after a bit of freedom for their toilers, that nationalization might not assure the proletariat either freedom of collective bargaining or freedom borne by trade unions' organisational strength and that co-operative farming and nationalization of industries might lead to soulless bureaucracy, with all its evils, have only confirmed the fears of our masses about the dangers of democratic-dictatorship of Sri Nehru. Indeed, the alarm raised by Forum of Free Enterprise at the new trends towards Statism long back has now come to be realised as the timely warning to all lovers of freedom in practice. Hence their welcome to the Swatantra Party, which boldly stands against this Statism of the Nehru-stamp.

Some time ago, Sri Jawaharlal taunted that the Swatantra Party stood for *laissez faire*. Actually it is he who has prevented the stabilization of prices of agricultural produces, particularly food grains, and thus made our peasants suffer from his *laissez faire* attitudes. He complained that the Swatantra Party is a projection of the Forum of Free Enterprise. He forgot that the

peasant-proprietors who form 167 millions (47%) of our population and the self-employed tenants who form 31 millions (8.8%) are free entrepreneurs who exploit none and who need exploit none to eke out their earnings which are in most cases far less than the professional incomes which are exempted from income-tax.

Thus the Swatantra Party stands pre-eminently for the freedom of these broad masses and not merely of the few millions of entrepreneurs whose claim for freedom is also precious to the nation.

The prices of almost all consumers' goods have gone up unbearably; even the Reserve Bank, noting mostly the trends of wholesale prices, admitted as 29% the rise in prices since 1949, over and above the much larger increase caused by the war-time and post-war inflation. The burden of excise duties has also been rising rapidly; from 128 to 252 crores of rupees within the past four years, and these are paid mostly by the middle and poor classes. Even the railway travel is taxed to the tune of Rs. 11 crores and, very soon, the nationalized road transport will come to be made to yield higher revenues. And what is being done with all these burdensome tax-revenues? The cost of the ever-swelling and much pampered civil administration alone has risen from 94 to 222 crores of rupees and the Pay Commission's concessions will cost more than Rs. 30 crores. Need anyone wonder that the middle classes and proletariat turn to the Swatantra Party for relief from these burdens?

The present Government has been vainly attempting to increase employment for the educated youths, but at what cost? By filling the State services with redundant staff; by wasting more than all the additional revenues derived from the new taxes imposed, as admitted by the Congress Party's own Economy Committee. Our planners' planning is discouraging our peasants and artisans from ploughing in all their savings and investing borrowed capital also in the development of their productive activities by its threats of ill-conceived reforms. Its threat of persuading weavers to organize cooperative power-loom factories to replace the handloom weaving and its refusal to aid the great majority of weavers who are outside the cooperative fold have made the Handloom Board more an enemy than a friend of the weavers. Its new offers of many subsidies, special preferences and nation-wide campaign in favour of cooperative farming have only warned our peasant masses not to continue to look upon their holdings, as hitherto, as their safest banks, surest social security bonds and Kamadhenu and Kalpavruksha for their self-employment and self-respecting source of maintenance for themselves and their successors.

How can anyone estimate the colossal losses inflicted on our nation's voluntary efforts at self-improvement and progress by these threats and disastrous policies of the planners and Nehru's Government? Surely, what all the plan expenditure could do would not replace one-tenth of this terrible damage caused by them. The Swatantra Party hopes to arrest these threats and their evil effects by holding out its promise of a re-orientation of the whole planned approach, if and when it comes into power. It holds out the promise that through its planning, all the self-employed masses from peasants to industrial entrepreneurs and commercial classes would be given every encouragement to venture forth with their individual and group-wise schemes for expansion of their enterprises and thus help the nation to achieve the maximum progress without in any way exploiting any class or group. *Its whole approach would be based on its trust in the willingness and ability of the people to help themselves and the nation, under the aegis of its welfare schemes and protective governance to avoid and eliminate exploitation.* This approach is based upon the well-springs of our national tradition and cultural heritage of self-employment and decentralized pattern of economic freedom and it has been given the go-bye by our planners.

The Swatantra Party wishes the nation to hearken back to Gandhian approach. Even during this short period of gestation before the next general elections, the Swatantra Party is sure to have its salutary impact upon the policies and programmes of the Congress Government by arresting its suicidal competition with the P-.S.P. and the Communist Party of India and the Soviet planners and leaders, and by forcing it to take into serious consideration the wishes and legitimate urges of our masses for retaining and promoting their freedoms.

(*From Prof. Ranga's Notes*)

III

THE BIRTH OF THE PATY

(Presidential Address of Professor Ranga at the preparatory convention of the Swatantra Party held in Bombay on August 1 & 2, 1959)

We meet here on this day of sacred memory of our great national leader of indomitable courage, Sri Bala Gangadhar Tilak, who enunciated the inspiring principle "Swaraj is my birthright". It is in the fitness of things that we should be gathering here today after having had these twelve years of Swaraj India's experience of growing encroachments of the State upon what we enshrined in our original Constitution as the Fundamental Rights and the traditional socio-economic freedoms and privileges, to make the complementary declaration that "Swatantra India is also the birthright of every individual in Swaraj". We are grateful to Rajaji, the sage statesman, the closest collaborator for long of Bapuji and the ablest of our national leaders, for having roused our nation to the menace of Soviet-inspired Statism which has been gaining its strangle-hold so rapidly, through the all-enveloping tentacles of the Plan. We are also grateful to the peasants' organisations for their courageous revolts against Congress plans to impose ceilings and, unilaterally on the agriculturists, introduce cooperative farming, and also for their political initiative in convening the Madras Conference where the Swatantra Party was conceived to champion the causes of freedom and independence of our masses. When crores of self-employed masses, artisans, traders, professional peoples as well as the proletariat of the towns and villages are in danger of being overwhelmed by the new State of the Plan and the new class born out of nineteenth century Socialism and Soviet inspiration, Rajaji has come forward with his clarion call to our masses to band themselves together to work and fight for the protection and furtherance of our birthright, Swatantra.

These thirteen years of Swaraj Government have brought to the fore certain dangers inherent in the planned economy and the prevailing political atmosphere of Sovietism that has unobtrusively come to influence our planners and Government. Our friends of the Congress who have come into power after long decades of striving and who have been enjoying it for so long without any effective fear of losing it, have fallen very much in love with it. So they have forgotten the historic evils

and dangers of that power if allowed to go on making such inroads into the basic freedoms and rights of individuals, groups and masses, and have failed to have any second thoughts as to the dangers of its uncontrolled exercise. They have become so intoxicated with the use of these powers of the post-war State, augmented as they have been by the war-time legacy of controls that they have mustered courage to seek to destroy the very foundations of our social economy. It is now for all lovers of India's traditional family economy, which has withstood many challenges from successive rulers, both Indian and foreign, to mobilise all their forces to arrest the mad rush towards Sovietism and destruction of every kind of freedom and independence that gives any meaning to our existence as human beings. *The Swatantra Party has come into existence to shoulder this sacred responsibility.*

We are being attacked, as being people of yesterday's thoughts by no less a person than Jawaharlalji because we dare take up this challenge of the Congress to the Fundamental Rights and the farm-family economy which is the very marrow of our nation. But we are convinced that ours is a part of the world-wide movement of liberation of the individual from the controls of Statism and uplifting of the personality of every human being. Ours is a challenge to the totalitarian tendencies and dictatorial parties masquerading as Governments which are threatening to overwhelm humanity.

This cause of Swatantra and the cry for Swatantra is an ageless one; it is as old as society in its relations with its individual members and their groupings. From the days of our Rishis, long before the age of Ramayana and Mahabharata down to the era of Socrates and Athenian democracy, sages and statesmen were obliged to debate and their peoples had to struggle with successive types of rulers, as to the nature and quantum of Swatantra the people in their homes, associations and citizenship should achieve for their spiritual and material progress, consistently with their need for the State to assure them of the basic national security, peaceful existence and social harmony. Plato and Aristotle argued from opposite sides over this essential question as to what should conduce most of the happiness of people; to give more power to the State or to allow more Swatantra to the individual. The schoolmen of Europe of the Middle Ages had to reconcile themselves to what is known as pluralism in social structure in which various guilds of craftsmen, and city corporations were allowed to enjoy the freedom of corporate organisations free from interference by the State.

In India too the conception and practice of *dharma* were evolved through several centuries and popularised through

the didactic treaties including the popular Epics, Bhajan Songs, and kings, their ministers and the whole hierarchy of officials had come to accept it as their inviolable code of conduct. According to that *dharma*, the rights and privileges of internal autonomy in almost all social and economic matters of self-governing guilds of craftsmen and professionals, and panchayats of peasants and villagers were fully assured and respected and peasant proprietorship and craftsmen's economic freedom were accepted as warp and woof of the fabric of our social economy. Almost all the people of our country were encouraged to achieve self-employment and thus attain social and economic independence irrespective of the personnel of the rulers. Whenever encroachments were sought to be made directly or indirectly by the rulers upon these individual and group freedoms, there were revolts from the people concerned as well as others against the power-mad rulers. The British Bill of Rights, the French and American Charter of Natural Rights of Man came to take their shape as a result of such revolts and revolutions. We, of these two generations, have been through the past seventy years of national struggle to achieve, once again, these rights and freedoms from the encroachments made by British imperialism. And European peoples of the Western and Eastern systems of governments made common cause during the second world war to fight and defeat fascism. Those Europeans who fought for freedom in their respective countries were known variously as Liberals, Radicals, Republicans and Revolutionaries.

In the inter-war period, the champions of freedom came to organise themselves internationally also and fight for national independence and human freedom for peoples of all countries and called themselves anti-imperialists. Later on, they took up the role of anti-fascists, during the second world war. Ever since the Soviet powers have refused to accept the United Nations Charter of Human Rights and began to envelop countries after countries in Eastern Europe and Asia with their suffocating communist overcoats denying human rights and depriving the peasants of their holdings and self-employment and oppressing the intellectuals and the professionals by opposing their freedom of thought, speech and writing. All freedom-loving people have been obliged to face this challenge and fight for the Swatantra of the Indian conception embracing human rights and freedom and the independence of people, as individuals and members of concentric circles of self-governing groups and associations. It does not need much display or heroism for rulers to retain power and expand their control over others. But to question their authority, arrest its expansion, to keep it under control, guide and regulate its use for the benefit of people and also for the expansion of their privileges, has always demanded all the

moral and physical courage and material sacrifices from the noblest of all nations. This is the role that the Swatantra Party has now taken up. This is the mission it has chosen to fulfil. It is unfortunate that Jawaharlalji should have mistaken this heroic role and noble mission for a lost cause of the nineteenth century. However, we shall continue to march ahead under the leadership of the Swatantra Party and Rajaji, with the full confidence that our mission will protect and promote the invaluable human rights, self-employment and other social and economic freedoms and privileges of our masses. This is an all-world-embracing movement. I am glad to inform you that our valued colleague, Sri Masani, was recently chosen as one of the Seven Patrons of the Liberal International.

It is surprising that Jawaharlalji who has made such a deep study of the history of these freedom movements and who has played such an important role in the league against imperialism and the fight against fascism should be repeating his unhistorical charge that the inauguration of this movement by the Swatantra Party and the Kisan Sammelan smacks of the nineteenth century. This is indeed the most progressive and the latest contribution to the ageless human struggle for freedom and independence against the equally ever-recurrent manoeuvres of those in power over the lives, freedoms and free associations of people.

We are today obliged to protest against the Soviet approach of our planners. There was a time, when I for one did much to promote the plan, for the establishment of the Planning Commission and for the making of the National Development Plan. But never did I imagine that the planners would try to subvert our National Economy in such a manner as to make me explain in Parliament, as I was obliged to when the First Five Year Plan was presented, that it was a pale imitation of the Soviet plan and not at all a Gandhian plan. The Second Five Year Plan made a bolder approach to Sovietism while paying lip homage to the principle of decentralisation and the economy of cottage industries and peasant proprietorship.

Most of the people in our country have been so keen on rapid economic development that they allowed themselves to be hypnotised by the magnitude of the rupee values of the plan expenditure and the national hydro schemes, iron and steel plants, chemical works and machine tool factories. So they did not care to pay much atttention to what appeared to be didactic theses on agrarian and other aspects of our national life incorporated so cleverly by the Planning Commission in their *Neo Maha Bhagvata* (report on the plan). Now that the Planning Commission has begun to give concrete shape to several of the chapters in its theses on agriculture, industry and trade and the Congress Party wanted to toe the line through its preparatory resolutions

at Avadi and Amritsar and its greatest Nagpur declarations of the preparatory steps proposed to be taken to enable the Planning Commission to give practical effect to its schemes, large sections of our people have begun to realise the real intentions of the planners and their Government.

We know now, thanks to the Nagpur exposition, that the Congress and the Planning Commission want to deprive our peasants of their much-cherished self-employment. They want to induce them by direct and indirect means at the disposal of the Government to accept the position of wage-earning members of the cooperative farming under the guise of the farm managements being amenable to their democratic control. They want to deprive them of their peasant proprietorship and control and utilisation of their holdings. They desire to exploit the need of peasants for the service cooperatives to cajole and coerce them into embracing cooperative farming. Similarly they wish to draw millions of our artisans into the embraces of the small factories tied up, however loosely, to the growing large-scale economy as is evident by their plans to replace the whole of the handloom weavers of more than one crore by the introduction of five lakhs of power-looms through the sugar-coated weavers' power-looms' cooperatives. They want also to replace crores of small shopkeepers and their family economy of trading by introducing State-controlled, -regulated or -owned grain shops (whether cooperative or otherwise), manned and supervised by so-called educated and qualified employees. All these evil possibilities have become patent only after the Congress passed its Nagpur resolution.

The people of our country do not approve of these objectives, plans, schemes and intrigues against their cherished social, economic freedom based on their family economy. This has been demonstrated through the nation-wide protests voiced from the platforms of the peasants, artisans and traders. *The Swatantra Party has arisen as an answer to the challenge of the Congress and the Planning Commission to those precious liberties and freedom of the great majority of our nation to find self-employment and a modicum of social security in the family economy in agriculture, cottage industries and trade.* The Swatantra Party is the political champion of these peoples and their freedom-laden family economy.

It is no satisfactory answer even to those sections of the freedom-loving Congressmen to say, as some of the topmost Congress leaders are saying, that the Nagpur resolution has not said anything new but only tried to amplify what had been already stated in 1945, 1951 and 1957 election manifestoes. The Nagpur resolution was like the last straw that breaks the camel's back. It brought into relief what had not earlier been

so clearly noticed. Surely that last straw cannot be justified because the earlier leads had been borne patiently. Similarly, the Nagpur resolution cannot be imposed upon loyal Congressmen and those sections of the public who have reposed for so long their confidence in the Congress just because they had so patiently and confidingly accepted the earlier manifestoes which had contained some of these things along with so many other hopes and aspirations. In fact so many of us took early steps to protest against those proposals in the Congress manifesto which were capable of weakening our peasant economy and replacing it by cooperative farms and State farms. In 1945 the Congress talked of making experiments in cooperative farming and State farming when it was not in power and when our knowledge of the working of such farms in Soviet country was so meagre and one-sided. In 1951 when the Congress wanted to meddle with the peasant family economy and suggested the possibility of depriving the peasants of small and uneconomic holding from their self-employment without offering any alternative, many of us broke away from it and organised our rival political parties and protested against it. I am sure that most Congressmen did not attach as much importance to that suggestion contained in the election manifesto as their traditional craftsmen might have intended. Otherwise, they would have protested against it, at least as ineffectively as was done at Nagpur. Now that this great issue has come so fortunately to be presented in the country all by itself in the form of the Nagpur resolution, the masses of our country have begun to bestir themselves against this menace to the basic feature of our economy.

I am confident that just as the world has emerged alive and kicking from out of fascism and peasants of the European Soviet Lands have been fighting their way out of what seems to be suffocating totalitarianism of Communist States, so also Indian peasants as well as proprietors and tenants working in alliance with such proprietors will continue to fight against the one-sided ceilings that are sought to be imposed upon them without paying just compensation and also against the national campaigns for the organisation of the cooperative farming to take the place of peasant family farm economy. They know only too well that the service cooperatives are avowed to serve to decoy sections of them into the other national campaign for cooperative farms. Fortunately, Indian peasants have had 45 years of experience during this Gandhian Era, of struggling peacefully as well as through Satyagraha against many such intrigues hatched against them by the British, the old feudal order and capitalists. Some of us have grown grey through our participation in these battles. So we are confident of peasants' continued support in the

present struggle also. We are equally confident of our ultimate success, hence the quick reaction against the Nagpur challenge.

It is, however, the duty of all political parties, who value the freedom of peasants to enjoy proprietorship of their holdings and who cherish the family economy and self-employment on the farm and in the shop and workshop, to strengthen this struggle of our peasants as well as artisans and others. I am very glad that Rajaji has given us the clarion call that the Swatantra Party has come into existence, especially to protect the Farm and Family; these are the two great social and economic institutions which are being menaced everywhere by communists, socialists and their fellow travellers. It is symbolic of the Congress leadership's divorce from the Gandhian way and liaison with the Soviet way that it should have chosen to menace the family economy of our kisans and kalakars. It is equally symbolic of the historic mission of our peasantry that they should have intuitively reacted to the challenge of Nehruism by being the sponsors of the Madras Conference which brought this Party into existence with the *Ashirwad* and *Namkarna* ceremonies at which Rajaji officiated.

We are face to face with the danger of our masses being driven by this one-party dominated State into the long-long dark night which has been depressing the Soviet countries, if Jawaharlalji's drive towards indiscriminate cooperativisation of agriculture, trade and industry is not arrested in time. He may think that he is marching towards light and not darkness. But let him pause and see why the Soviet countries are yielding concessions after concessions to their peasants and in allowing them to recapture the enjoyment of their small so-called kitchen gardens of up to two acres per family. His own Labour Minister, Nandaji, had to admit that freedom and liberalism are being introduced by small doses into their totalitarian Sovietism. Does that not hold a beacon-light to us? Is that not also a warning that we should not embrace their darkness, only later on to hanker after light? Are we to accept the dismissal almost to a political operation of the Kerala Communist Ministry only to sneak into their brand of darkness and steal their discarded clothes and put the trade mark of Nehruism on the resultant grave of human freedom and farm family economy and the self-employment of kisans and kalakars?

I am glad to find that more and more of our masses are awakening to the need to fight against such plans of the Government to subvert the major segment of our social economy. *The Swatantra Party is placing itself in the vanguard of this growing revolt of the masses against these plans.*

IV

CHALLENGE TO CONGRESS

The Swatantra Party has achieved during this short period, signal success in assuring our masses that there can be and has come to be this effective alternative to Sri Nehru's leadership and that Nehruism's rush towards Communism—whether of Vinobaji's ascetic type or of the dictatorial type of the Soviets—can be and has come to be arrested by its ideological challenge and political activity.

The advent of the Swatantra Party, Rajaji's *Digvijaya Yatra* and the ideological and organisational activities of all of us in the Party during the past eighteen months since its conception by Rajaji in Madras on 4th June, 1959 have proved to be the most outstanding events in the political life of our country since 1948.

This year-and-a-half of Swatantra will come to be hailed as the first lap of the era of social freedom, challenging the decade long of Statism of the Planning Commission made so all pervasive and powerful by Sri Nehru. It has freed the people, the Press and the public workers from the mesmeric thraldom of Nehruism. It has put heart into Gandhians and believers in the Indian faith and practice of *dharma*. It has supported the ideal of Trusteeship, decentralised and non-political administration and local planning and civil liberties.

During the first anniversary celebrations of the Swatantra Party in Bombay (August 1960), it challenged the ruling Party to agree to fight the next general elections on equal terms. So, it demanded that the ruling Party should vacate the ministries six months before the elections and leave the administration in charge of caretaker Governments under the President. It also asked the Congress Party to agree to the demand made by all the Opposition Parties that no political party should receive any donations from any of the joint stock companies. So far, these challenges have not been accepted by the ruling Party. It is no answer to say that in no other country is the ministry expected to resign so long before general elections, because, it is only in such a large enough democratic country as ours the ruling Party is making such a shameless misuse of its powers to strengthen its political hold.

Recently the Swatantra Party made another challenge, that none of the political parties should interest itself, either

directly or indirectly, in the elections and administration of the Local Boards, up to Zilla Parishad levels, Municipalities, Co-operatives and Religious Endowments.

Again, the Swatantra Party demands that the ministries should give up their control over these institutions—which are said to be people's own local or voluntary organisations—and hand over all such powers to an impartial, non-political, quasi-judicial commission, enjoying about the same status and independence as Public Service Commission. It also challenges the ruling Party to hand over to the same commission whatever funds are allocated for the social and local services to be developed through Local Boards, Cooperatives etc. for distribution as between various Local Authorities and their schemes for development, in the same way as the Union Government is placing its funds for development of Higher Education at the disposal of the University Grants Commission. These two demands have found favour with such non-party personalities as Sri C.D. Deshmukh and Sri Jayaprakash Narayan.

Yet another need of the hour is to remove the Company Law Administration from the normal activities of the Government and place it under a statutory commission which will be beyond the control of the political interests of the ruling Party. As it is, the ministry succumbs too often to its political interests in wielding its power under the Company Law over the joint stock companies. Even the greatest of the industrial magnates are obliged to cater to political needs of the ruling Party, if only they wish to be free from the worries caused by the Company Law Administration. The present ruling Party is loth to give up this handy weapon of political victimisation.

The Swatantra Party has thrown these political challenges to the ruling Party as much in the interest of wholesome political activity in our democracy as in favour of genuine decentralisation of political power and reduction of the powers for exploitation by whichever party that may be in power at any time. Yet, so great has come to be the dependence of the Congress Party on its misuse of governmental power for the continuation of its electoral strength that it dare not accept our challenge and face the opposition in the political arena on somewhat equal terms.

The self-employed agriculturists, whether land-owning peasants or tenants, have been assured by our Party that their self-employment, and consequent socio-economic freedom and security and status are no longer at the tender mercies of Sri Nehru's prejudices against their small-holdings and inveterate love of freedoms. So, they have begun to breathe a new hope. The able and persistent fight put up in Andhra Legislature by the Swatantra group against the ceilings bill, in the face of the

combined offensive by the Congress and Communist Parties and the determined opposition offered to the ceilings bills of Madras, Gujarat and Maharashtra has demonstrated the ideological convictions of our Party in favour of peasant economy. We have challenged the Union Government that it did not have a clear mandate in favour of its ceilings bills for Manipur, Tripura and Delhi. Everywhere peasants have regained self-confidence and are protesting against Nehru-inspired Nagpur Congress resolution favouring cooperative farming. The kisans are opposing Government's moves to organise cooperative farms under official auspices and misusing public funds for subsidising cooperative farms.

Merchants, tradesmen and shopkeepers have come to feel a new confidence in their usual role in our social economy, despite the Congress Party's campaign that their's is anti-social function, because Swatantra Party has boldly welcomed their contribution, as self-employed, enterprising and hard working free toilers.

The middle classes, who could not derive much hope from the activities of the Forums, Chambers and Clubs and who were being ground down by the tax burdens and controls heaped upon them by Congress ministries and whose savings and earnings have been continuously drained away through planned inflation, have rallied to our Party because it has boldly stood up against inflation and the Plan's process of taxation and the Government's drive to pauperise these classes.

The growing class of entrepreneurs—big and small—who have been threatened with unequal competition from the powerful Socialist State of Sri Nehru have come to be assured by the Party that they would be helped to make their best contributions to our economic progress as against their rivals, the State enterprises, so long as they succeed better in serving the nation. Swatantra Party alone challenges the Nehru dictum, adumbrated at the Raipur A-.I.C.C. in October 1960, that "the State—the State alone—can usher in the industrial revolution. Profit-minded private enterprise lacks the capacity and mental approach to do so in a planned way." The Swatantra Party believes that people's enterprise can provide maximum employment to our masses. Hence the courageous stand taken by the Party, with the powerful backing of Rajaji, against the expansion of the State sector and centralised industrialisation.

Through their better experiences during the recent general strike, the employees in Government enterprises have realised the correctness of the Swatantra's warnings that Statism would deny workers of their right to strike, would lead to dictatorship and hold the people and proletariat to ransom. In the Bhilai Steel Factory, Government has already introduced the Soviet discipline,

which prevents the application of the same labour regulations as are applied in all privately managed factories thus exemplifying truth that under Statism working classes will lose their freedom to organise and to go on strike to protest against official tyranny or intolerable conditions of working.

The small Swatantra Group of M.P.s has boldly opposed the Draft Third Five Year Plan and questioned the right of the ruling Party to indulge in inflation and thus impoverish all classes and to divert so great a part of national resources for the building up of the State sector, to bolster up cooperative farming, to weaken peasant economy and to subvert peasant and free-market economies through State trading and controls and inflation. The Swatantra Party has dissociated itself from this Soviet-oriented planning of the Congress.

The reports of various scandals in the management of State enterprises—from State Insurance to Irrigation Works, from State trading to the issue of licences—have been shocking the public into the realisation that Statism could and would poison the springs of our public life. The recent disclosures of how the Steel Works have failed to produce according to schedule owing to lack of co-ordination between State-owned and -managed coal mines, railways and how the Sindri Fertiliser Factory's production has gone down by 50% because of neglect of repairs and coal supplies have only highlighted the usual inefficiency and costliness of State enterprise and management. The exploitation and democratisation of public services by the ruling Party for its own ends have begun to scandalise the people. Therefore, the initiative of Rajaji is the timely answer to the call of the public for a lead, based on Gandhian standards and Indian conceptions of *dharma*. The lawyers, doctors and numerous free-lance intellectuals who could not accept the growing encroachments on people's freedom as contributions towards progress and happiness, have welcomed Rajaji's revolt against this unashamed cult of Statism and hailed the emergence of this Party as the consummation of the creative forces, which had been struggling hard, independently of each other, to keep alive the lamps of freedom and hope.

It was my privilege to have accompanied Rajaji in his *Digvijaya Yatra* from Bombay, Ahmedabad to Tinnevelly near Kanyakumari, from Eluru to Srikakulam, from Madras to Coimbatore, from Calcutta to Patna, from Gaya to Lucknow, from Patiala to Delhi, and from Bardoli to Belgaum during this year. The mammoth gatherings of people of all classes which swarmed to listen to him hailed his demand for freedom from corruption, from the over-grown bureaucracy and demoralised political bosses of the Congress. Everywhere his demand for an impartial,

non-political and honest administration was acclaimed as the need of the hour.

One of the biggest achievements of the Party is to have survived the concerted campaign of vilification, carried on not only by the Congress and Sri Nehru, the fountain-head of its inspiration, but also by the P-.S.P. and C.P.I. The other is the demonstration of its mass following as evidenced during the tours, not only of Rajaji but also of all other leaders. This movement of Swatantra has gone on reassuring all the freedom-loving toilers, that Nehru's Statism could be resisted in a nation-wide parliamentary campaign.

In the fight against the Swatantra, which has been taken right down to the village level, the efforts of the Congress Ministers and their henchmen are being reinforced by those of other parties to dissuade kisans and kalakars from joining the Swatantra. In spite of all this there is today only Swatantra's campaign in villages for primary membership on a mass scale; this indeed is a positive achievement of the Swatantra.

—*Prof. N. G. Ranga*

V

MAINTAIN PEASANT ECONOMY

(Presidential Address of Professor N. G. Ranga at the Punjab Swatantra Party's Convention held at Patiala on the October 25, 1959)

Our country is heading towards a crisis on both the international and national fronts. We have to thank the Government for this unenviable development. For too long a period the Government has neglected our national defences on the North-Eastern frontier and kept the country in the dark about Chinese incursions into our territory. The Prime Minister was good enough to confess his blunder in keeping the country blindfolded in regard to this vital matter. As days go by, the situation is getting worse. On the other hand, the Defence Minister, who is given so much freedom to handle our foreign affairs also, goes out of his way to rebuff friendly overchures from a number of foreign countries who are willing to lend us at least their moral support in this dispute between India and China.

The Tibet situation has been mishandled from the very beginning. All our protests against the recognition of China's imperialist overlordship over Tibet were overruled and India's political foot-hold in Tibet was surrendered as a price for the so-called signature of China on the Panch Shila document, the draft for which had already been prepared by Mao Tse-Tung and his communist advisers. The recent debacle in Tibet has highlighted the earlier blunder. And the latest performance of India's delegation at the U.N. over Tibet issue has further weakened India's moral position vis-a-vis both Tibet and freedom-loving world.

As if these mishaps are not enough, the Government is bent upon persuing its unwise internal policies for planning on a grandiose and unattainable scales. Anyone who has studied carefully the rising levels of prices of all essential commodities, the growing pauperisation of peasantry and middle classes and the unashamed indulgence in inflation can easily realise how recklessly the Government is planning towards national economic crisis.

Under the guise of experimenting with deficit financing, the Government has embarked upon the dangerous adventure of inflation. When confronted by the evil effects of inflation, the Prime Minister was bold enough to say recently that inflation

would be inevitable under planned economy. Evidently he has made up his mind to go the way of so many other countries which landed themselves in bankruptcy soon after the first world war because of such policy. Possibly he has not been advised about the full consequences of such a policy, i.e., the rich being made the richer and the poor being made the poorer as a result of invisible transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich.

Moreover, inflation would mean an indirect tax upon the resources of the public to put it in a respectable light but actually it is a policy of chesting the public by quietly withdrawing more and more of the value from the currency issued by Government. Such a policy would result in dire consequences to both the public and Government. If the present Government were to pursue suicidal policy, it would be leading the country into an economic crisis from which neither its hair-brained taxation policies nor its too enthusiastic foreign creditors could be expected to save the people.

It might appear to be very heroic for the Prime Minister to flourish in the face of the world the ten thousand crores target of expenditure for the Third Five Year Plan period. But where and how could he be arranging for all this money? Could not much of it be withdrawn from people's hard-earned wages and salaries and incomes through this immoral process of inflation? Would not so much of this money be accounted for by the redundency of payments to be made because of inflation and also wasteful expenditure and uncontrollable inefficiency in over-grown administration and profiteering by contractors and corruption in management? Would it not be, however, more profitable, honest and economical to the nation and more conducive to the welfare of the people, not to plan for more than seven thousand five hundred crores of rupees of expenditure and refuse to indulge in inflation and also in burdensome taxation and practise economy in administration?

Therefore, Swatantra Party is opposed to the fiscal policies of the Government as implied in its present frantic efforts to finance the Second Plan and also in its plans for raising ten thousand crores of rupees for the Third Plan. Our Party believes,on the other hand, in planning for the development of our country, more through the voluntary efforts of our people aided as they must be by a judicious quantum of assistance, advice and encouragement from Government and certainly without the dangerous aids of inflation and blind-folded dependence upon foreign loans.

As if the above policies are not bad enough, the Government is keen on putting limits upon the development of our economy outside State enterprises on the spacious plea that private

enterprise should be limited and controlled. What it actually is tending to achieve is to increase the area of State controlled economy and decrease the area of economic development and progress which the people would be capable of and willing to utilise. Our planners seem to have fallen in love with the policy of controls, State ownership and management and therefore dare to discourage the initiative and enterprise of our entrepreneurs. Their approach will not lead to progress. It will only stunt our national economy. It will lead to Statism with all its evils of bureaucratic and wasteful management and loss of freedom of people.

The planners have also decided to encroach upon the freedom of our peasantry and artisans. We have long been demanding effective protection and assistance from the State for these broad masses. For instance, we have asked for parity between prices of the rural and urban products and remuneration for their producers. We have also clamoured for remunerative prices for our agricultural produce. But the planners have not thought of these minimum and most urgent needs of our rural masses. In fact, if only these needs are satisfied, we are confident that our agricultural production will come to be stepped up and our national economy would be developed to a greater extent than can be planned for by the Planning Commission within their present financial targets. Instead of doing this, the Commission wants to introduce harmful legislation and restrictive administrative control over our agricultural economy. For instance, it wants that our peasants should be directed to produce certain stated crop, on prescribed area and pursue only the prescribed methods of cultivation and whosoever fail to fall in line, either knowingly or unknowingly, with the prescriptions and prejudices of its officers, should be removed from the ownership and cultivation of their lands. The Swatantra Party is opposed to this reactionary approach of the Commission towards agriculture and agriculturists because it is convinced that such a policy would only weaken the incentives of our peasants towards better and greater productive efforts and better management of all their agricultural resources.

Our peasants have been trying to form Service Cooperatives during the past 40 years with very little support from Government. While the present Government is willing to shoulder this responsibility, our peasants have found to their chagrin that the party bosses and their Congress Governments are only too busy trying to gain political control and advantages over these Service Cooperatives. Instead of the cooperatives being helped to become the champions of peasants and bastions of their freedom, they are being turned into governmental agencies for robbing peasants of their freedom and gaining monopoly

control over their peasant economy. The Swatantra Party is bent upon resisting this unholy political and State interference with the freedom of our peasants in the democracy of their cooperatives.

The present Government is unwilling and also incapable of placing all the funds needed by our peasants at the disposal of the Service Cooperatives. Yet it is unwise enough to try to imitate the Soviet countries in depriving and divorcing our peasants from the management of their individual holdings. It pretends to be anxious to produce more from our land through cooperative farming when it ought to know nowhere else such large production has been achieved. Its real design is to make all the people in the village equal in their dependence upon the State controlled but cooperatively managed farms and thus reduce the land-holding peasants to the miserable level of the landless. While the present Government pretends to let this movement for cooperative farming grow in a voluntary manner, it uses all its resources derived so largely from our peasants to weaken peasant economy; to destroy their self-employment and to prop up cooperative farms by giving all kinds of preferences as against independent peasants in the distribution of the services of cooperatives and national extension and other State agencies. It seeks to create in this manner a coercive atmosphere against peasants and their freedom and in favour of enslaving cooperative farm economy. The Swatantra Party is opposed to this nefarious and discriminatory policy of destroying the economic freedom of the great majority of our masses.

The Government is also scheming to rapidly create such an industrial economy as would make it impossible for cottage industries and the crores of self-employed artisans who are employed therein to continue to prosper as independent people. All the present costly facade of Commissions and Committees for the Khadi and Village and Cottage Industries and Handicrafts are only intended to blind-fold the nation while the process of liquidating these industries through the tantacles of large-scale industries is being helped to gain the needed momentum. Hence the Swatantra Party's warning to the 4 crores of artisans of our country against these designs of the present Government. Hence also its stress upon the sacredness of their self-employment.

The Prime Minister has fallen so much in love with power, controls and regulations, thanks to his 12 years of governmental leadership, that he has become intolerant of criticism of governmental management and expenditure. So he refuses to realise the need for limiting the functions of the Government. His colleagues at the Centre and at the State level who have much less capacity for introspection are only too impatient to clothe their Governments with more power over the everyday activities

of the people. It is difficult to imagine that they do not realise the political advantages derived by most of their political friends in and around their party through these growing activities, powers and privileges of various agencies of Government. Thus, their passion for enlarging the area of governmental operations has come to be inextricably mixed up with their political interests. No wonder they are unhappy over the opposition offered by the Swatantra Party to their new love and passion for power gained over and exercised through the Governments, their agencies and their bureaucracies. Shorn of all the misleading theoretical justification that the Prime Minister is so laboriously offering for State enterprises and other State institutions he and his comrades-in-arms in Government are only busy defending their vested interest—the largest and best protected monopoly of power as against the courageous and incessant challenge offered to it by the Swatantra Party.

It is unfortunate that in spite of their 12 years of failure to touch more than a fringe of the social and economic life of our people in any constructive and progressive manner, the Planning Commission and the Prime Minister should be dreaming and planning for the progress of our country through the direct management and leadership of the State and not through encouraging and aiding the people and supplementing their own creative efforts at self-help in national development. Whatever might be the possibilities in a smaller country with much smaller population and with much less traditions of freedom and self-employment, it is suicidal to allow the State to effectively influence the everyday life of the people of our great country. Mahatma Gandhi only knew this too well. So his plan envisaged no such growth of the powers of the State, State enterprises and their bureaucracies. He did not want to displace the economies of either peasants or artisans but only wished to provide cooperative services as well as competitive private services under the protective wings of the State. When he thought of the democracy of the village panchayats and cooperatives he did not expect the Congress Party or the Communist Party to sandwitch itself as between the governmental powers and bureaucracies, and thus pervert and poison the grass root democracy and destroy the main springs of independence of the masses. *That Gandhian approach to national planning is anathema to the Prime Minister, but it is the main source of inspiration to the Swatantra Party.*

The Prime Minister is keen on helping the nation "to take off" in the latest aeronautical manner and reach up to the lunar levels. The Swatantra Party does not wish that our nation should indulge in such adventures into uncharted regions of inflationary economy.

The Prime Minister wants all parties to cooperate with him and his Government in implementing the Plan. But he does not bother to welcome their cooperation in preventing the growth of the bureaucracy in its power, privileges, numbers and expenditures. He has not sought for such cooperation in minimising administrative and other wastes of public funds, nor is he prepared to abstain from extending the octapous hold of governmental agencies over the efforts and achievements of people through self-help achieved either individually or cooperatively. In fact, the Prime Minister has achieved negative results on many a front by his unwise threats to the stability of self-employment of peasants and artisans. His repeated expression of want of confidence in the ability of peasant economy and peasants to step up agricultural production and by his offensive preference for State trading and enterprises as the new monopolies to displace the crores of self-employed traders, ministering to the services needed by rural India, his under-writing of the Gramdan movement, his enthusiastic acceptance of the wrong doctrine that "to possess land is a sin", his emphasis upon the unilateral imposition of ceilings upon incomes from land and land holding, his constant criticism of small-holdings—which by the way actually yield the highest per acre—and his disapproval of larger holdings as being land monopolies and his zealous and persistent opposition to the payment of remunerative prices for food grains in spite of the plan-induced inflation, have all conspired to weaken the will of our people to put their best efforts in their daily work, to save their utmost and plough their savings in the improvement of agriculture, handicrafts and all other associated enterprises. If one were to venture to estimate the amount of damage done by the 12-years' long wrong policy of the Prime Minister and his Government, it could not be less than five times as much as what has been spent by all the Governments through their plans upon the so-called national development. *The Swatantra Party is therefore convinced that the Congress Governments have to be replaced if the people ought to be truly served by the State and not enslaved to it as ought to be done today by the Congress, aided and induced by the communists.*

The Prime Minister has been accusing the Swatantra Party not so much on the basis of its economic and political policies as on that of his prejudices and predilection about the persons who have come together to form our Party. If he had only thought about this side of his criticism carefully he would have realised how woefully he has blundered. After all, almost all of us who are at the helm of affairs of our Party were veteran Congressmen till recently and quite a number of us were his valued colleagues in the Congress Working Committee. Rajaji, our spiritual leader, had been his senior and was hailed

by him as long ago as 1950 at the Poona Session of the A.-I.C.C. as his leader. Sri Munshi was a member of his own Cabinet for five years. Sri H.P. Modi was hailed as a great patriot by all those of us who were Congressmen in jails in 1943 when he resigned from the then Central Cabinet on the issue of Mahatma Gandhi's release. And he was appointed as Governor of U.P. by Jawaharlalji's Government. Sri Masani was a valued member of the Congress long after he withdrew from the Socialist Party and was so much in favour with his ministry as to be appointed as an Ambassador. Sri S.K.D. Paliwal was the President of the Provincial Congress Committee of Uttar Pradesh for so many years, and was also the Finance Minister in the Congress Government and has been rated very high for his organising abilities. The Raja of Ramgarh was one of the few generous donors to the Bhoodan movement. As for the economic doctrines of our colleagues, their views regarding private enterprise are shared by a great section of Congressmen who provide the grist for Jawaharlalji's leadership. In fact, the Bombay plan was as much a handiwork of Sri Modi as of Sri Mathai and it proved to be the solid basis for the constructive part of the present plan and indeed the Prime Minister is nowadays hard put to it; after the example of our friend, Mr. Bevan of England, to softpedal the old dogma of nationalisation and to warn his over-enthusiastic socialist forum associates not to talk to much of nationalisation.

VI

CREDO OF FREEDOM-LOVERS

(Presidential Address of Professor Ranga at the National Convention of the Swatantra Party held in Patna on March 19, 1960)

It was on the fourth June of 1959 that some of us met in Madras under the chairmanship of Rajaji on the invitation of the All-India Agriculturists' Federation and took the historic decision to inaugurate this national movement for the freedom of our peoples, their professions and occupations, their homes and families, as they work in their farms, factories, workshops, shops and offices. Our Party was founded on that day and it was named the "Swatantra Party" on the same evening by Rajaji, Bhishma of this post-independence India. Once in a generation or two, every nation or a group of nations comes to a state in its history and social development, as on the present occasion, when need arises for the re-examination and re-orientation of the fundamentals of its life. It happened thus in 1918-28 when Mahatma Gandhi found it necessary to exhort our people to realise the danger of accepting the then prevalent imperialist-oriented social and economic process of transformation. A nation-wide discussion was set in motion through both the National Congress and the Press, led by the *Young India* weekly to warn our people against the British approach to Indian problems of national progress. That discussion prepared them to think in terms of India's historical, social and economic conceptions of *dharma* and the peasants, artisans and others of our rural economy at the grass roots of our social life. For nearly five years after the achievement of national freedom, it looked as if our Swaraj Governments were sincerely trying to re-shape and develop our social foundations on the basis of those numerous experiments made by Gandhians all over India, in pursuance of Gandhiji's forty years long preachings; but alas, an insidious turn has been given by the Union Government to our national policy of development. It was backed by some of the most powerful erstwhile colleagues of Gandhiji. Armed as they were with all the increasing power of the national Governments, and the Press and Radio and official propaganda, they have begun to re-orientate our social and economic institutions and the whole basis of our political life on Soviet lines.

Some of us helped in the formation of the Planning Commission to guide our nation as to how to develop the productive

resources and equipment. We wanted it to help our nation to achieve maximum production through maximum employment and freedom. We hoped that it would help in assuring just remuneration to all the toilers working on their farms and in their homes and through the non-exploitatively re-oriented farms, factories, shops and offices. To our utter surprise, it preferred from the preparatory stage itself of the draft of the First Five Year Plan, to accept guidance from the Soviet Plans and Communist-*cum*-Imperialist means of regulation and control of our social economy. It planned for ever-increasing participation of the State in the industry, trade, commerce and even agriculture and handicrafts, with the aim of helping the State to gain totalitarian suzerainty over the whole gamut of our social and economic life.

TOTALITARIAN APPROACH

Some of us realised as early as 1951 the dangers inherent in this approach of the Planning Commission. Several of us opposed it only from our separate approaches but so few who could count attacked it on the general ground of its acceptance of its latent totalitarian concepts.

The country too needed enough time to understand the significance of this new drift. It had to recover from its over-enthusiasm and impatience to march ahead, after the intoxicating example of Soviet Russia's rapid strides towards industrial greatness and power. So, full opportunities were given to the Planning Commission and its Chairman, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, and his Governments to expound their understanding of planned economy and implement their plans and developmental projects. It was hoped that their plans would be harmonised with India's cultural and traditionally sound roots, conducive to rising production and maximum freedom and economic self-governance. It was never thought their Plans would be calculated to take us only towards Soviet totalitarianism. But the Avadi Congress Session of 1954, Amritsar Session of 1955, and the Nagpur Session of 1959 took the fateful decisions to take the nation, if permitted, in the direction of Socialism and nationalisation of farming and trade, sugar-coated as co-operativisation of agriculture and socialisation of trade.

This onslaught on the whole Gandhian approach and challenge to the grass roots of traditionally self-governed and decentralised economies of self-employed people and their basic features of non-exploitation, evoked the most courageous and comprehensive ideological challenge to its whole totalitarian approach from the most sensitive and Gandhian-minded intellectuals.

Thus the Planning Commission is obliged to grapple with the equally conscious Gandhian ideology of India's heritage of free professions, free peasantry and age-long practice of non-exploitative productive endeavours of all toilers and the conception of *dharmic* distribution in part under the aegis of the State and in part through the voluntary exercise of trusteeship by the "haves".

Steeped as Rajaji has been in India's lore of *dharma*, her tradition of decentralised, freedom-laden planned economy at the grass roots as evidenced by the continued harmony between freedom and productivity of the self-employed people and like Shankaracharya as he is in his unrivalled analytical powers, he was quick to envisage and develop an ideological alternative to the Soviet-oriented plans.

A large number of us had been influenced, for decades, by the Western conceptions of the 'Welfare State' and its concomitant, Socialist approach. It took us so long to comprehend fully the dangers of allowing the 'Welfare State' to usurp the place and functions of welfare society, which was instinct in Ashoka's conception of Sapta Santanams and which was preached for decades by Gandhiji. We were however helped to appreciate Rajaji's ideological alternative by our understanding of the birthpangs of Sovietism all over the world in terms of colossal sufferings inflicted on millions of innocent people and the continuous process of dehumanisation of whole nations.

We realised how the fundamental rights and basic economic status of self-employment of our masses which is the very source of incentive, enterprise, initiative and productive endeavours, were being endangered by the soulless totalitarian State, masquerading as the agency of Socialism. We welcomed Rajaji's challenge to Nehru's Plan as the only progressive and positive alternative available to all freedom-loving peoples, if at all they are to achieve their welfare along constructive and Gandhian lines. Hence the whole-hearted support that all of us who gathered first at Madras in June and next in Bombay in August 1959 have chosen to give to the Charter of Freedom and Progress prepared under the guidance of Rajaji.

This generation has thus been given the choice between the 'Welfare State' leading towards totalitarianism and welfare society assuring freedom and prosperity.

Just as in that decade of 1918-28 India had to make its choice between the imperialism and the Gandhian nationalist and social approach, so also, in the present decade of 1960-70 India will have to make its courageous choice between Sovietism and humanism and between the approaches of Nehru and Gandhi, to planning. It also means making a choice between

centralised totalitarian governance and decentralised governance. It is now for our people to make their choice between these two rival approaches to the problem of our national reconstruction.

Do we want to march in the direction of Sovietism, with all its horrors of totalitarian social controls, regulations and bureaucratic management of social relations and economic activities of individuals and their groups? Do we wish to allow our everyday social and economic life to be planned and modulated by the Planning Commission and the Government? In that case, we have to remain in the political arena of the Congress Party.

If, however, we do not want to go that way and run the inescapable risks of becoming automatons and being enslaved to the State and its agencies, we must decide to oppose the Congress Plan. If we are keen on promoting the creative passion for freedom which is ordinarily so irrepressible especially in all human beings and not to allow it to become atrophied, we must free ourselves from the 13 years' long political power-of-attorney given to Jawaharlalji. If we are convinced that our national heritage of self-employed peasantry and artisans, dukandars and entrepreneurs numbering more than 75% of our vast population is the surest foundation for the new edifice of prosperity through individual freedoms that we are so naturally keen on raising, then we must range ourselves on the side of the Swatantra Party's plan for freedom and prosperity. If we are determined that our wealth-producing entrepreneurs and their colleagues in all enterprises should strive towards their own as well as national prosperity through non-exploitative and *dharmic* means of industrial organisations and endeavours and humane relations as between themselves and the rest of society, then we have to favour the Swatantra Party's approach towards social welfare through free and full production.

A British statesman who rose to be the Prime Minister once exclaimed "We are all Socialists today", thereby meaning that everyone came to favour a welfare society in which the State would help the under-privileged and also protect the people (the have-nots) from being exploited by the capitalists (the haves). Mahatma Gandhi also said that he too could be a Socialist if violence could be abjured and equal stress were laid on adopting good means as on good ends and if Government would be decentralised and democratic end would promote the interests of individuals.

Many of us were able to embrace one or the other type of Socialism, as it was being propagated in Europe before India's independence, because the word meant many things and no one type had then come to dominate the minds of people, especially

those in power in Government. So, all of us could equally toy with the idea that we were all Socialists as that seemed to range us safely on the side of such conceptions as humanism, individualism and general welfare, all at the same time.

The phenomenal economic progress of U.S.S.R. can no longer be claimed to be the special prerogative of Socialist production because equal, if not greater, progress is claimed to have been achieved by the West German Republic through non-socialistic economy, in addition to increasing the area of freedom of every worker and entrepreneur and ensuring the welfare of all toilers. Social securities cannot also be claimed as the special achievement of the Socialist State, because much more of these benefits have been conferred by free economies.

The experiences of the world during the past 40 years of Socialist regimes in several countries on one side and the achievements of Liberal Democratic regimes in other countries have made it imperative for all former Socialists to review their ideological stand. Many of the social securities and social welfare schemes and institutions, which were once considered to be the features of Socialism, have become the basic programmes of Liberal Democracies also. There has come to prevail in almost the whole of the non-Soviet world, an awakened conscience and sensitivity regarding humanism, human rights, the personal inviolability and independence as well as the dignity, creativity of individuals as such, by virtue of the fact they are human beings. The atmosphere in favour of the famous Four Freedoms and Civil Liberties has become almost all-pervading. On one side, the Soviet rulers are obliged to assure their peoples of their anxiety to vouchsafe civil liberties and on the other, the British Labour Party is trying to abjure its half a century old faith in the efficacy of nationalisation of all production and distribution. Therefore, it is no longer necessary for every one to claim to be a Socialist if he wishes to strive for economic progress, social welfare, human rights and development of general prosperity and happiness of all human beings.

Socialism of the Nehru Plan has come to be synonymous with State control, regulation or management of ever-expanding spheres of social life. So far as the Soviet countries and such regimes as our present Governments are concerned, their Plans are being made and executed on the general assumption that the State and its institutions and their bureaucracies know better than the concerned individuals as to what is best and as to how to achieve their own welfare. It is true that this approach is not accepted by many adherents of different types of Socialism but by the force of political gravity—the prototype of Greshams Law regarding coins—the Soviet type of Socialism—Sovietism—has come to dominate the minds of our Planning Commission

and we have to deal only with its conception of Socialism, namely State Socialism and Statism.

Now, this dominant conception of Socialism is irreconcilable with individuals' freedom and independence and also with their capacity to develop their personality and prosperity through varied and myriad types of groups, combinations and societies formed by themselves voluntarily. There can be no compromise between these two approaches. Nehru's Plan is developed on the basis of State Socialism; albeit its professions of sympathy and support for the cottage industries and private enterprise in small-scale, medium-scale and diffused accessory industries. The Swatantra Party is totally opposed to this approach. It believes in the ultimate good to society if every individual is able or enabled to help himself. It seeks to explore and pursue such ways and means by which the State and society will promote individuals' efforts at self-help and self-reliance.

This is realised in practice by the leadership of the Socialist Party of India which celebrated its Silver Jubilee the other day and in the foundation of which Jayaprakashji and Sri Masani and so many of us worked together in this great city of Patna in 1934. So many of its principal founders have all come to abjure this Nehru-type of State Socialism. So, time has now come for us to make our choice.

The Congress is hoping to put out of practical political action both the P-.S.P. and the C.P.I. by making them realise the fact that Jawaharlalji is keen on fulfilling their tasks.

Indian politics will soon come to be polarised between those who stand for State Socialism with the Congress as its major exponent and Liberal Democracy standing for welfare society represented predominantly by the Swatantra Party. The formulation of the principles of the Swatantra Party seeks to help our nation to clearly visualise this need for our people to make their choice between the compulsions of the Government plan and the humanism and non-exploitative economic enterprise of free producers and non-coercive social welfare.

It has become the privilege of the Swatantra Party, thanks to the founders' courageous guidance, to place these issues in clear-cut juxtaposition. The Swatantra Party pleads with our people to join it in their majorities in all constituencies in its crusade against the paralysing Statism which is the plan of the Nehru Government in favour of Gandhian planning for freedom, prosperity and happiness.

Let us be clear about what and how we want to achieve social welfare. We know that in every productive, commercial or distributive effort made by a number of people in one or a series of interrelated concerns, it is always possible for some

one or a few to gain some advantage over others in the process of the adjustment of their mutual claims and counter-claims. For no fault of their own and often without any special design on their part, either the private employers in an industrial or commercial undertaking or the official managers in a State enterprise find themselves, quite so often, coming into possession of large number of slices of social value or utilities created by the hundreds or thousands of employees who cooperate with them in that enterprise without equal or effective claims for partnership in management and distribution of the earnings of some of their combined enterprises. In the absence of any State regulation or control of their mutual relations or welfare schemes, such appropriation of all such maladjusted and un-allotted accretions of utilities by the capitalist entrepreneurs go to swell their profits.

But it is no special prerogative of capitalists. Even the State enterprises and their managers are capable of coming into such un-earned and un-allotted slices of utilities. Even the Post Office gains a lot from un-claimed deposits in its Savings Bank. Therefore, there is need for social welfare both in the capitalist and State enterprises. Every effort will have to be made by both through the combined efforts of their managements and employees to minimise such conscious or unconscious exploitation and achieve non-exploitative but mutually cooperative enterprise. When such welfare is achieved, through collective bargaining between employers and employees, it has so far been considered as the best non-coercive social welfare. There may be occasions when the State has to take necessary steps to see that such welfare is ensured. There can also be occasions when employers either collectively or individually, consciously or unconsciously and fully or partially choose to set aside a portion of their profits for distribution among workers or for the good of the general public and thus make their contributions to the trusteeship *dharma*. The Swatantra Party stands essentially for such a non-exploitative social economy. So, one need not be a Socialist to prevent or fight exploitation of man by man or one class by another class.

The Swatantra Party will seek to encourage all voluntary efforts on the part of industrialists and commercial concerns and welfare schemes so as to: (*a*) minimise all possibilities for conscious or unconscious exploitations, and (*b*) maximise the efforts of both parties to develop the practice of trusteeship and the re-distribution of a part of the profits through voluntarily chosen schemes of social welfare.

There are also areas and groups of workers who are unable to achieve collective bargaining or even effective trade unionism. These have to be certainly helped by the State.

Similarly, there are many socially disabled or under-developed communities and tribes; sometimes a majority of the people in certain areas who are not in a position, despite their voting power, to help themselves and overcome the socially or economically superior power of the shortsighted or selfish employers. Such people need direct assistance from the State. There are also occasions like the occurrence of fires, floods, famines, etc., widespread outbreak of epidemics of cattle, when self-help and private charity is hopelessly inadequate. In all such cases, the State has to step in and discharge welfare functions fully, expeditiously and liberally. The guiding principle shall always be to encourage people as much as possible to achieve welfare activities and welfare societies on the contributory basis with the State coming in as one of the partners, if found necessary. Thus the State should always be ready to provide timely and adequate and whole-hearted welfare assistance with a view to succour and strengthen the people but not as to emasculate their spirit of self-help and self-reliance.

WE STAND FOR WELFARE SOCIETY

The Swatantra Party stands for welfare society and when necessary for Welfare State also. It will help people to develop a welfare society by putting a premium on all such people as are good enough to spare a liberal share of their surplus wealth for helping the socially under-developed people and economically needy but enterprising individuals and groups. It will not, however, allow under-privileged or socially under-developed people to suffer from the failure of society to offer adequate social welfare at the right nick of time. It will equip Government with the necessary administrative apparatus and financial resources to offer all the assistance needed, on all such occasions as if it were a Welfare State. But it will not allow the State to become the *Maa-Baap*, under the pretext of becoming a Welfare State and thus stunt the growth of people into fully developed and self-reliant personalities, proud of their independent social and economic rights and abilities.

But the present ruling Party is only trying to develop so many welfare activities and services through State agencies and not so much through voluntary efforts, more for the purpose of expanding the areas of the State's influence and control than for genuine and economical distribution of needed social help. Every effort is being made to bring within the purview of the bureaucracy increasing sectors of society through the pretext of extending the activities of the Welfare State.

It is always possible for people to lose their independence of spirit and judgment once they allow the Welfare State

principle to undermine their spirit of self-reliance and come to be tied to the apron strings of the State's welfare officers. Those officers can be much more mischievous in their attentions than the donors of private charity. The public have therefore to take special care to see that Statism is not allowed to gain a strangle-hold over their personal freedoms and social liberties, through this insidious means. Therefore, the Swatantra Party stands for a reconsideration of the basis and method of administration of these so-called welfare schemes of the present Congress Governments. We demand their reorganisation on a rational, constructive and decentralised basis. The management of these social welfare schemes should be entrusted to non-political boards which would be really independent of the interference by the ruling Party and which could be expected to administer these schemes in an impartial and non-partisan manner.

Much more has to be done to aid our people by way of Service Cooperatives, maintenane of floor-levels of prices of food grains and such other essential agricultural produce, the supply of short-term, medium-term and long-term credit to our agriculturists and also to various types of other entrepreneurs. The special scholarships and hostels for the children of Harijans, Tribals, Backward Classes and other needy peoples may have to be maintained until their present social and economic disabilities come to be overcome. Unfortunately the ruling Party, its ministers, legislators and local bodies are allowed to interfere in the even course of their proper and impartial work. In addition, the evil influence of the plan-induced bureaucracy and its prop, the ruling Party, are gaining in strength over the freedom of choice of the concerned social and economic classes in political and social affairs.

The kisan movement has been demanding for many decades that schemes for crop insurance, cattle insurance, the more basic insurances against famines and floods and consequent general distress should be organised by the State. It has also pleaded for the extension of the labour welfare and protective legislation, in so far as is practicable to agricultural labour. So, the idea and faith in a Welfare State is not the special prerogative of Socialists or of the Socialist State. The Swatantra Party stands for the development of all such insurance schemes. But it will seek to make the State help the concerned classes or sections of people to develop all such insurances as far as possible through their own contributory schemes with the State offering to bear a part of the expenses, premium or risks and allowing competition to take place between a number of insurance enterprises. It will certainly avoid the repetition of the horrors of inefficient, costly and politically-inclined administration.

TAX BURDEN—A HURDLE FOR PROGRESS

The present policy of the Congress Government is to go on piling up fresh taxes, direct and indirect, on imports and exports, on personal and corporation incomes and on producers of consumer goods, through excise duties, all in the name of the Plan and the welfare schemes. The tendency is towards increasing the total tax burden on the poorer and middle classes reducing their real incomes almost as fast as any increase achieved by them in their income through their own endeavours in agriculture, industry, and commerce. One of the main purposes for which the peasant masses have fought for national freedom and abolition of zamindari system, i.e., reduction of land taxes, has been totally frustrated. And under the novel but untenable theory of the Planning Commission that peasants are not the owners of their land, tax burdens are being increased and so many special surcharges and cesses are being heaped upon them. The rich and the richer are sought to be canvassed for political purposes through more than one visible and invisible means and as their numbers increase, their capacity to dodge or delay the payment of direct taxes is also allowed to increase by one way or the other. The poor are being specially chosen for bearing more and more excise duties, as such taxes yield collectively huge annual revenues, without any possibility of evasion. The Plan is being used as the all-embracing apologia for these burdens. Therefore, even the professed purpose of redistribution of wealth and reducing the extreme inequalities of wealth are not being achieved. On the other hand, the impoverishment of other classes is being achieved by increasing burdens of taxation.

Another insidious effect of this all-embracing burden of taxation is to emasculate the people and keep more and more of the traders, merchants, entrepreneurs and even industrial and commercial magnates, their managers and agents under the control of the tax-collectors, who are quietly being utilised directly or indirectly as the watchdogs over the political activities of the taxpayers. The Swatantra Party is therefore opposed to making the engine of taxation so oppressive, all-pervasive and poltically suffocating. Our Party is opposed to the whole of this approach and is ready to put a stop to this ever-recurring threat of increasing tax burdens and making their imposition and collection such a process of interference and political manoeuvring in the domestic and professional life of people.

Another oppressive development, equally burdensome and more destructive to the stability of our society and economic savings of our masses, is the persistent use of the mechanism of unbalanced budgets of the Central and State Governments and the unashamed indulgence in inflation, in the name of development

especially of the middle classes and weakening their faith in the stability of the value of their investments in Government loans etc. It is inducing them to spend on present needs and not to save, thus increasing consumers' demands upon the non-expanding production, leading to the further rise in prices. This vicious circle of deficit financing, purposeful inflation and reckless public expenditure on non-productive schemes has led in other countries, to the loss of faith in democratic Governments. How can we say we can be an exception to world trends? How can we therefore allow the ruling Party with any sense of equanimity to continue this policy so destructive of democratic freedoms? The ruling Party may not be afraid of the consequences since it may be confident that, if and when the country slides into dictatorship, it will embrace the Congress dictatorship. But it is the duty of all freedom-loving people to support the Swatantra Party in its opposition to this suicidal policy of deficit financing and inflation.

One of the main defences offered by the ruling Party for its policies of deficit finance and inflation is that it is calculated to increase the ability of the State to provide employment and thus relieve the burden of unemployment. Actually the Plan has contributed to the stoppage of the natural growth of employment that could have taken place if it had not discouraged the many millions of small- medium- and large-scale employers all over the country through its second declaration of Industrial Policy (1956-57) and its programmes of all-embracing heavy taxation and public enterprises. To the extent that additional employment has come to be provided in State enterprises, it has only increased the numbers of people who are dependent upon the tender mercies of the bureaucracy and the ruling Party and thus strengthened the undemocratic forces.

The freedom of toilers is best guaranteed if they are self-employed. It is also safeguarded when they are employed in factories with the backing of strong trade unions and collectively bargained agreements. It is least available when the workers come to be engaged in State enterprises and it is completely absent when that State becomes totalitarian and is run by a political party with a practical monopoly of power.

Under such a political regime, there is the extreme danger of party Government gaining, all so unobtrusively, more and more hold upon the economic freedoms of our toilers, including working classes in factories and offices, demoralising our toilers and thus leading the country into the virtual dictatorship of the ruling Party. The Swatantra Party is determined to prevent such a consummation.

The planners have been scheming to gain control over successive sectors of our social economy. They want to monopolise the export trade in many of the minerals and other commodities and import trade in some of the manufactures and food grains etc., through the operations of State trading. They desire to take over the grain trade, and thus get tens of crores of peasants into their clutches by holding them by the neck, dictating the prices, the time-table for carting their produce to the markets and the quantities to be delivered and the payments to be received for carting grain etc. They hope to hold to ransom the millions of traders dealing in grain through the power of issuing or cancelling licences. Not content with all this, they wish to gain control over the social leaders of peasants through the grants-in-aid, loans and other aids to be given through the Service Cooperatives. By holding the Damocles sword of using the votes of their nominated Directors to turn an independent majority into a minority and by making the nominated Directors to veto any decision taken by the majority, they wish to dominate the Service Cooperatives. That all this political misuse is now being made is known to most people who are acquainted with the ways of the ruling Party.

Sedulously and steadily the Congress Governments have thus been trying to gain, with the help of their ruling Party, control over various aspects and activities of our people. Although the Congress Party professes its faith in democracy and its Governments claim to be democratic, they are turning the so-called popular panchayats and cooperatives into their political and administrative agencies to bring villages and their people under their influence without party expense.

CONGRESS IS AIMING AT DICTATORSHIP

By stealing the programmes and policies of Communists and Socialists and thereby putting them more or less out of action, Congress has been trying to gain monopolistic hold over the politics of our people. Just because this trick cannot be played with the Swatantra Party, as it is its real political opponent, the Congress Party and its ministries are using all their direct and indirect pressures and evil influences over industrialists, business men, former Jagirdars, Rajahs and all others who have something or other to do with the ever-increasing number of Government agencies to prevent them from joining any genuine opposition party or giving it any support. It does not scruple to steal or entice away the workers or leaders from an opposition party conveniently forgetting its own charges and the disciplinary actions taken against them and forgiving all their charges against its practice of political corruption, nepotism, bribery etc.

It does not hesitate to pursue the Communistic shock tactics and to pervert constitutional rights, reminding one of Hitlerian methods to oust its political opponents from power and to regain its lost political control. It shows no respect to any political agreement reached with other political parties in any election. Indeed it has no consideration for the interests of any section of voters even when they form the majority and is capable of flouting its own electoral assurances when it suits, as is demonstrated by its sudden decision to launch a national campaign for cooperative farming and thus aiming to liquidate the self-employment of the great mass of farmers. It is attempting to suppress our peasantry and other self-employed classes after gaining their votes. It is banishing Gandhian ideals from political life and undermining the foundations of our traditional planned economy after having been swept into power by Gandhiji. The Congress Party is making this effort to subvert our democracy in the name of democracy.

It is in such an environment of the fast deepening all-envelòping political enslavement, we have to consider the evil possibilities for the ruling Party to exploit its administrative powers openly and secretly, in controlling, manipulating and governing the proposed scores of thousands of cooperative farms in every State. Need one have to exercise too much imagination to realise the numerous opportunities that would arise for the ruling Party to stifle the freedom of the self-employed people, first through the Service Cooperatives and next through the cooperative farms, once their self-employment is lost in exchange for wage-earning degradation under the so-called elected boards of management? The Planning Commission has indicated these schemes of enslaving our peasantry even in its First Plan. The Prime Minister has obtained the omnibus approval of Parliament for that Mahabharat of the plan report, more than once, but he has been discreet to go step by step and thus allowed the people not to realise the full designs of the Plan. Feeling at last so confident of his powers over the Congress and the country, he unfolded some of his dreams and designs at Nagpur in 1959.

The Congress Party threatens to impose its dictatorship over every walk of life of our people. It is the duty of all sincere and stout-hearted democrats to resist and defeat this insidious totalitarian party. The Swatantra Movement has arisen to fight this dictatorship.

I am, however, encouraged to feel confident of our early success in this sacred fight for freedom and democracy because of the failures of everyone of the earlier dictatorships and even more so, because of the successful inroads being made by the

irrepressible endeavours of the peoples who have been overcome by the modern totalitarian regimes.

The Planning Commission ought to know that the development of the country's economy can be achieved almost entirely in proportion to the growing productive capacity and achievements of our people, their ability and willingness to economise on present needs and save more and more. Productivity also depends on the economy, efficiency, and zeal of patriotic entrepreneurs. The only additional source of strength can be foreign loans, investments and gifts. The present Government has utilised to the utmost the political atmosphere in the cold war world and post-war economic trends to draw upon foreign resources in one shape or another, without bothering to calculate the degree of economic enslavement incurred thereby for the present and the future. That alone is too heavy a national cost which we can least afford.

It is notorious how wasteful, often purposeless, has been so much of the public expenditure on so many ill-conceived harebrained or badly executed public projects and enterprises, and so-called welfare schemes. These Governments at the Centre and at State level have become so mad after their schemes costing hundreds and thousands of crores of rupees of expenditure and so proud of their so-called ability to spend hundreds of crores every month. No wonder they have forgotten the troubles and tribulations undergone by crores of our poor taxpayers who have to work so hard and stint their domestic expenditure so assiduously as to save a few rupees a month to pay to these Governments. Thus, the Governments waste lakhs of rupees without a second thought while the masses bleed to save a rupee a month per head.

The Swatantra Party is determined to stop this mad policy of public indebtedness at home and abroad; this colossal waste of public money, and this disastrous impoverishment of peasantry. There need be no fear that such a policy would not enable our country to achieve a progressively rising per capita income and national development, far in advance of the growth of population and the rise in people's conception of conventional necessities. So many of us thought but mistakenly that the Indian industrialists and smaller entrepreneurs were not in a position to rise to the call of India under Swaraj for development. We welcomed the offer of Congress Governments, during the first five years of freedom, to take a hand in building up a number of gigantic industrial concerns. But we have all come to realise how both before and after the inauguration of the Plan, the private sector has more than fulfilled the targets set for it. Indeed, if it could not achieve much larger quantum of development, it was because of the unwise and unhelpful

policy of obstruction followed by the Congress Governments in viewing it as a rival to its own programme of development, ownership and management.

We are convinced in the light of the mismanagement, waste, delays, scandals and lack of proper parliamentary control over the State enterprises and failure of Government to control its bureaucracy, that it would have been better if our independent entrepreneurs had been given full freedom to develop our economy. Governments should have helped them in regard to easing of supplies of imported manufactured goods, and other raw materials, credit, know-how and negotiating foreign capital, machinery, and participation in management. Then there could have been much greater economic development, more balanced production, and certainly more economical and better supplies of manufactured goods. Instead of playing such a constructive role, the Congress Governments have served rather as a brake on development. Instead of helping the private sector, the Planning Commission has pursued a dog-in-the-manger policy. Sri Jawaharlal has allowed his Marxist prejudices of the last century against private sector of this mid-century to get the better of his judgment.

Therefore, the Swatantra Party assures the country that if its policy of encouraging, assisting and guiding the private and even the cooperative sectors were to be pursued with all the resources of the State, not only the productive capacity of the country can be stepped up rapidly but also employment potential can be increased phenomenally.

Of course, there is always scope for the Government to invest in capital intensive, industrial enterprises which cannot be expected to yield profits in the short run and in the development of which private entrepreneurs cannot venture so readily. Such enterprises may not be profit-yielding industries though they can be of great importance to the national economy. In this way Government can be expected to develop the most essential environmental equipment needed to facilitate further development by the private and cooperative sectors. Unfortunately, the present Government pursued the wrong policy of concentrating on its own large-scale enterprises, while neglecting the feeder industries and consumer industries. One can see the topsy-turviness of such a development by the Government in its vain attempt to find export markets for the products of its gigantic State enterprises because the domestic market for them has not been allowed to be developed by the private sector.

The Swatantra Party pitches its faith in the capacity of our entrepreneurs to organise, establish, manage more and more enterprises, to produce varied products and thus contribute to the augmentation of our national wealth.

Unfortunately, such has not been the faith and policy of the Soviet-minded Nehru Plan. Sri Jawaharlal has himself been responsible for under-estimating the influence of incentives on people to display their initiative, enterprising spirit, industry, and organising ability under the stimulus of free endeavour. Repeatedly he has hurled challenges to free entrepreneurs and self-employed people and thus discouraged them to earn, save and invest in new enterprises and develop old concerns. He has threatened to nationalise this or that industry. The manner in which the life insurance industry was nationalised, as if it were a run-away criminal in need of being ambushed, is calculated not to encourage but paralise and discourage every honest entrepreneur to invest his moneys in any industrial enterprise. If Jawaharlalji wanted to kill all incentives and enterprise, nothing more was needed than his pompous challenge that every time the Government would have a choice to make between private or public enterprise, he would unhesitatingly prefer the latter, thus declaring the private entrepreneurs as being beyond the pale of governmental patronage or even impartial consideration.

The Swatantra Party trusts that the self-employed peasants will be able to achieve the most rapid and maximum production of agricultural produce, on all fronts, if only the following facilities are provided: (*i*) effective protection from the vicissitudes of seasons, and other natural calamities; (*ii*) cost of agricultural credit to be brought down; (*iii*) local supplies of all types of manures and implements to be assured; (*iv*) the processing, storing, and marketing facilities to be assiduously provided within the next five or ten years; (*v*) floor-price levels to be assured by giving the top-most priority to this aspect of agricultural environment; and (*vi*) burdens of land taxes to be reduced. Every effort has to be made to inspire confidence in peasants that they are being treated sympathetically on a par with other producers and classes, that their services are appreciated and that they are not being discriminated against or that they are not being made to bear the heaviest brunt of the national development, out of proportion to their resources. We are convinced that under such favourable conditions our peasants can be trusted to strain all their resources in body and soul. They will then exercise the utmost austerity and maximise their savings and plough them in building up the fertility of their fields and in raising the best and maximum produce per acre.

But the present Government has been pursuing just the opposite policy. It has done every thing imaginable to discourage and discredit our agriculturists. The Prime Minister has been harping upon his nostrum that small holders are poor producers and so they must be replaced by those having economic holdings; he has discouraged bigger holders by holding over their heads

the Damocles sword of ceilings. Last but not the least, is his latest threat of inaugurating the Government-sponsored subsidized and spoon-fed to cooperative farming to deprive peasants of the modicum of their much cherished self-employment. Thus the Prime Minister has pursued Leninist-Stalinist-Mao policies of sterilising the goose that lays the golden egg. All that is left out so far is for him openly to begin to pursue the Chinese policy of collectives to kill the goose. Therefore, it is he, more than any other leader of the Government, who is responsible for the comparative stagnancy on the agricultural front. Nothing that the Congress Governments will do can restore the confidence of peasants and repair the wrongs done to them and our agriculture.

Peasants are made the special target of exploitation to finance plan expenditure. So Government has been impoverishing our masses by refusing to pay either remunerative or decent or even the basic cost price for agricultural produce including food grains, sugar-cane, jute, cotton etc. In regard to every other class of people, Government camouflaged its real purpose of withdrawing their resources on some pretext or other. But in the case of our agriculturists, it has openly been saying repeatedly that the agricultural prices must be kept down. No one would have objected if such a policy of keeping down prices was followed in regard to all other equally essential commodities and services and the price and wage levels were kept in mutual parity. On the other hand, agriculturists alone are thus singled out, as the one class which should make the heaviest sacrifice over all this prolonged period to enable the ruling Party to claim the plan expenditure as its great patriotic contribution. This terrible drain of our agricultural resources does not have even the saving grace of an economical, efficient, and honest administration and planned expenditure.

The Swatantra Party will seek to protect the interests of share-holders and employees of all private enterprises as well as consumers, as much by giving encouragement as by regulation without in any way weakening the sources and means of continually augmenting production. It will foster the self-employed producers and encourage and strengthen their efforts to help themselves and raise their productive capacity, because it recognises the self-employed economy as one of the most vital and progressive means towards better and greater production and free and ennobling employment. So the Swatantra Party wishes to do its best to strengthen the sources of the freedom and means of living of all the self-employed people, through the organisation of cooperatives and other social institutions freed from all official or political controls. It will popularise the use of improved seeds and machines and assure their cheap and free supplies. In

short, it will help them to play an effective and progressive role in the social democracy of our country.

PLURALISTIC LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

versus

MONOLITHIC SOCIETY WITH SINGLE PARTY DICTATORSHIP

If the reports of the Planning Commission are carefully studied, it would be found that the Plans were intended to lead Indian villagers to achieve a monolithic social set-up. This harmonises with what Soviet Premier Khrushchev told Members of Parliament in February 1960 as to how Soviet Russia is now having a monolithic society and is, therefore, happy with her one-party regime by way of the proletarian dictatorship. The union between the monolithic society and dictatorship is indestructible and indivisible, whereas democratic freedoms and varied types of free institutions are different but complementary classes of toilers can be and are generally the distinctive features of a society of many classes of people which can be helped to be and are often complementary to each other. So we believe in the existence of different classes of toilers and their full and free rights and opportunities to make their contributions to our conception of the fullest and most liberal democracy. That is the conception of Kisan, Mazdoor, Kalakar, Buddhijeevi Praja Raj, which was blessed by Gandhiji in 1945.

DICTATORSHIPS ARE SHORT-LIVED

From time immemorial there have been discussions between the statesmen and sages, saints and social leaders all over the world as to the respective roles of individuals of which they are composed. Many a struggle took place from time to time in different countries in the process of reaching an equilibrium as between their claims and counter-claims for precedence. The great Indian epic *Mahabharata* narrates many interesting discussions that took place at various places and in many ages between the thinkers and statesmen of ancient India, possibly several thousands of years before the advent o f Greek city democracies. The pendulum has been oscillating from time to time, now more towards the claims of society and then towards the righs of individuals. And never was the oscillation of the pendulum kept in suspension for more than a short period on the side of the totalitarian claims of the rulers of society without being challenged by some one or the other suppressed section of the people. And whatever stable equilibrium was ever attained for any length of time came to be possible only when the supremacy of individuals, as human beings, was recognised to enjoy

the fullest and freest opportunities to develop their latent abilities, and attain their personalities to do whatever they have thought to be worthwhile for themselves and their fellow-beings.

Rajaji warns the country that it is unwise and wholly harmful for any ruling Party to allow Government to encroach upon the freedoms of our masses, just as it is wrong for a gardener to water, manure and otherwise help the prickly-pear-hedge to encroach upon the garden itself and thus mistake its function from being the protection of the garden into proving to be an enemy of it. He has rightly defined the function of the ruling Party enjoying a majority in such a parliamentary democracy as ours as being the fostering, and protecting every one of the individuals and their freely organised and democratically functioning societies or groups. Such a society should restrain the usual proclivities of Government and its bureaucracy to the protection and orderly development of society as a whole and to weeding out or restraining the admittedly bad characters, whether individuals or groups. It is clear that the present ruling Party does not appreciate this conception of the limited powers of Government. Rajaji is only re-interpreting in his own inimitable, homely manner the thoughts of the great champions of human dignity, freedom and personality, from Socrates to Lincoln, from Romain Rolland to Pasternak, from Walt Whitman to Rabindranath Tagore. The Swatantra Party has chosen to take its stand by Gandhiji and Rajaji as the champion of the humanism of Indian civilisation and culture as re-interpreted in our times by Gandhiji in the light of growing complexity of modern social relations and responsibilities.

The choice now lies between the dictatorship as has been accepted by the Soviet countries, which have reduced all classes into a single class of proletariat and the Gandhian conception of a liberal democracy of all varieties and classes of toilers in the fields, factories, offices and dukans; that is, democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj.

In fact, a decade-long debate took place in India between 1935 and 1945 between all the political parties with Mahatma Gandhi as the umpire as he was universally hailed as the conscience of our nation. He decided in 1945 January that India should not go to the way of Soviet's monolithic society of single class of the proletariat but should cherish and protect and promote the interests of all classes of people and harmonise their mutual interests and relations. Hence his blessings for the ideal of democratic Kisan Mazdoor Kalakar Buddhijeevi Raj. The Congress Party and the Nehru Plan have chosen to go the Soviet way and the Swatantra Party remains loyal to the Gandhian way. Hence the appeal of the Swatantra Party to our people of all classes to rally under its banner and help it to develop the

country's economy by pursuing in practice the principles adumberated by the wisest statesman of our age and thus rehabilitate and revitalise our society.

We need not feel impatient about the hesitation felt by certain of our people to throw in their lot with our movement because such is the common experience in the beginning of all such movements which make the largest demands on people's time, energies, financial resources and even lives. Did it not take more than forty years for the Congress and fifteen years for Mahatma Gandhi before large sections of our masses could decide upon giving majorities to Congress Party in a number of States? Indeed, we have every reason to feel gratified with our progress during this short period. A large number of lawyers and doctors are hailing our ideals and are joining our Party just as their forbears used to rally to Congress up to 1920. The Congress of today is obliged to bewail the lack of support from such intellectuals. Even those sections of people who were forced to be under the thumb of Government because of the political misuse of its control over administration are making no secret of their private appreciation of our statement of principles just as they used to appreciate the old Congress even while burning incense at the altar of powers that be. The great masses of peasants are slowly shaking themselves free from their political stupor and coming to see through the thick veil of local projects, welfare schemes and all other Plan-induced paraphernalia and their politics.

Whenever and wherever the champions of our cause are able to reach peasants and warn them about the present rulers' designs against their self-employed status, proprietorship over their holdings and the harmony of their family life, they become the unswerving and passionate adherents of our movement. I have found proof of their zeal and loyalty for our movement on the hills of Assam, Coorg and Aravali, in the valleys of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh and the wheat belts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and in the deltas of Andhra, Cauvery, Mysore, Orissa and Bengal and cotton expanses of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Punjab. Let us, therefore, march in full confidence in our great founder and leader; in the justness of our cause and in the immortal ideals of self-employment, human rights and freedoms of all peoples and irrepressible and sacred urge of every human being to become an inspiring image of God.

CHINA'S AGGRESSION

The defence and foreign policies of a country are generally inter-dependent and the former is closely related to its productive capacity; and the defence forces are very much dependent upon

mechanised equipment. Knowing as we did about the disabilities of our nascent state, many of us have supported the non-involvement or non-alignment policy of India during the pendency of cold war between the rival blocs of great powers. It gave us breathing time to concentrate all our available resources upon internal development. We sincerely believed that it would promote world peace.

The Tibetan issue could have been managed more tactfully; much less to our disadvantage and more in conformity with our national honour if only our Government had taken a firm stand against Communist China's first attempts to assert her imperialist suzerainty against Tibet. The so-called Chinese suzerainty had lapsed for decades. Imperialism of any kind could not be countenanced either by Communists of China or national revolutionaries of India, both of whom have claimed to be its sworn enemies. If it could be right for Communist China to claim her rights of inheritance from the Manchu rulers of China over Tibet which were continually being questioned by Tibet, it would be equally right for India to claim to assert whatever powers and rights had been gained and actually exercised by the British Indian Government in Tibet. A number of us questioned the unilateral abandonment by our Government of our moral and material rights to stand by Tibet's claim for complete independence and protested against its acceptance of Communist China's claims for suzerainty over Tibet, despite Tibet's heroic opposition. But the Nehru Government appeased Communist China and thus paved the way to the rape of Tibet.

If we had not committed that original blunder, the Chinese would never have dared to create the present predicament of our country over the admitted Chinese incursions into our frontiers. The same unilaterally fraternal faith in the Chinese Government has been responsible for the Indian Government's confidence that it could persuade the former, through mere correspondence, sweet reasonableness and *Bhai-Bhai* personal talks to stop any further incursions into our territory and to abandon her oft-stressed claims upon our Himalayan borders as expressed in repeated editions of her maps, though not translated into noticeable words in inter-governmental correspondence. For full four years, our Government has allowed the Chinese to swallow tens of thousands of square miles of our sacred land and kept the country in ignorance, despite repeated warnings by several M.P.s and supinely looked on while a costly road was being built over 150 miles in the most difficult Himalayan terrain. The only lame excuse offered by the Prime Minister was that he was hoping against hope that the Chinese would desist from their unwise and wrong aggression. One wonders whether he expected

them to roll off their road also as one would roll off the red carpet spread out to receive foreign dignitaries.

What was worse was the complacent policy pursued during this period in regard to our defence equipment and the development of concerned industries and forces and the continuance of the specially friendly *Bhai-Bhaism* with Communist China. Would any country which is blessed with better leadership and better equipped parliamentary opposition have allowed such a political leadership to remain in power for so long after having discovered such failure in its elementary duty of defending her frontiers over such a prolonged period? Would its Prime Minister have thought it wise to continue to be the Foreign Minister also, even after he realised such a calamity has resulted by his failure as a diplomat? Would he not have thought it fit to resign and enable his party to choose another Foreign Minister, if not Prime Minister, at least in the hope that different people may speak with changed accents in speech and writing, if only the ruling Party could have had the moral stamina to rise to the occasion and choose such successors? There may be political arguments in favour of Indian Government's helplessness while this Imperialist-*cum*-Communist rape of that noble but tiny country of Tibet was being perpetrated. But the conscience of this country which has raised its voice in favour of national freedom and anti-imperialism, and through whose veins coarsed those uplifting calls of Mahatma Gandhi's "Quit India" and of Sardar Vallabhai's "Quit Asia" and of all of us "Quit the Colonies" is deeply hurt at the sight of this terrible tragedy. We feel ashamed that our Government's original sin of having admitted Chinese Communists' claim for imperialist sovereignty over Tibet must have led to the present rape of Tibet, the desecration of her Pagodas, the sequestration of her Lamas from communion with her peoples and the trapling down of the sacred soil of Trivishtapa.

Such a new set of leaders could have been trusted to convey more effectively the strength of feelings, military determination and political feelings of India to the leaders of the other country. The pre-war British Conservative Government failed in the same way when Baldwin misled England into military complacence, but when it failed again under the leadership of the late Neville Chamberlain in 1940, it did not mind asking him to resign without as much as a vote and calling upon its other leader Winston Churchill to take his place. After all the actual military strength in physical terms did not increase very much within the first few weeks of that change but the very inflexible and inspiring accents of Churchill and his invigorating words of fire and hope made all the difference in rousing the morale of not only the defence forces of England and her allies but also

every man and woman of England and her friends all over the world. Such a change could have been brought about over our situation also, if only the ruling Party had the requisite moral stamina. But alas, moral bankruptcy seems to have eaten into its very vitals.

Now that the Prime Ministers of our two great countries have chosen to meet each other and talk over these unhappy and heart-searching experiences of India caused by the other, all that we can do is to pray as Gandhiji would have desired us to do for the dawning of wisdom and promptings of conscience on the part of the Chinese leader and both wisdom and strength on that of Prime Minister of India. Let our Prime Minister remember that our people at large are not at all convinced of the wisdom of the risk he has chosen to take in seeking this meeting, without insisting upon the Chinese withdrawal from our soil and therefore expect him to make no more concessions open or implied in the spirit of his earlier *Bhai-Bhaism* but to insist upon the Chinese vacating our country without any loss of face and in the true spirit of Panch Sheel.

The conduct of our Government in regard to this Chinese episode has cast doubts whether Government would scrupulously try to implement the Prime Minister's assurances to Parliament or whether it would not persuade itself to adopting or accepting such positions in the forthcoming discussions between India and China as might further weaken our national standpoint regarding the MacMahon Line and the long-accepted boundary line between our two countries. How could we feel sure that the Government which did not find anything nationally wrong in keeping the country ignorant of continous inroads made by the Chinese into our country over several years and which did not find anything inconsistent in not taking Parliament into confidence over its contemplated proposal for a conference between the two Prime Ministers and the earlier assurances given to Parliament would not be prepared to weaken our national demand for the vacation of our territory by the Chinese without any more delay ! We can only declare our unpreparedness to accept any responsibility for this whole mess and warn the country to be vigilant and be prepared to demonstrate whenever necessary the national will in the most effective but peaceful manner both in and outside Parliament.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the cold war between the Western democracies and Soviet powers is being replaced by friendly relations and so there arises the need for India to reconsider her non-alignment policy and develop her foreign policy towards different countries more in harmony with the changing world situation and India's special needs and interests.

There is also arising a powerful competition in economic sphere on a world-wide scale between these two great power blocs. So it is becoming necessary for India to progress from the present policy of deciding about every offer of financial and industrial assistance from each and every power on an *ad hoc* basis to the evolution of a national policy, with necessary seope for flexibility so that Indian interests in foreign affairs and economic policies can be fully protected and promoted.

I wish to express the gratitude of all adherents of the Swatantra movement and members of the Party, to the people of Bihar and their Swatantra Party and its leaders for having invited this historic convention to this city.

It is our good fortune to be meeting in this noble city of hoary history. Pataliputra evokes inspiring memories of the Maurya regime, Kautilya's political and economic theories and Ashoka's great peace mission. It was in Bihar the successful Champaran Satyagraha movement was conducted by Mahatma Gandhi, with the aid of Babu Rajendra Prasad, as a prelude to the later India-wide kisan resistance to the British. It was here that so many of us cooperated with the late Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, my good colleague on the kisan platform in that great movement to win peasant proprietorship and free status for our kisan masses. It is in the fitness of things that our friend Sri Kamakhya Narayan Sinha, who has taken up the present challenge of Bihar kisans against the oppressive land taxes and Government's unwillingness to recognise the primacy of peasant proprietorship, should have become the President of the Bihar Swatantra Party. I am so glad that the leaders of the Janata Party and Jan Congress have merged in our Party and so many other leaders have come forward so spontaneously to join our movement.

I wish to express once again the thanks of all lovers of freedom and adherents of our Swatantra movement to, the people of Bihar for their participation in our pilgrimage towards freedom under the guidance of pujya Rajaji.

VII

FREEDOM IN PERIL

(Presidential Address delivered by Professor Ranga at the Annual Conference of the All-India Swatantra Party, held in Agra during November 24-26, 1961)

We are meeting in this place of the most beautiful monument for love at a time when the world is being threatened by the greatest ever-known enemy to the spirit of human existence, and love. This enemy is not so much the Magaton Bomb that the U.S.S.R. has tested but the inhuman spirit of power and domination, intolerance and hatred that have been responsible for its creation. Never before was this demoniac spirit so all world-enveloping or world conscious. It is now capable of destroying all vestiges of human freedom and development, and turn all humanity into either Cinders or slaves or mad beasts.

At various times, in different parts of the world, so many peoples did engage themselves in deadly wars and caused so much damage to themselves, mostly because of their passion for power and domination over one another. In all such wars, human values and cultures suffered but only in the involved areas—big or small. But in this century their beastly passion for power and domination has become world-wide, and seeks to embrace the whole of humanity both the 'involved' and 'uninvolved'. It does not aim at mere imperialistic or religious control over one or two peoples or their countries. It seeks to bring all the peoples of all the world under its sway, imprison humanity in proletarianism, bearing the imprimatur of Sovietism and saluting the Communist Caesars.

India too had the prototypes of Khrushchev in her legendary Aswathama, who defied the warnings of sages Kripacharya and Vyasa and hurled his poisonous weapon which could kill like the present Russian bomb the embryos in pregnant mothers. But at all such critical junctures in the life of humanity, some noble souls raised their voices of protest and warning and challenged their contemporaneous Hiranyakashyapas and urged these peoples not to abandon their humanism and not to slip back into barbarianism. India too had her Prahladas; Shree Rama, Shree Krishna, Sibi and Buddha in her pre-historic age to help her humanity on its march towards Human Rights and in her fight against the totalitarianism of her rulers. Once again, India's civilisation has thrown up Mahatma Gandhi and Rajaji in these times, to concert measures to defend the right of humanity to

develop and enjoy humanism, based on *Satya* and *Ahimsa*. They are reinforcing the Western champions of human freedom and peaceful life for free peoples like Lord Russell, Boyd Orr. In recent centuries feudal and capitalist countries contended with each other for supremacy in their attempts to hold large sections of humanity in slavery. Slowly feudalism gave way before capitalism and the latter before democracy. Imperialism, the nineteenth-century amalgam of feudalism and capitalism, has had to yield place to democracy of the twentieth century. In all this tortuous course of history, the sanctity of life and freedom, spirit of service, as embodied in religiosity and self-respect of human beings, were at stake. Slowly humanism has triumphed over brutality, and freedom has replaced slavery and fraternity has won over hatred, and enforced and artificial inequality gave to equality of opportunities for all. But a new threat has arisen from the ashes of capitalism and its off-spring industrialism and that is the cult of proletarianism.

This cult of proletarianism has come to be fashioned by Marx, Lenin and Soviet leaders of U.S.S.R., Peoples China and other Communist countries, as the latest challenge to free and fraternal humanity. It masquerades as Socialism and Communism. It is presided over by the twentieth century priesthood, the Communist Party; its vehicle is totalitarianism and its weapon is its self-chosen world mission to convert all humanity into the proletarian mass with the all-consuming third Eye of the Communist International.

It is curious how both Khrushchev and Jawaharlalji fail to recognise the qualitative change that has come over world capitalism in this post-war age. While the capitalism of the nineteenth century could not liberate itself from the need for and habit of exploiting labour, management and consumers, allied as it was with imperialism, the industrial capitalism of this second half of twentieth century has almost freed itself from vestiges of exploitation and shaken itself free from imperialism. It is today functioning on the basis of welfare society and in certain countries, it has welcomed the advent of Welfare State. It is because of this wholesome metamorphosis in the content and activity of the latest phase of industrial capitalism as has been discerned and delineated by progressive economists that it has become so impossible for world Communism and its leaders, Khrushchev and Mao Tse-Tung, to attract the wide-awake and prosperous proletariat of Western democracies. It is because of their despair to gain their support, contrary to what Marxist theologians had hoped for, that the Communist leaders have thrown all cautions to the winds and began to talk the language of the Megaton Bomb.

It is no longer possible for our planners and their Chairman Nehru to think of distinguishing their socialism from the so-called capitalism because qualitatively both these "isms" or social approaches have come to utilise the economic tools such as payments by results, incentives, such as bonuses, social securities, profits, production-based accounting in order to maximise production, minimising waste and achieving fullest utilisation of economic opportunities. Therefore, Khrushchev has chosen to destroy Western industrial-capitalism and democracy through violence and not by propaganda, permeation and subversion. The capitalism that Jawaharlalji and Socialists of his ilk talk about no longer exists. They are harping upon an enemy which has already given place to welfare society. If Marx is out of date by one century, Jawaharlalji is out of date by decades.

Even this achievement of Western industrial democracy, that is, free, prosperous and self-respecting organised proletariat, is much less than what their ancestors had enjoyed before capitalism enveloped them in the coils of industrial evolution and feudalism had degraded them into peonism, villainage, and slavery. Their ancestors enjoyed the status of being master-weavers and master-craftsmen being owners of implements of production, and enjoying the protection of their guilds. It is that status of free, self-reliant craftsmen that Guild Socialism has sought to regain for modern proletariat as opposed to Soviet proletarianism. It is this status of once again being the masters of sources of their employment means and conditions of living and freedom of choice of livelihood, that the proletariat all over the world are yearning for, because they are too keenly conscious of their failure to gain full partnership rights over their means of employment and livelihood. It is this genuine and human yearning that the Communist International is trying to exploit by diverting it into a passion for collective ownership of means in its efforts to gain world dominion.

In rivalry to that cult of proletarianism of Communists, Guild Socialists have been trying to reorganise the industrial structure so as to make the proletariat the owners and managers of industrial democracy. The Owenites, Christian Socialists, Syndicalists and champions of Democratic Consumers' Co-operative movement have also been trying to retain for certain sections of the proletariat either full or partial control over the means of production and conditions of employment and sources of living within the ambit of capitalism and Western industrialism. All these are useful hurdles, road-blocks or barricades Western democracies have thrown up to arrest the onward march of Sovietism.

The toiling masses of Afro-Asian countries have, however, succeeded, through their infinite capacity to endure the rigours

and competitions of Western imperialist and capitalist domination to continue to retain their control over the instruments of production and means of living. Thus, their peasantries have continued to retain or regain proprietorship over their holdings; their artisans are still engaged on their implements and all of them are self-employed. It is this socio-economic status of being free toilers and enjoying their own independent means of sustenance, namely, that of self-employment, which distinguishes them from even the most prosperous sections of Western proletariat. It is within practical possibility for these poverty-stricken self-employed masses to reach the high level of prosperity of American working classes through their mastery over their welfare-minded democracies but it is so much more difficult for the latter to attain their self-employment status. There is indeed a qualitative difference between the status of the self-employed and the want of it felt by the industrial proletariat and it is against this status of the self-employed that Lenin exhorted Communists to wage their relentless war. Fortunately, so far Communists have failed like their predecessors, the capitalists and imperialists, to destroy this economy of self-employment and this loyalty of the self-employed to their heritage and means of freedom and social independence and equality. Their opposition to Communist proletarianism is now being reinforced by the prosperous and organised proletariat of Western democracy.

Khrushchev can gain world domination for Soviet cult of proletarianism only if the self-employment status of peasants, artisans, merchants, industrialists and all other free professions like lawyers, doctors, teachers, artists is abolished. Thus, the greatest enemy of Soviet proletarianism is self-employment. If Khrushchev can claim the allegiance of all the coercively proletarianised masses of the Communist countries the world democracies can claim the support of an equally large number of the self-employed masses, inhabiting mostly the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. Therefore, there are so many more self-respecting self-employed masses and welfare-minded industrial workers of democracies who are engaged in the creative task of achieving prosperity through freedom than those who are being engaged by Soviet totalitarianism in destructive function of depriving others' freedoms and self-respect.

The Communist International is well aware of the existence of these phalanxes of democratic toilers. Khrushchev fears that through mere propaganda carried on by the Communist and Socialist parties on the basis of the results of Soviet experiments in Communist countries, it would be impossible for him to gain any effective foothold in all the countries enjoying peasant, artisan and other facets of self-employment and free economies. So he wants to overawe, hypnotise and finally destroy their

will to be free and independent by demonstrating the Satanic power of the Soviets as embodied in the bombs. He hopes that in this atomic age of immense powers of the ruling classes for destroying their opponents, the countries of the self-employed masses would vote in favour of Sovietism, which has endowed the Communist countries with such immense powers, in preference to democracy which has not yet helped them to shake off their age-long poverty.

But Khrushchev and his Indian imitators forget that the self-employed masses have inherited tough traditions of endurance, love of freedom and independence borne out of their self-employment and mastery over their means of livelihood. They have developed ways and means of overcoming the temptations and challenges of capitalism and have eventually survived the century-long offensives of imperialism. So Khrushchev's demonstration of the might of the Soviet powers through this Magaton Bomb and the Communist Party's blandishments and seductive baits of quick enrichment cannot be expected to succeed, any more than capitalism and industrialism of the West, in enticing these self-employed masses into the orbit of proletarianism of the Soviet plans of Nehru. This was demonstrated, in a pointed manner, in the general elections held in Andhra in 1955, when the self-employed peasants and others gave a resounding defeat to the Communist Party, when the issues at stake were placed clearly before them. It stands to the credit of the Krishikar Lok Party, which has now become one of the constituents of the Swatantra Movement, that it reached an electoral coalition with the Congress for this purpose. It led the Andhra self-employed masses to choose the democratic way and thus safeguard their peasant proprietorship, self-employment and all other democratic freedoms in preference to the Communist way and its proletarianism and totalitarianism.

The greatest of tragedies of post-independence India is that the Congress Party which has posed as the political rival of the Communist Party in the general elections for the Andhra (1955) and Kerala (1959) Assemblies has itself stolen the Communist political coat and overcoat of proletarianism and Statism and decided, as from its Nagpur Session in January 1959, to adopt the so-called Socialist means as have been standardised by Soviet practices in order to undermine, subvert and finally destroy the social economy of the free peasants and merchants, the principal pillars of the self-employed masses. The Congress has displayed as much acumen as Lenin did through his "NEP" and Mao Tse-Tung through his "Hundred Flowers in Bloom" to deceive the freedom-loving masses to walk into their traps. So, it has offered not to tamper with the title deeds of our peasants over their holdings and to wait upon their voluntary choice to

walk into the "collectives" disguised as joint cooperative farms.

Prime Minister Nehru is trying to mislead our peasants by repeatedly saying that membership in the Government-sponsored cooperative farms would be entirely voluntary, because his Governments are to be provided with more than Rs. 100 crores to subsidise all sorts of cooperatives, which are to lead peasants into the embraces of the cooperative farms. The Congress Governments also seek to give various preferences to the co-operative farms, by giving priority in supplying manures, seeds, implements, credit and providing marketing facilities and controlled commodities. Their consolidation legislation provides for coercing minority of peasants into joining a cooperative farm, whenever majority in a locality chooses consolidation and cooperative farming.

A part of its real Communist design has come to be unwittingly disclosed by its companion decision to socialise grain trade. State monopoly of grain trade could be achieved only through such well-known weapons of totalitarianism as compulsory procurements, control of prices and State monopoly of purchase and sale of food grains and the banning of the operations of free trade through independent merchants. When once peasants lose their freedom to claim ownership over the fruits of their production and accumulate the surpluses in their grain stores, and decide when and to whom to sell at what price and in what quantities and come to be forced to hand over all their grains to the State and its minions, their real economic independence will evaporate and they can only exist as prisoners on their holdings being self-employed, the better to subserve the totalitarian interests of the Socialist State.

The politically conscious sections of the peasant masses of our country, especially those who have been enjoying for centuries peasant proprietorship besides self-employment, were against this indignity and became enraged at this ungrateful midwifery offered by the Congress Party for Sovietism. They demonstrated most powerfully, in their conferences held in Punjab, Karnataka, Andhra, Gujarat, against this Nehru challenge to their freedoms. They felt that what the Communists failed to do through their direct appeal and challenge during all these years, the Congress was trying to achieve under the leadership of Prime Minister Nehru after having been confirmed repeatedly in power mainly through their votes. It stands to the credit of Rajaji and the late Khasa Subba Rao, the founder of the *Swarajya* that when I mustered courage to protest against the Yelwal's decisions to inaugurate a national campaign for Gramdan, initiated as it was by Vinobaji and supported by the leaders of the Communist, Congress and Socialist parties,

that they should have raised their powerful voices in support of peasant's right to self-employment. The intellectuals of our country were awakened by Sri Munshi to the mechinations of totalitarianism, creeping into our national life through Nehru's Socialism, within a month after Nagpur Congress resolution. Sri M.R. Masani has stood by us like a rock through all these difficult times and roused Parliament in 1957 to the dangers of cooperative farming as adumberated by the Second Five Year Plan. The self-employed masses and all other freedom-loving peoples of India owe a great debt of gratitude to these doughty champions of the free and independent masses. It was to give effective political shape to the growing nation-wide protest against this Nehru-inspired Socialist challenge against our freedom that Rajaji has chosen to step once again into the political arena and founded the Swatantra Party on June 4, 1959. That was indeed a Red Letter Day in the annals of freedom.

The Swatantra Party stands for non-exploitative social institutions. It believes that welfare society can be non-exploitative and help the people to achieve prosperity while being completely free, under the ambit of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. On the other hand, the Statism of the planners' design can function only on the basis of ever-increasing degree of exploitation of the proletariat, professionals and all consumers, through the ruling Party. Hence our opposition to Nehru's Plan. The Swatantra Party believes that the present trends of Nehru's planning and Congress domination over administration and so-called social organisations from panchayats to cooperatives, social welfare to community development will surely lead to the superimposition of a new ruling class over our society and it is determined to fight these evil trends. Jawaharlalji's leadership is creating this new master or ruling class, just as Communists have done in Soviet countries, instead of abolishing the existing classes and class distinctions, as he professes to do, and Swatantra Party has boldly come forward to fight this new menace.

Our Party stands equally for the protection of the freedoms of the proletariat of our industries. They are also in danger of losing their freedom and being overwhelmed by the Communist cult, as has been exemplified by their experiences during the 1959-60 strike of employees of Government enterprises. Nehru's Government seeks to extend its control over them through its increasing participation in ownership, control and management of industrial and commercial enterprises. Its plan threatens to give preference to Government enterprises. Thus, more and more of our proletariat and professionals are in danger of becoming dependent upon State's control and management. This Statism spells the death-knell of freedoms of choice of

employment and employers, regulation of conditions of service through collective bargaining and invoking the aid of community, its courts and Rule of Law and Fundamental Rights, as enshrined in the Constitution. The proletariat of England, U.S.A., and so many other countries have tasted the bitter fruits of nationalisation of industries and commerce and have therefore come to vote againt this Statism. They prefer to utilise the State for the protective and creative function of umpiring between themselves and their employers, maintaining industrial peace and harmony and protecting and promoting the interest of the national as well as the managerial and proletarian classes. In this direction, the Swatantra Party followed the well-trodden paths of social welfare and social harmony so far developed by post-war Western democracies. It has chosen to pursue the Gandhian mission—strengthened by India's Ashokan tradition of Sapta Dans—of trusteeship, whereby all are exhorted to be religious and to make their maximum contribution in a wholehearted manner, to national and social purposes of their choices. This faith in every citizen being exhorted to hold himself as a trustee for social well-being is a guarantee against the menace of creeping Statism even in the sphere of social service and welfare. Nehru's Plan is opposed to this conception of voluntary trusteeship and welfare society. It is fortunate for the democratic world that under the inspiration of Rajaji, the conscience-keeper and life-long collaborator and counsellor of Bapuji, that the Swatantra Party has come to make this contribution to the concepts and practices of welfare society, so far evolved by Western democracies.

Today there exists a world-wide battle between freedom and Statism, democracy and dictatorship, people's enterprise and State enterprise, self-employment and proletarianism. The Swatantra Party has made its choice in favour of the former and the Congress Party in favour of the latter of the alternatives. We are convinced that the social economy of the self-employed peoples in all walks of life is capable of making the largest and soundest contribution to national well-being in virtue of its built-in incentives, freedom and enterprise. It will prove to be the most effective challenge to the Soviet cult of proletarianism. Therefore, our Swatantra movement has chosen to give pride of place, in its Manifesto, to the self-employment, as its contribution to world's movement for human rights, democratic freedoms; our movement is a self-reliant, contributory wing of the world movement of Swatantra and we defy the cults of proletarianism, Statism, totalitarianism of Nehru's Plans and Congress Raj.

At this juncture, so critical in the career of the world and Indian democracy, we are arrayed against the Congress Party

and its ideologically allied parties. We are armed with our distinct ideology of self-employment, free professions, human rights, Gandhian conception of religion, trusteeship and social welfare. As had been the good fortune of the Pandavas to be guided by Shree Krishna facing the more numerous and richer Kauravas on the battle-field of Kurukshetra, we have today the inestimable guidance of Rajaji. Therefore, the Swatantra Party makes bold to guide our people in the forthcoming general elections on the basis of its statement of principles, its path to prosperity through freedom and its Election Manifesto. This Manifesto indicates how and what can be achieved to strengthen our freedoms and independent ways of life and living and how we can grow prosperous and salvage our masses from poverty and suffering. It is suffused with the Gandhian spirit of freedom, mutual service and democracy. It is a progressive and constructive alternative to the Nehru Plan and Congress Manifesto. It offers to insure our masses from the creeping cult of proletarianism, and of the Congress brand Socialism. I therefore appeal to our electors to rally round this Swatantra banner.

Let us now place ourselves in the vanguard of our masses, and take all the risks involved in this electioneering battle and help them to demonstrate their unmistakable opposition to the proletarianism of the Nehru pattern, dressed up as the Third Plan. We shall try to insure India's democracy from the danger of totalitarianism by unseating the Congress from power. We will succeed in strengthening the life-springs of the social economy of self-employment and human rights of our proletariat by so largely reducing the present blinding majority of the Congress in Parliament and by providing our democracy with the protective armour of an effective opposition. I am confident that we will fulfil the immediate aims of our Founder of arresting the growth of political immorality and strengthening the Indian foundations of *dharma*, and protecting our society from the Satanic lava of Statism and proletarianism.

AGRARIAN POLICY

I

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP

We must fight totalitarianism. The movement for "Swatantra" has arisen out of our people's long-felt need for the protection and promotion of their legitimate much-cherished freedom from exploitation, regimentation and suppression by the rapidly growing and suffocatingly aggressive era of Statism inaugurated by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his Congress Government. The Swatantra Party is the political weapon of this movement. It seeks to help our people to remain free and to expand the area of their social and economic freedom, through all progressive and non-exploitative means.

The Swatantra Party believes that the foundations of the Indian social economy were laid by its founding fathers on a well-conceived plan of the maximum possible decentralisation of power, so that there could be no danger of any dictator or conqueror enslaving the masses in the total manner in which modern dictatorships have succeeded during this century. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to rebuild our economy on these foundations by rejuevnating the kisan and kalakar economies and to ensure the permanence of decentralisation of power and thus safeguard the people from dangers of totalitarianism. Our planners have on the other hand tended to depart farther and farther from Gandhiji's conceptions of planning, based upon the bedrock of India's traditionally decentralized social economy of production through free producers, aided by their village panchayats or craft guilds or traders' councils. They have chosen to follow the Soviet means which are based on the concentration of more and more power in the State agencies and withdrawal of it from the toilers. Little did they realise that planning after the Soviet fashion and freedom of the people will be so opposed to each other that one or the other would have to yield the primacy in our social economy.

Through all these 13 years, the Congress Governments have been trying, thanks to the country's faith in the leadership of Sri Nehru and his professed passion to lift up our masses from their economic misery, to gain a strangle-hold over the peasant masses. They tried to squeeze out of them to the maximum extent their surplus value by such means as the one-sided controls, imposition of uneconomic procurement prices of food grains, excise duties, surcharges on land taxes ete. Thanks to the

administrative genius of Rajaji and Kidwai and the pressure of the Bharat Kisan Sammelan, the removal of food controls in 1952-53 prevented the planners from completely subjugating our peasantry to their price-squeeze machinations. So they made bold to persuade Sri Nehru and Congress Government to accept their proposals to utilize the mechanism of cooperatives to get hold of peasants and superimpose their controls, albeit in an indirect manner, over the increasing sections of peasants. Thus arose, since 1955, the new enthusiasm of Government for the development of the agricultural cooperatives. The planners have advised the Government to gain under this guise the long-cherished control over peasants' free way of life. Hence the Nagpur Congress decision to start service cooperatives, in order that they might lead them on to enveloping the great mass of our peasantry by cooperative farming.

Our peasants have realized that once the competitive grain traders are brushed aside in favour of the monopolist State trading and their self-employment is swallowed up by cooperative farming, their freedoms would be lost for ever and their plight would be no better than that of the Soviet peasants. Hence their nation-wide revolt against the Nagpur-*cum*-Nehru lead. The Swatantra movement is the political expression of this spontaneous peasant revolt.

None in this post-war age wishes to stand for or defend exploitation of man by man or class by class. None also stands for the continuation or intensification of class or clan or colour struggles, thanks to the terrible experiences of the world through Nazism and Sovietism. Indeed no humane or civilized person wishes that any country or people should be condemned to or misled into the horrible experiences of Soviet Russia or China, merely in the mad pursuit after get-rich-quick national endeavours for power and prestige. Even the Indian people have come to realize the misery of the Soviet peoples who have lost their spiritual, cultural and economic freedoms, during the past forty years. So they do not wish to part with their own freedoms in exchange for the economic progress that Sri Jawaharlal and his planners promise to achieve through their Plans. Especially is it so, after their past 13 years of experience of the mounting tax burdens, swelling civil services and dwindling efficiency and administrative morale. On the other hand, the decision of the British electorate, through three successive general elections, not to favour the programme of nationalisation and the resultant Statism has begun to make our people re-examine their Nehru-induced faith in the Statism of planners. The confessions made by the arch-planner, Sri G.L. Nanda, after his recent tour of Yugoslavia and other European countries, that the Soviet countries are now hankering after a bit of freedom

for their toilers, after having thrown it away in their mad search after rapid economic advancement; that nationalisation might not assure the proletariat either freedom of collective bargaining or freedom borne by trade union's organisational strength and that cooperative farming and nationalisation of industries might lead to soulless bureaucracy, with all its evils, have only confirmed the fears of our masses about the dangers of democratic dictatorship of Sri Nehru. Hence their welcome to the Swatantra Party, which boldly stands against this Statism of the Nehru stamp.

The Swatantra Party is fully conscious of the great role that Service Cooperatives can play in liberating our agriculturists from the clutches of the "key services" such as credit, storing agricultural products, marketing, modern transport facilities, processing etc. These key services are controlled not only by profiteering private interests but also by the nationalised or State services, thanks to the growing role of the State under the planned economy. It is a notorious fact that these key services absorb nearly 50% of the price paid by consumers for our agricultural produce. The Scandinavian and Dutch peoples and even a large section of British, Canadian, American, Australian and New Zealand farmers have achieved much protection from the profiteering carried on by these key services by developing Service Cooperatives. In fact, the Japanese peasants, the great majority of whom are dependent on as small holdings as Indian peasant masses, have achieved both maximum agricultural production and decent enough standard of living mostly because of the protection and other benefits derived from the successful activities of their highly developed Service Cooperatives. Due to their habits of "blessing" and political manoeuvring, the Congress ministries and Congress Party have come to take an unholy interest in the day-to-day activities of our cooperatives. This persistent tendency of the present Government and the ruling Party to exploit cooperation for political purposes prevents the healthy and rapid development of our Service Cooperatives and discourages our peasant masses from taking to Service Cooperatives so enthusiastically.

Unfortunately, the Congress Governments have been pursuing the un-cooperative practice of interesting themselves in the elections of cooperative societies, the personnel and political attitudes and activities of their boards of directors, their managements, so much so, that almost all cooperative societies beholden to the Ministers and Registrars and their political and administrative missions are to line up with them in their political group or factional interests and whims and fancies. Many concessions are given to these societies which are held by the favourites of the ruling Party. But only disabilities are

being heaped upon those societies which are managed by independent cooperators. The result is that the Indian cooperative movement, though voluntary in name, has been turned, as in so many Soviet countries, into convenient instruments to implement their programmes of monopolist distribution of fertilisers etc.

The Swatantra Party is keen on developing the cooperative movement. In fact, so many of us have taken active interest in building up a number of Service or Agrarian Cooperatives during the past thirty years. The Swatantra Party would free the cooperatives from ministerial politics and help them to develop their own internal mechanism for regulating, supervising and corrective purposes, so that, the present practice of the Cooperative Departments of State Governments interfering almost at every stage with the activities of cooperative societies can be eliminated.

Why is the Congress so keen on displacing the existing economy of self-employed and free peasantry by cooperative joint farming? The Planning Commission has stated its real objective that through joint farming of all the lands in any village the independent status of peasant proprietors can come to be equated with the landless villagers. The Swatantra Party does not believe in these Soviet methods of converting our peasants into landless wage-earners. The policy of the present Government is to make itself the biggest land owner and converting the self-employed peasants into agricultural workers under the pretext of placing all its lands under cooperative farming. On the other hand, the Swatantra Party believes that the social economy of our country and political strength of our people can continue to derive ever renewing inspiration and stamina through the continued existence and broadening of the bases of self-employed peasantry and also the proprietorship of their holdings. And so it will enable even large numbers of the landless agricultural workers to gain ownership over at least small holdings, and thus gain self-employment in agriculture by distributing among them hitherto uncultivated but cultivable government waste lands as well as disafforested lands amounting to more than ten crore acres of land. It will help them to retain those lands and to develop their productivity through active participation of the Government in their reclamation and development, as is being done in the Dandakaranya reclamation undertaken for the displaced persons.

The Congress wants to Sovietise our agriculture under the pretext of attempting to increase agricultural production through cooperative cultivation. But nowhere in the world has it been proved beyond doubt that cooperative cultivation has produced more per acre than through peasant economy and even the

Soviet countries of Europe concede the failure of such joint cultivation and deplore its defects. It has not been demonstrated anywhere that it is conducive to greater and better individual or group display or initiative or enterprise or conscientious and labour-loving efforts or better use of land or greater production.

Joint cultivation is recommended by the Congress Party on the plea that it can liberate so many of ours mall peasants from their under-employment. In fact, it is the high road towards greater rural unemployment and greatest stimulant towards rural exodus and towards urbanisation. The Congress pleads that it does not propose to deprive peasants of their proprietorship of holdings but only seeks to persuade them to pool their holdings for joint holdings. It has not so far offered any tangible assurances how our peasants can regain their holdings once they give them up, without incurring social obliquacy and economic disabilities and displeasure of the governmental leaders and cooperative officers nor has it indicated any compensatory advantages to make up for the loss of the self-employment status. In fact, the offer of allowing the title deeds for their lands to remain in the hands of the peasants can only be a make-believe, once their right to cultivate their holdings by themselves through their own supervision and management comes to be abandoned in favour of the joint farming societies. And such titles will lose their market value in the absence of any demand from any social sector and can mean no more than momentoes to remind their holders of their long lost possessions of self-employment status.

We of the Swatantra Party are opposed to this whole anti-peasant approach of the Congress Party. We are convinced that the present system of peasant proprietorship has come to be evolved as the most productive system of protection and improvement and utilisation of land and is capable of absorbing ever new and more productive methods of agriculture. We are highly appreciative of its capacity to evoke the highest productive efforts from peasant families and all their self-reliant abilities so much needed in the intensive cultivation of lands.

The Swatantra Party stands for the positive ends of preserving and promoting the institutions of self-employment which have safeguarded the freedom of our peasant proprietors and artisans, and also the dukandars. These institutions have withstood the trials of millenniums of our history and helped our masses to overcome the scourges of repeated invasions and continue to regain political freedom. They have strengthened the spirit of self-reliance and self-respect of our kisans and kalakars. The self-employment derived by our peasant masses from the economy of their holdings is the highest and most progressive conception of decentralised democracy and economic freedom

at the grass roots, practised for so many centuries in the Indian rural civilisation.

The Swatantra Party cherishes this contribution of Indian civilisation and wishes to help our peasant masses to improve upon this noble heritage and enable others too, including a good section of agricultural workers, to come to attain this socio-economic freedom and independence. The toiling masses of the West have lost this status of self-employment and economic independence in their rush towards economic prosperity through their industrial and capitalist development but they have ever since been trying, almost in vain, to regain their former status of self-employment, while retaining all the advantages of industrial advancement. The Congress Party and the Planning Commission wish to follow the Western approach towards development and prosperity through Soviet methods and means and do not mind losing in the process the very soul of India's self-governed economy, namely self-employment and economic freedom of the great majority of her toilers in the fields, factories and shops.

The effect of ceiling legislation is to permanently condemn agriculturists alone to a comparatively depressed condition and disable them from attaining higher education or political status, as compared with all other classes. The Constitution has charged Parliament and Government to devise ways and means to remove the disabilities of the existing traditionally depressed classes (Article 46) but the fathers of our Constitution never dreamt that Government would advise Parliament to convert in this manner the majority of our masses into a new depressed class.

It is argued that only a few people would come within the mischief of this proposed legislation on land ceilings. But greater issues are implicit in this proposal. It means that hereafter no one would be allowed to raise and obtain an opportunity to demonstrate his initiative, enterprise and organising ability, business acumen and agricultural leadership so well and to such an extent with so much land as is needed, that he could hope to gain an income comparable even to the middle-tiers of incomes now derived by industrial entrepreneurs and commercial and other professional magnates. It also means that all such enterprising, educated and competent people who are justifiably ambitious and keen on making their best contribution to our national development would be encouraged to drift into non-agricultural activities, leaving agricultural enterprise to become the monopoly of under-developed and non-enterprising people.

It is said that this discriminatory legislation is being undertaken to obtain land for the landless who had been the

'have-nots' till now. Is it not the duty of Parliament and Assemblies to examine whether the advantages to be derived from such a re-distribution of land are commensurate with the consequential disadvantages of imposing such a ceiling? Are there not other ways of placing lands belonging to Government estimated to be eight to ten crores of acres at the disposal of the landless? What canon of social justice is being observed in discriminating against those landholders, not landlords, who are also actual cultivators and who do not have to exploit any tenants or rentiers?

As regards the question of payment of compensation, I feel that the quantum suggested by the bills is much too meagre and unjust. I am convinced that when the Constitution was being amended to overcome the decisions of the courts on the question of payment of compensation to the erstwhile Talukdars and Zamindars (rent-receiving landlords) who had been recognised by the British and Moghuls for the purpose of land revenue by keeping it beyond the purview of the courts, Parliament did not realise that the properties obtained by ownership, heredity and savings and managed by the owners themselves for their own benefit without in any way directly impinging upon the equal freedom to obtain, own or save and enjoy similar properties or sources of incomes would also come to be dealt with in the same summary fashion and be denied the right to claim and obtain the market value as compensation.

Anyhow, the high and onerous responsibility of using this power, only after giving due consideration to its all-round effects upon the national economy as a whole and the particular sector of property concerned, has been cast upon Parliament and Assemblies. Now that these Bills propose to offer only a portion of the market value prevailing today for the excess lands over and above the ceiling of the actual land-holding agriculturists, they set such a bad precedent that all the holders of all other properties are thus being given due notice that on any day when it pleases Government and Parliament and any Assembly any part or portion of use of their properties is likely to be taken over by Government by the so-called due procedures established by law on the payment of nominal compensation. This notice given in such a glaring and arbitrary manner and in defiance of the statesman-like restraints which the Constitution-makers expected to be observed by Parliament and Assemblies is sure to discourage in the long run all initiative, enterprise and incentive to earn and save and develop one's own properties and other sources of income, employment and security. Therefore, we do plead with Parliament and Assemblies that they should not accept this unwise proposal of the Government, i.e., the payment of only a nominal compensation.

Moreover, the last Parliament had paid market rates to the shareholders of the Imperial Bank of India, and to set at naught that reasonable precedent and to go headlong with these unjust proposal of the Bills is to declare to all our agriculturists that they must be and would be discriminated against. Parliament and Assemblies ought not to commit such an act of class discrimination.

The whole approach to property as is indicated by this and such other Bills needs to be reconsidered. Even Soviet Russia is coming to realise the need for allowing people to own, accumulate and enjoy private property. No democracy can continue to be liberal and loyal to the fundamental property, savings and means of income, livelihood and socio-economic freedom. Now that we find Governments are ready to advise Parliament and Assemblies to entertain such unwise and one-sided proposals calculated to create wide and deep sense of insecurity of property and savings, we are obliged to appeal to Parliament and Assemblies to repeal the amendment made to the Constitution and restore the Constitution to its original form, as it was adopted in 1950.

PROVIDE CHEAP AND ADEQUATE WORKING CAPITAL

The greatest, but the age-long, need of our agriculturists is the supply of adequate, cheap working capital to enable them to improve their holdings, step up their fertility, utilize improved implements and tested seeds to maintain themselves in efficient working order. The Planning Commission and the Congress Governments have neglected to provide this most obvious lever for higher production despite the advice of every expert who has studied the possibilities for higher production. The high interest charges encroach upon the incomes of our peasants and keep down their living standards. We are keen on improving the efficiency of the peasants by raising their incentives to work more hard, their ability to put greater constructive effort to improve the productivity of their lands and the ultimate agricultural production, the Swatantra Party will give the top-most priority to the abundant supply of this much-needed working capital. Since, however, the national resources alone are not enough for this purpose, the aid of international finance may be sought. The responsibility will be shouldered by the Swatantra Party; because it has faith in the future of peasant economy and it alone can evoke the necessary partnership from peasant. The national savings and small savings campaigns are being carried on in villages in an almost coercive fashion and rural India are thus being denuded of even these slender spare resources. It will be the task of the Swatantra Party to free these campaigns

from all vestiges of coercion and utilise their proceeds for investment in the local cooperative banks for being lent to the holders of small holdings who are so badly in need of working capital.

DEVELOP AGRO-INDUSTRIES

The Congress Government has failed to stimulate the agro-industries including the manufacture of chemical fertilisers, cow-dung gas plants, plantations of fuel trees, processing industries to develop oil products, food products and also dairy and fruit preservation plants. The Party will not pursue the barren policy of the present Congress Governments of discouraging the development of processing industries through its suicidal threats of nationalisation and developing the monopolist activities of State Trading Corporation.

There is enormous scope for stepping up agricultural production if only sufficient supplies of green (leguminous) and chemical manures as well as cowdung and other farm-yard manures are made available to our peasants. Scientists have calculated that to produce 9 crore tons of cereals and 6 crore tons of other crops needed to feed and clothe 41 crores of our estimated population by 1965, India would need 120 lakh tons of fixed nitrogen; whereas by 1961 all that the available fertilizer factories in India could be expected to produce would be only 200 thousand tons of fixed nitrogen. We should develop and implement a nation-wide programme of utilising fully all the agricultural wastes, town refuses and waste leaves of forests and road avenues etc., as we should. The present Government is very negligent about this aspect. If only the good offices of village panchayats are utilised and composting is developed, as much as 1/3 of the need of our lands for manures can be satisfied. The Swatantra Party proposes to give a high priority to this crying need of our agrarian economy and will go all out in developing small-, medium- and large-scale fertiliser industrial enterprises to be spread all over India.

The Swatantra Party also lays special emphasis on the development of the tertiary industries which will manufacture the machines and prime-movers needed by the projected agro-industries. It will give every encouragement to the multiplication of smaller units of production rather than relying on a few colossal plants. It will give special facilities for international industrialists who are ready to come into partnership with Indian entrepreneurs in developing this industry and will also seek special assistance from individual Governments and international financial and industrial agencies. The Swatantra Party also believes in giving training in improved methods of manufacturing

agricultural implements and machines to the traditionally skilled village artisans, i.e., carpenters.

MARKETING

In its over-anxiety to ensure rapid and full supplies of food grains to the towns at prices which have all along been officially fixed arbitrarily, the Congress Government has come to deprecate wrongly the growing tendency among the above subsistence peasants to store some portion of their disposable surplus food grains or oil-seeds or fibres. And very little has been done to protect the small producers from being exploited by money lender-*cum*-trading people of the market towns. What ought to be done is to encourage more and more peasants to develop the capacity to store their produce in their own villages in anticipation of brisk demand periods and help them and others also not to rush their produce too soon after the harvest and sell at too low prices by offering adequate short-term capital at low interest rates on the security of those stores and thus raise their bargaining capacity vis-a-vis the markets.

As large a number of peasants as possible have to be persuaded to join special marketing cooperatives and the risks involved in such storing in anticipation of higher prices than what prevail at the harvest period of the guaranteed floor prices have to be insured against by suitable guarantees from Government.

The present unhealthy tendency of Congress Governments to deprecate the growing consumption of home produced food grains by the farming population should be discouraged. On the other hand, every effort should be made, through the farmers' marketing cooperatives, to encourage peasants to grow vegetables and subsidiary food grains, pulses and edible oil-seeds by developing the habit of raising two to three crops a year on the same lands, and to help peasants to maximise both their own home-consumption and also their contribution to markets at remunerative and even alluring price-levels.

The construction by cooperatives, big enough farmers and local religious or other public charitable institutions of godowns, refrigerators, redrying plants, has to be encouraged and the State also should go on constructing a large number of small, medium and big storages and offer to sell them to cooperatives and private limited companies of farmers, on instalment payment system. In this manner, two purposes have to be served—the present losses incurred in bad and inadequate storing practices can be eliminated and the capacity of farming population to protect themselves from market exploitation can be raised. In this way, we can reverse the present Government's manoeuvres to utilise its chain of warehouses against peasants'

endeavours to protect themselves from uneconomic bids from markets. There is need to organise protected, regulated markets in all important trading centres to ensure healthy competition between all merchants, cooperatives and State Trading Corporation, so as to protect the producers. One of the things that has been troubling our peasants for many decades, in deciding what crops to grow and on what areas of their holdings from year to year, has been the uncertainty of the prices of the major crops.

Most of the countries in the West have adopted various measures to maintain the floor levels of prices of the major crops. Some countries go as far as to assure their farmers, one or two years in advance, remunerative price levels. In our country also, the kisan organisations have been asking for a similar policy to be adopted and various expert bodies, appointed by the Central Government both before and after independence, have proposed detailed schemes for estimating, prescribing and establishing agricultural prices, the latter of them being the Food Grains Committee of 1958 and Ford Foundation Study Team of 1959. Even the preliminary steps have not been taken to adopt and implement a practicable scheme of stabilisation of prices such as the pilot studies of costs of cultivation of major cereals, oil-seeds, cotton and jute, cost of living indices for agriculturists (landed and landless), minimum wage levels and actual levels of wages, incidence of natural calamities caused by vicissitudes of seasons, cattle epidemics. The Swatantra Party proposes to take at the earliest steps to prepare and implement suitable schemes in cooperation with our agricultural producers to assure remunerative prices to our agriculturists which will be fair to consumers also.

For too long a time, the services of our agriculturists have come to be valued much less than those of other classes, even after making due allowance to the higher costs of living of urban and professional people. There has been the legitimate demand from agricultural classes that there should be parity between the prices paid for their food grains and those paid for manufactures and professional services. An effort should be made towards this end. The U.S. Government has been implementing such a policy since 1932 with very salutary effects upon its national economy and most of the Governments of Western countries have been implementing similar policies to maintain such parity. The Congress Governments have so far paid only lip service to this ideal but done nothing to help our agriculturists to attain such a parity. On the other hand, its policies and practices of imposing one-sided controls on the ceiling prices of major cereals and its refusal to base its procurement prices upon what can be found to be remunerative or the average costs of cultivation have worked against our peasants. The failure of Congress

Governments to supply to our agriculturists the manufactured goods which are most essential for agricultural operations at reasonable levels of prices has also weakened our peasants.

The incidence of growing degree of inflation has been greater on peasants. Thus, the position of Indian agriculturists has been comparatively worsened during these plan periods. The Swatantra Party wishes to stop this disastrous process of continuous impoverishment of our agriculturists and take all necessary steps to help them to attain parity with other classes in sharing in the national wealth. The Swatantra Party will do its best to protect and strengthen peasants and assure them fullest opportunities to obtain the greatest portion of the end prices paid by consumers for their produce and will consider it to be its special duty to assure them the highest returns for their labours and their end result, agricultural production consistently with the legitimate interests and purchasing capacity of consumers. When and where necessary, it would rather subsidise the minimum essential consumption of basic foods of the poorest consumers on behalf of the whole society rather than pursue the present policy of making the peasants suffer in the so-called interests of poorer consumers while the other consumers are being subsidized.

Our agriculturists are liable to suffer heavy losses off and on in every decade, due to the vicissitudes of seasons. Untimely weak or heavy monsoons cause either droughts or floods, resulting in the loss of working capital, heavy damages to the soils, canals, bunds and irrigation flood control and other protective works. These losses are so heavy and come upon our agriculturists in such frequency that most of our kisans are unable to rise above the level of subnormal agricultural equipment, capital and human existence. To protect them from these periodical losses, the State has to give high priority to the schemes of development of irrigation, flood-protection and land reclamation and dry farming.

One of the main causes for the perennial poverty of Indian agriculturists is their liability to suffer the loss of working capital and standing crops because of periodical visitation of droughts or floods or frosts or pests or cattle epidemics and the consequent helplessness as to how to maintain themselves throughout the year and find again working capital for the next crop. The incidence of this liability to losses has been estimated to be varying in the average from one-fourth to one-third of the annual crop. So, there is extreme need to organise on a national scale insurance funds to protect our peasantry from its terribly crippling economic effects. It is not fair to expect our agriculturists to continue to bear these colossal and periodical losses and burdens, all so unaided by society, as in the past. Therefore, the Swatantra Party proposes to take the earliest and most effective steps to organise at both the State and national levels the requisite

protective insurance funds against floods and famine with adequate contributions from their annual budgets and also with what all contributions obtained by the international organisation and funds associated with the United Nations. A substantial portion of the annual land revenue collections may be contributed to this fund. As and when such a natural calamity overtakes any section of agriculturists, contribution from this fund would have to be made to enable the affected people to finance their new agricultural operations, to replenish themselves with the needed cattle, seeds, implements and also to recover a part of the lost working capital etc.

The Swatantra Party will try to get a practicable scheme prepared and the fund created and administered, in keeping with this national need and also with the financial resources available from national and international resources. To provide all this assistance will be far beyond the financial capacity of the Central and State Governments. Therefore, the more prosperous and developed countries of the world have to be persuaded to go into shares in the development of a world fund for famine insurance and to agree to contribute up to 25 to 50% towards the cost of such insurance. It hopes thereby to provide the most important and urgent leverage needed by Indian agriculturists and our national economy as a whole to rise out of sub-human and sub-normal existence and gain the first sure chance to mark continuous progress. Efforts will have also to be made to organise crop insurance schemes for specific crops in different States on a contributory basis, that is, the peasants concerned being asked to contribute as such per acre per annum as the State offers. Similar efforts will also be made to insure against cattle epidemics. The Swatantra Party will undertake these schemes on an experimental basis most sympathetically and with a view to making them a success.

Owing to bad planning by the present Governments, areas which have been benefited by irrigation works have not been adequately protected from floods and large irrigated areas have come to suffer from inundation, growth of salinity of soil etc. for want of satisfactory drainage works. It has been estimated by experts that nearly as much irrigated area has come to be damaged as what has been newly brought under irrigation after our national freedom.

Therefore, there is great need for an integrated plan and programme of the simultaneous development of irrigation and drainage facilities to the new areas and to save them from floods and droughts and the resulting famines and fall in the productivity of soils and crops.

—Professor N.G. Ranga

II

SELF-EMPLOYMENT

(Address delivered by Professor Ranga at the Convention of the All-India Agriculturists' Federation, held in Bangalore on January 1, 1959)

My friend, Sri Krishnaswamy, has given an address which should carry some wisdom to those experts who are kept there by Sri Nehru in the Planning Commission and also those members of his Cabinet if they care to study and heed the advice and arguments that are marshalled in the same manner in which his members used their argument against us. The General Saheb (Sri Cariappa) has indeed given two cautions—one, to the Prime Minister and the experts on his side, and the other, to us. To the Prime Minister that he should stay his hands so far as these reforms are concerned, and to us to produce more and more—at least as far as food production is concerned.

At this moment, different sections of us should try to maximise the points of agreement and minimise the points of disagreement. I request you to concentrate on those points of agreement. At the same time let us not forget the fact that the hands of the clock of revolution are being forced. It is not wise to concentrate only on the problems of landlord and tenant and tenant and agricultural worker.

There is the big problem whether there should be any kisans at all in this country; whether there should be a land-owner, one who tills the land and employs himself. In the course of self-employment, he would like to have his own land. Wherever it is not possible for him to call it his own, he would like to have some tenure over the land he tills but nevertheless he would like to be his own employer.

WHOLESALE WAGE-EARNERS

So much of the surplus land is going to be handed over to the landless. After having handed over to the landless people, what does the Government wish to do with them? Are we not quite clear now as to what happened in Russia and China?—that they did not believe in the scattered holdings, they believe only in cooperative and collective farming. That is exactly what is in the offing in India. According to our rulers, all the kisans have got to become members of the cooperative farms.

They should all become members of the panchayat which is to become the owner of all the lands in the village and all of us must be organised as members, workers and as wage-earners. We know how the panchayat voting is going on. We know what amount of autonomy the panchayats are enjoying, thanks to Government favourites, their uncles and nephews. Between these two millstones we are being squeezed in. We are to be split up bit by bit until we are completely finished. This is what is in the offing. I would like our agriculturists, those who come under the ceiling and those who are in the status of tenants, to awaken themselves and organise themselves. I was wondering whether by merely petitioning and arguing in their own fashion, it would be possible to protect ourselves.

FARMERS IN AMERICA

In America they have not formed themselves into a separate political party but they have organised themselves more effectively. Farmers were invited to name their representatives to the Federal Government and in fact they are chosen as Ministers for the Federal Government. They have about 4 agricultual organisations. Two of them are very well recognised as powerful entities. Two of their members have been made Ministers of agriculture. Whether theirs is the Federation or National Farmers' Union, political parties are agreed to recognise the right of the farmers for representation in the Cabinet.

IN ENGLAND

Another example is that of England. The Labour Party while in power was keen on consulting peasants. Sir James Turner, a personal friend of mine, was honoured by the Labour Party. The minimum prices and wages are fixed for their farmers and for agricultural workers respectively. The British Government discusses everything with regard to the standard of living of farmers, labour, and cost of cultivation, and all other statistical matters and then alone it comes to a decision regarding prices and wages. When the Labour Party was in power, it followed this policy, though the Farmers' Union was predominantly conservative, and the Conservative Party does the same; now it is in power.

IN SWEDEN

In Sweden there is the Socialist Party. There is also the Farmers' Party. Sweden enjoys best Socialist Government. It is made possible only by the cooperation of the farmers of that country. The farmers there remain as a political party in addition

to having their Unions and Cooperatives. Their party is a balancing party, and a sound balancing party indeed. Sweden has become one of the best Welfare States because of the cooperation given during the past 30 years by the Farmers' Party.

FARMERS IN INDIA IGNORED

Just as General Cariappa said, Government should be far-sighted enough to invite farmers before it consulted anybody. I know our Government will not do this. The British Indian Government used to say that it represented masses—the kisans. How Congress also claims to represent kisans and therefore where is the room for the peasants to represent? The Congress leaders also called themselves representatives of kisans. Therefore they think there need not be a separate organisation for our peasants. Now that they claim that they have been elected as our representatives, how can any one of us claim to be the representative of peasants? They take our votes and come back to Assemblies as full-fledged representatives of peasants. Why did we vote for them? Do I know? Do you know?

PATTAS ASSURED OWNERSHIP

We have held the lands by pattas—some from the days of Cholas, Chalukyas; our forefathers were pattadars and our land was not liable to be taken away by any kings. Our pattas have been respected by successive Governments for more than thousand years because we have been self-employed kisans. Patta has assured to us self-government, economic self-government. Indian peasant is a freedom-loving man. The patta has assured us economic freedom. So far as our peasants are concerned today, they are freedom-loving. Ministers may come to his village; our peasant does not feel himself obliged to go and take a darshan of the Minister or even Prime Minister, if he so chooses. Self-employment is to be found among peasants, artisans, small shopkeepers and so on and all of them are freedom-loving. Now, that freedom is going to be doomed because of Congress' fascination for Chinese model of cooperative farms and communes.

How are we to organise ourselves at this juncture to protect ourselves from this danger, from being degraded into wage-slaves? Today these people have a ceiling at 30 or 40 acres of land. Tomorrow it will be two acres or even one acre, as our President said.

RUSSIAN EXAMPLE

In Russia, the Communists gave the land to the tillers in the beginning and encouraged them to distribute the local lands according to the decision of the local Soviet and their peasants thought that they became proprietors. But a few years later, almost all of them were driven into collectives by compulsion. In a villy-nilly fashion, they revolted in different parts at different times. So they could not rebel effectively. Lenin said to H.G. Wells that peasants were people like sand. Their struggles would not be co-ordinated with united efforts. So they were all finished. Two or three millions of them were killed, two or three millions exiled, many were made slaves and so on. But still the peasants with peasant-mindedness survived. Peasant-mindedness can never be destroyed. They may be torn to pieces for a while but not for ever. All those working in factories would not feel like peasants, because the latter are exposed to inclemencies of weather, the ups and downs of production. So peasants, even they go into cooperatives or collectives, will continue to feel only like peasants, demanding freedom—economic freedom.

Some of our leaders at the top seem to be fascinated by the examples of Soviet Russia and China, in their liquidation or suppression of peasants. They are going after the fashion of China or Russia. They are like what we call 'Shalabha'. We should save ourselves from their clutches and their bad lead towards the fires of slavery.

RE-JOINING CONGRESS

Myself belonging to the Congress Party, it might appear strange that I should say that there might be a separate party for agriculturists. But Congress people, as true democrats, should certainly encourage other people to organise themselves. I believe in the existence of a number of rival democratic parties. After having organised the Krishikar Lok Party, contested in the 1951 elections in its name and functioned independently for peasants for three years, why did I ever join the Congress? Because of two reasons. One that Communism should not be allowed to come into power, and another, because of the hope that peasants would be helped to organise themselves, that they would not be liquidated and might even be helped by the Congress. In that hope I re-joined the Congress. I never thought that the Congress leadership would be overtaken by impatience, anti-peasant fever by its fancy for Chinese methods of collectivising farms and communising peasants.

EXPERTS TO CHINA

The Congress Government sent its experts to China and they have come back with two contradictory majority and minority reports! The gods who are deciding our destiny called the minority report as bunkum.

VINOBAJI'S PLAN—PANCHAYAT POLITICS

They thought of hailing Vinobaji's conception of gramdan as the Indian edition of Chinese method. They threaten to inaugurate the realm of gramdan which would be another kind of zamindary system. They seem to be bent upon liquidating the peasants. The top-most rung of us in national politics and the politically-minded Swamiji had come out with the statement that the ultimate goal of this country is to place all lands at the disposal of the panchayat and leave us all to the tender mercies of panchayat politics. At this rate I feel that we are going the way of Communism. It is to save our peasants from that awful fate that I have decided to make common cause with all of you, the fairly protected section of our peasantry. This decision of mine can be taken to be the reading of the political temperature for our peasantry. If they care, our political leaders should read the writing on the wall through this.

M.P.S DEMAND JUSTICE REGARDING CEILINGS

Ceilings on all incomes and sectors have got to come. In this connection I am glad to say that more than 108 Members of Parliament have declared themselves in favour of the idea of parity between the rural people and urban people, between professionals, between salaried employees etc. It is not because they wanted to turn against the Congress Party, it is because they wanted to be loyal to Congress Governments and even more so to the people, they have demanded that ceilings should be imposed simultaneously upon at least Government employees or all salaried employees, as they are imposed upon peasants. They are opposed to the present trend of discrimination against peasants. They want equal justice for all. All of us are Congressmen. Many more would have come. They took courage in both their hands and committed themselves to this. This is what they have said: "We are anxious for social justice: Ceiling should be applied to all classes of people, if we are to be just to all sections of society." But the Planning Commission says that the ceilings would be on peasants alone and not on others. In your own State (Mysore), I am told, the ceiling is proposed to be Rs. 3,600. In Andhra it is to be Rs. 5,400. The beauty of it is that some years ago there was a suggestion

made in the Rajya Sabha for the maximum salary of an employee to be fixed at Rs. 2,500 a month. The Prime Minister said he could not be a party for the distribution of poverty. In the light of that, let us judge the attitude of the Congress leaders; when the Congress is so very keen about not only putting ceiling on the future holdings but also on the existing holdings. It wants the imposition to be on smaller holdings. Once such a thing is allowed to be done unilaterally, how can there be any security of tenure, for any section of peasants, even to tenants? So far as the permanent civil servants are concerned, the latest news is that the retiring age may be raised from 55 to 60. Their salaries are considered to be too low. So we want them to realise our feelings; that just as their salary is dearest to them, so are our holdings dearest to us. Unfortunately all these big people in urban area do not think so.

I worked as a volunteer in going to the Congress members one by one. I requested them to exercise their freedom in reading and putting their signature. There were some more who opposed the very idea of ceiling. It does not mean that the Congress Party is going to accept this. This is their wish. This patta of signatures is the core of public opinion which is within the Congress Party. The Congress leadership should take heed of this. Let us begin to make haste in developing are own organisation. Without it no argument would be of any use at all.

III

TRAP TO PUSH PEASANTS INTO COOPERATIVE FARMING

Those peasants who want to lull themselves into a false sense of security regarding the permanence of proprietorship of their holdings and self-employed status under the Congress Government's Plans should remember the following important aims of the Congress Government.

Though it is said that cooperative farming is to be an entirely voluntary effort, the Third Plan states that it has been suggested "advantage should be taken of consolidation proceedings to encourage cooperative farming". That is, the lands of those who do not wish to join the farm can be compulsorily consolidated with the surrounding lands of the farm.

Those who have seen how the cooperative managements work in our country would realise how difficult it would be in practice for small peasants to regain their lands from cooperative farms once their lands are pooled for a minimum of five years.

The planners want cooperative farming to develop "as a logical growth of Community Development and cooperation at the village level". They want the "acceptance by the village community of its responsibility for the welfare of all its members". They hope that the pilot projects would "lead the way towards a more rapid expansion of cooperative farming."

To this end, the Third Plan provides Rs. 12 crores of public funds. Surely it is relevant to ask why all these vast funds should be devoted to the development of this alternative to peasant economy, when the experience of the whole world clearly shows that cooperative farming has failed to achieve higher production or larger peasant incomes or freedom.

PRESSURE

That the underlying aims of the planners are not higher production or larger peasant incomes but to do away all distinctions "between peasant proprietors and the landless" was stated in the Second Plan. This is to be achieved through the cooperative village management of entire lands, as "the cooperative responsibility of the community" (Second Plan).

This can only mean that our planners envisage the ultimate conversion of all peasant proprietors into landless people in

villages. Besides, the passages on cooperative farming from the Third Five Year Plan will also indicate that its success will depend upon the Government's initiative, pressure and preferences amounting to coersion.

The goal indicated in the Second Plan was that "such essential steps were to be taken as would provide sound foundations for the development of cooperative farming, so that over a period of ten years or so, a substantial proportion of the agricultural lands can be cultivated on cooperative lines. It is essential to intensify efforts to develop cooperative farming throughout the country and to realise as speedily as possible the objectives set in the Second Plan." As the grip of the community development officers and cooperatives over peasants is tightened, the "preparation of village production programmes will become more realistic and comprehensive," according to Mr. Shriman Narayan of the Planning Commission.

PREFERENCES

Thanks to the land management legislation providing "for standards of efficient cultivation and management which would permit objective and qualitative judgments" (Third Plan, p. 234), powers would come to be conferred upon officials to serve notices on peasants to show cause why they should not be removed from the management of their holdings on the ground of their failure to fulfil the Plan targets and improve their cultivation.

When it is remembered that the Second Plan has already proposed in what way preferences should be given to cooperative farms in the distribution of various supplies such as seeds, manures, pesticides, credit, marketing, storage facilities, it won't be difficult for our peasants to realise that they will sooner or later be obliged to take shelter in the Government-sponsored cooperative farms. All the time, they have to remember that the general aim of the planners is "to encourage small owners and specially those among them with very small holdings, to enter into cooperative farming societies". Sri Nehru has himself admitted that "We are aiming at an agrarian economy by having small farms cooperatively organised on the village basis." (*Speech in Lok Sabha on March 28, 1959*)

The real intentions of the planners in regard to the so-called voluntariness of cooperative farming can be guessed if we remember Prime Minister Nehru's reply, given at the meeting of the A.-I.C.C. held in Delhi soon after the Nagpur Session of the Congress in 1959, that if peasants do not agree to cooperative

cultivation, in spite of all the persuasion of the Government, they would then be forced to adopt cooperative farming.

Sri Nehru has also emphasized on March 28, 1959 that "It seems to me quite obsurd to say that one farmer can hold up the whole village and can prevent the village from going ahead... If you accept that position, there will be no law passed by this Parliament, or by a village panchayat or by the village cooperative... No cooperative can function like that." Is this not Nehru's sample of good-bye to farmer's fundamental rights to his holding and self-employment?

AFTER-THOUGHT

His present offer of making it an entirely voluntary process is an after-thought to conciliate the enraged kisans. Let us also remember that the land legislation in Maharashtra, U.P. and Hyderabad contains the provision that whenever and wherever a particular majority of kisans agree to cooperative cultivation and consolidation, the minority has to fall in line. The Prime Minister's latest offer to peasants is meant only to ensnare them into cooperative farms.

Moreover, let it also be remembered that once a peasant goes into such a farm, he has to remain in it for five years and can leave it only after giving one year's notice, and when he leaves, he cannot get back his old or beloved ancestral holding, but only some land somewhere, if at all available, and if not, he has to be satisfied with some nominal compensation but not market value. When he goes into such a cooperative farm, he looses his self-employment and as he comes out of it, if at all it is made possible, he cannot regain self-employment as a peasant since he has lost his old holding.

One may wonder why anyone would care to join voluntarily such a farm under such conditions.

—*Professor N.G. Ranga*
(*Sunday Standard*—October 22, 1961)

IV

CONGRESS POLICY A MENACE TO AGRARIAN ECONOMY

(Presidential Address of Professor Ranga at the Punjab Agriculturists' Convention held at Doraha village in Punjab State on January 31, 1959)

I warn the crores of kisans, kalakars and other self-employed masses of India that their much-cherished economic independence and freedom from bossism are in danger of being subverted by the gilded planners of India and attempts are being made in the name of socialism to destroy their very economic freedom for which socialism has been conceived of by its founders in Europe. In the name of reforms, non-exploiting masses of self-employed producers are going to be subjected by our planners to the exploitation of managers, supervisors, boards of directors and all other privileged peoples of the projected panchayats and joint farms. The reign of privilegentsia and bureaucracy pretending to rule in the name of the elected majorities of panchayats and cooperative farms is sought to be introduced by our planners in the name of revolution to let in the new exploitative and oppressive planned regime, which si worse than feudalism, capitalism or Sovietism.

I call upon all self-employed masses who cherish their right to own and cultivate their holdings, however small their implements and machines with which they carry on their non-exploitative and freedom-yielding productive activities in their independent manner through their family economy, to realise and resist this threat that our planners have so boldly displayed through their political medium of the Nagpur approach. They should hasten to organise themselves effectively to protect and promote their long-cherished freedom and thus place themselves in the vanguard of constructive socialism of this century.

NAGPUR'S THREAT TO PEASANTS

Let us examine the significance of the declaration made by so many of our planners who are entrenched in authority that our peasant economy should be replaced by joint farming. It means that even after ceiling comes to be imposed upon our land holdings, there is no permanency for the rights of our peasant proprietors to continue to use their holdings with any sense of security and freedom as the means for their

independent employment. They cannot hereafter hope to find independent living and freedom from exploitation in their employment through the cultivation of their holdings. They are threatened with the loss of their freedom to find free and growing expression for their personality, initiative and enterprise by working on their holdings. They will be denied the right to employ and lead themselves in the company of the members of their families. They will become, in short, enslaved to the bureaucratic machine of employment and economic production in the same way as the industrial workers have come to be in the Sovietised or capitalistic parts of the world. They will have to work under bosses appointed by managers who in their turn come to be appointed by political or economic agents of their national regimes. Whatever opportunities some of them would be vouchsafed to display either initiative or enterprise would be conditioned by the decisions made by masters imposed upon them and also their whims and fancies. They can no longer be free producers nor can they be creative personalities. They will come to suffer from all the disabilities and sociological debilities by being degraded into mere cogs of the national economic machine from which today crores and crores of industrial masses of the West have been suffering.

THEIRS IS LOPSIDED SOCIALISM

Secondly, the Nagpur approach is highly harmful to our country. That approach is made by those who have decided against the peasant economy, who do not have any qualms of conscience in perverting the status of our free peasantry into that of namesake membership of cooperative farms. They are anxious to rob our peasants through dubious means of their self-employment; all that it connotes in terms of economic freedom and social personality.

Another wrong doctrine has emanated from Nagpur, i.e., that it is wrong to place ceilings on non-agricultural incomes because it is likely to prevent the growth of personality, technical efficiency and productive capacity of the know-how experts in different spheres of life. We believe that the self-employed peoples have an essential and constructive contribution to make in a democratic socialist society. So we are not over-anxious that anything should be done to weaken the incentives for social service, and social construction that are needed by non-agricultural sections and, therefore, we have abstained for so long from demanding that ceilings should be placed upon their incomes also. But we are led to fear that ceilings are to be imposed upon agriculturists alone for the purpose of initiating the degradation and disintegration of our peasantry and destroy their

social hagemony. When, however, the leadership are so vehement in their refusal to accept the very idea of imposing ceilings on non-agriculturists, it is natural for us to challenge the right to impose such ceilings upon our agriculturists alone.

Our policy-makers and their Press and protagonists are following the familiar Soviet method of attacking their critics as the champions of vested interests. Let us remind them that the great majority of our kisans and kalakars earn much less than the lakhs of upper subordinate clerks who are in the employ of Government and industrial sector and that they do not enjoy so much social immunity from economic blizzards as the industrial proletariat. Therefore, we need not be afraid of championing the kisan's cause. Let us also tell them that it is they who have been politically benefiting by protecting the owners of sugar-mills, and other industrial concerns, owning huge landed and other properties, while pretending to exempt their properties and incomes for the sake of so-called higher production. Today the presidents and members of village panchayats, Bloc Parishads and cooperative societies and licensees under the controls have come to be the most powerful elements in rural life. Unfortunately, large sections of them are being converted by Government into a new vested interest, endowed with its power and influence. They are consequently becoming its dependents. They are the political and economic offspring of our planned economy. So these planners and rulers are fast coming to be the leaders of this new "vested interest" and they want to enlarge their powers by encroaching upon our freedoms. It is we who are out to fight this new vested interest and who want equal social justice. Whoever comes forward to fight this new and dangerous "vested interest" of unparalleled power and exploitation, places himself in the vanguard of Socialist construction and democratic freedoms.

No wonder we do not ditto or endorse the unilateral demand for the imposition of ceilings upon agricultural properties. We do not want huge landed properties to continue to be in the possession of absentee landholders. We are not fond of big landholdings and the continuation of landlord-tenant struggles and squabbles. We do not countenance functionless proprietors.

Let our peasants take heed that there can now be no doubt, thanks to the Nagpur thesis, that our policy-makers are out to pursue their anti-peasant, anti-self-employment plans. They want us all to become the politico-economic slaves of their Soviet-oriented State Socialism.

In Soviet lands the big peasants were first liquidated under the charge of being Kulaks and then the middling peasants

were got rid of as being obstructionists to the cooperativisation and such of the poor peasants who were peasant-minded, that is, who loved their self-employment status as being as dear to them as the passion of the Communists to liquidate peasantry were castigated as "enemies of the people" and driven into slave camps etc. Where is the guarantee that any or all those inhuman measures are not in the offing in our country or are not likely to be countenanced by the Nagpur-Messiahs, who seem to be more keen on welcoming the plaudits of Communists than on heeding the yearnings and warnings of free peasantry? We are, therefore, obliged to reorient our political attitudes, regarding the roles of different sections of our peasantry and other self-employed masses in the Socialist democracy that we stand for. We have to learn to stand together as a class and dare these ruling Socialists to deal with all classes in the same way in the matter of ceilings and their other so-called Socialist proposals or confess openly their real objective, as being ruination of our peasantry and metamorphosing the rural masses into proletariat of their cooperative farms and collective farms.

Why did we want Socialism? Surely it is not to lose whatever freedom our producers have come to achieve through ages of revolutionary striving against so many systems of exploitation but to increase the area of that freedom. We wanted Socialism to be freed from all engines of exploitation; to lead a peaceful life in creative and constructive social endeavour and to have opportunities to enjoy maximum felicity in fruitful cooperative efforts within one's family companionship. Socialism cannot be desired, nor has it been desired by the Socialist sages of the world for imposing regulations, controls and managerialism upon those toilers who make constructive contribution to the production, and social well-being of society and from whom there can be no threat to the freedom and happiness of any other section of society. How could, therefore, the present efforts of our planners be reconciled to Socialism, when what they scheme to do against our peasantry could only subvert their free economy and rob them of their economic independence?

Why are we convinced that our peasant family economy should be protected and promoted as a matter of revolutionary construction? Because it yields the best economic results, consistently with freedom. Because it has come to be the most efficient means of producing more per acre. Because it has eliminated most processes of exploitation and supervision and consequent overhead costs and social evils of feudal or capitalist or Soviet economies of utilising land and organising agriculture. Because it has given rise to the constructive and revolutionary socio-economic mechanism of Service Cooperatives of the Scandinavian and Japanese pattern to provide just the needed

degree of cohesion, and integration as between these decentralised, and democratic productive agencies of agriculture, namely, farm families. Also because, it has demonstrated its ability to survive the terrible Soviet terrorism, and to win from the Soviet masters, *its right for co-existence*. We are convinced that it is the best social instrument that human history has so far fashioned out to assure society of maximum production from agriculture. It assures individual members of peasant families the largest degree of social freedom and economic independence.

The Punjab peasants have had interesting experiences in agricultural organisation during several centuries. Punjab being the battle ground for most of the invasions that infested, India could not enjoy political security. So for some time land holdings did not come to be settled permanently upon families. Land had to be held by villages as a whole and the peasants had to be content with periodical re-distribution of their holdings, since security of the village as a whole appeared to be more easy to ensure. But whenever political security came to be achieved for any length of time, the tenure on land came to be invested in families and not in villages as a whole. Peasant family economy was being depended upon by Punjab peasants as the best guarantor of maximum production and economic freedom. Indeed peasant family economy was the seed bad for nurturing Punjab's martial spirit and material well-being through so many generations.

PLANNERS' REAL DESIGNS

Let there be no doubt as to what our planners wish to achieve. They will not be content with the dispossession of surplus lands of those few thousands of big landholders in any State who may be found to possess holdings above the ceiling limits. They will not be satisfied merely with conferring rights of permanency of tenure upon tenants who lease out the lands of defence personnel, disabled people, orphans and widows, nor do they want only the transfer of rights of ownership of all such land to these tenants. They will not stop at experimenting with cooperative farming. They will not await their economic successes and social example in democratic and fraternal comradeship to persuade free farmers also to form themselves into other cooperative farms or join the existing cooperative farms. They will not be reconciled either to the co-existence of peasant farms and peasant farm economy or to the free and healthy competition as between these two agrarian economies. They want to emulate not even the Soviet Russian and South East European Communist evolution of co-existence of both these economies but the commune-oriented Chinese system of agrarian economy,

in which the Government, and national leadership will mobilise all their resources, coercive, persuasive, and mobwise, to drive masses of peasants into the collectives, to be named in India as joint farms, cooperative farms, and State farms. They want to degrade all in the villages to the parlous position of wage slavery.

MINISTERIALIST PITIABLE ROLE

Why are so many of our democratic ministerialists so keen on developing lakhs of joint farms in place of crores of independent peasants with their multi-purpose socio-economic farming units? We are afraid they hope to gain better and greater control over the political and economic activities of our agriculturists after getting them into these semi-State-managed cooperative farms or joint farms than when these crores of peasant masses are free and independent. What with the much advertised State partnership in cooperative societies and supply of various types of controlled credits and regulated farm supplies, offered through State and cooperative agencies, the political forces controlling Government would be able to make agricultural masses to dance to their tunes and vote according to their wishes etc. The ministerialists are becoming ever more conscious of their rising power and influence over our rural masses, thanks to their growing opportunities to intervene in the elections to the village panchayats, cooperatives and to control their office-bearers and permanent staffs and to force them to use their influence over their general bodies by manipulating their powers to give or not to give the expected governmental assistance or advantage. Therefore, there is now a craze on their part to exploit the resources of this expanding gold-mine of powers, influence and patronage. No wonder, so many Ministers of State Governments, their legislator-friends and their proteges and beneficiaries do not mind pretending to speak for peasants while in the villages and posing as reformers in their legislatures and as Socialists in the presence of their fountain-head of political power.

We should be thankful to their leaders for having declared from Nagpur platform these designs on our social economy, in such unmistakable terms. They have told us that what we have looked upon as our best champions and armours, that is, the Service Cooperatives, are to be developed, with our co-operation and with all the resources of the Governments and their political leadership, into the halters and decoy-elephants to lead us into the embraces of our successors, the joint farms and their managers. They have declared their determination to exploit their control of the governmental powers, financial and other

resources to weaken our peasantry, rob them of their self-confidence, exploit their weaknesses, and waylay them into "joint farms" and "cooperative farms", and thus sedulously quicken the march of our peasant proprietors, tenants and all other self-employed agrarian masses into their politico-economic grave.

Why do we oppose this proposed transformation? Because, the Soviet experience all over the concerned European countries has convinced us that the fate of peasants in the so-called joint farms or cooperative farms is as bad as that of slaves. Because the powers and privileges of the army of managers, supervisors and all others who have come to be in charge of organisation, supervision and policy-making and labour and office managements have gone on encroaching even upon the minimum of freedom, enterprise, initiative that free toilers should have, if they are to live as human beings. Because all the evils of capitalist-*cum*-feudalist management of agriculture have come to be reproduced, with much greater intensity and cruelty through the psychological and electoral upsets in the alternative economies that have been tried in Soviet lands and elsewhere. Because peasants have to lose their inalienable and organic freedoms and privileges latent in self-employment that they have come to win by so many struggles throughout the ages. Because the lessons of the history of the modern industrial and Soviet revolutions is that self-employment of toilers is the best and greatest boon that any Socialist society can aim at and has so far achieved. Because the Scandinavian countries are certainly the best examples of happy and progressive social democracies, thanks to their democratic and Socialist peasant economy clothed in the Service Cooperative movements.

All those who hope that the other self-employed masses like the four crores of kalakars and lakhs of small shopkeepers may not come within the mischief of the Nagpur approach are certainly deluding themselves. Our planners do not make any such mistake. They have already prepared their ideological weapon of power-looms to take the place of our handlooms and thus replace the one crore weavers, population by the families of fifty thousand weavers to be employed on power-looms.

It is during this most precious period that we have to rouse our village folk to the realisation of this life and death struggle at stake and make them grow bold and free to reorient their political attitudes and loyalties and be ready to use their vast voting power for strengthening only those political forces that truly stand for self-employed masses and that can be trusted to protect and promote their interests and save our society from the corrosive Soviet influences.

Why do we ask for the postponement of any unilateral action till after the next general elections? Because our peasants

were not given at the last general elections, even an inkling of the Nagpur approach; that there is no idea of imposing ceilings on non-agricultural incomes. Because the 1957 Election Manifestoes of none of the political parties which are today clamouring for joint farming and against peasant family farm economy has clearly stated to our peasants that it has such designs against them. Because those of us who have been devoted to the cause of our kisans, kalakars and other self-employed masses and who have consecrated their lives for more than a generation to non-Marxist, non-Soviet, democratic society have never been given a chance to go to our masses to urge our case against this Nagpur approach. We should, therefore, demand, from all our platforms, throughout this and the next two years that these Governments have no moral right to pursue the proposed agrarian policy and programme, unless they get a fresh mandate from the masses. The decisions by party conferences are only warnings to the people as to their attitudes but not substitues for popular mandates.

IV

FROM PROSPEROUS TO NEEDY COUNTRIES

(Statement submitted by Professor Ranga, as Leader of the Delegation of the Federation of Rural Peoples' Organisations of India, in the Conference of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, held in New Delhi during November 27-December 4, 1959)

The Federation of the Rural People's Organisations (FRPO), to which the Bharat Kisan Sammelan, the popular peasant-mass organisation has been affiliated, had the honour of representing the Indian peasants at the first World Conference of Agricultural Producers held in London in 1946, when I led the Indian Delegation.

The Agricultural producers of the world are at two important levels of comparatively unequal development. The Western farmers of the New World are faced with the growing problem of agricultural surpluses and their domestic utilization or commercial exports or disposals abroad at concession prices or as free gifts, whereas the Asian peasants are grappling with the clamour of their growing populations for ever larger quantities of food grains than are being produced. The West is in a position to export either at market or concessional rates or even as gifts while the East is obliged to receive them in return for quasi-economic terms and quasi-political considerations. Lord Boyd Orr, the first Director-General of the FAO, visualised this world need and so in 1957 suggested the formation of the world food bank. Since then many other schemes have been discussed but with no practical achievement. The U.S. Government has stepped in with its practical and mutually beneficial scheme of offering portions of her ever-accumulating food surpluses to the needy countries under the P.L. 480. It is for the IFAP and the FAO to devise statesman-like plans and projects to help the West to relieve her of burdens of accumulated stocks of food grains and incidentally relieve her conscience of having to destroy food surpluses or feeding their pigs and poultry with such surpluses. Those plans should also help the East to claim and utilise productively large portions of the Western surpluses without any political strings and pressures, and also with the satisfaction that they are receiving such gifts, not as alms but as offerings from the rich sections of humanity as a matter of 'Human Rights'. The success of the UNO and its allied organisations and such

non-governmental keepers of international conscience as the IFAP will be judged by posterity by the degree and timeliness of success achieved in this direction.

The economy of Western farming has reached the plane of producing cereals for breeding live-stock needed for the satisfaction of food needs of their populations, that is, the Western farmers have come to depend so largely upon the economics of pigs and poultry, beef and butter. But the *Asian and African peasants are still obliged to produce cereals, pulses, oil-seeds primarily for human consumption as their nations* are content and capable of subsisting mostly on cereal economy. The quantum of difference between these levels can be best understood by the fact that vegetarian food enough to produce six calories is consumed by an animal to produce one calory of non-vegetarian food; that is, *six adults in the East are maintained on cereals which are equivalent to non-vegetarian food needed by only one adult in the West*, where non-vegetarian diet is the rule.

It will redound to the credit of the Western farmers and the IFAP if they use their good offices with their respective Governments to see that such of the waste that now takes place in the utilisation of their surplus cereals, by way of breeding, feeding and ultimate disposal of surplus pigs and poultry is minimised, if not stopped, and is placed at the disposal of the needy sections of the populations in Asia and Africa.

The Western farmers have also had the advantage of stabilisation of prices of major agricultural produce and live-stock production, while the peasants of the East are begging their Governments to initiate the study of cost of cultivation, to prepare figures for the rural people's cost of living index and to prescribe and maintain remunerative prices for at least the major cereals, that is, wheat and rice.

In India, more than sixty per cent of the total agricultural population exceeding 275 millions is self-employed owner-cultivators. They try their best to invest all their savings, small as they are, and utilize all their ceaseless labour in their agricultural operations. Their holdings are their life-line to self-respect, social insurance and self-employment. Their self-employment is the very marrow of their independent and enterprising attitude towards life. Indeed, it has been the biggest bulwark of Indian civilisation and the foundation for her democracy.

One of the major factors that are said to have helped the farmers of the New World to achieve their agricultural surpluses is the big size of their holdings. We in India on the other hand believe in the economy of both big and small holdings, and thanks to our ever-abundant population and extreme lack of non-agricultural employment and depressing burden of

under-employment and unemployment, *we are obliged to cling so passionately to our small holdings, as they are our only source of employment and social security and the independence-yielding self-employment.* So we are keen on making them yield the largest produce possible per acre, just as the Scandinavian, Dutch, Danish, Irish and Japanese peasants have done, with the help of their Service Cooperatives. *Our peasants are also keen on the organisation of Service Cooperatives.* They have been organising them for the past 40 years but under different names and their progress has not been so marked because of the many administrative and political difficulties caused both before and after independence by the powers-that-be. Now that the planners and present Government have come to realise the need for aiding our farmers' Service Cooperatives, *they have begun to plan for the utilisation of these Service Cooperatives and other offers of State assistance, as loaded dice, against the very existence of our free peasantry.*

In the West, cooperative movement is free from governmental politics and administrative interference. It is not so in the East. Unfortunately, Indian cooperative movement, more especially the agrarian section of it, is being brought increasingly under the soul-killing influences of the ministries and administrative bosses. Our peasant organisations are now engaged in resisting this evil development.

The proposal of the Planning Commission of India to develop a national campaign in favour of the Government-sponsored and subsidised cooperative farming is likely to sound the deathknell of this great peasant economy and noble system of assuring socio-economic freedom and independence to the majority of Indian population. *It plans to popularise cooperative joint farming among our peasantry through the decoy-elephants in the shape of Service Cooperatives* and State subsidies and many preferences to give up in the first instance individual and family-wise utilisation of their holdings, while retaining the paper titles for their holdings and thus lose their present self-employed status. *It hopes that later on they will realise the uselessness of their paper titles, once they get accustomed to the wage-earning under the officers of cooperative farms and offer to abandon those titles also and agree to be the employees of the farms over which they will have the vacarious control as cooperative members of the general body.* Our planners have derived their inspiration from the so-called achievements of the Soviet regimes. The farmers of the Western democracies have also been wedded to the principle of proprietorship of land and more especially to the self-employed status which have also helped them to achieve their famous economy of surplus production. So we of the Kisan Sammelan feel that these proposals will, if implemented through

successive Plans, degrade our peasants into the same status of wage-earning employees as that of the peasant masses of Soviet lands.

The farmers of the New World believe in the economy of big enough farms. Our planners also believe in the same, so do the Soviet planners. Our planners have however come to adopt the extremely one-sided idea of social justice that there should be ceilings on land holdings alone just because 15 to 20% of our agricultural population is landless. So they propose to reduce all the big farms to the size of thirty to sixty acres, so that no peasant or farmer can get an annual income of more than Rs. 3,600 or 800 dollars, unmindful of the fact that this is bound to blight all prospects for the farmers' youths, more and more of whom are now coming to be educated, and with as good abilities and ambitions as the urban youths. So we are opposed to this proposal of placing ceilings on land holdings as it will be a denial of equal social justice to our agriculturists.

The incidence of periodic natural calamities caused by droughts and floods is specially heavy on Indian agriculturists, who lose also almost all their working capital and savings and who are therefore kept in perpetual indebtedness. It is idle to expect them to improve their production and raise their standard of living so long as these heavy losses, which account on the average for the loss of $33\frac{1}{3}$% of their total productive capacity, are not effectively arrested and insured against. Such an insurance programme is beyond the means of India alone. The prosperous countries of the West have to make their contribution in enabling India to organise an All-India Famine and Flood Insurance, with funds, reserves of seeds, manures, implements and other resources to restore working capital and implements to the affected peasants, to undertake flood protection measures to develop dry farming, anti-erosion measures and prevent the spread of desert. Even the Planning Commission agrees that easily 20% of our agricultural production is being lost, because of the ravages caused by monkeys, rats, birds, pests, soil-erosion and bad storage. It is admitted that peasants need assistance from Government and community as a whole to prevent these losses. The Planning Commission has yet to give priority to this. If only Indian peasants are helped to overcome these losses they can easily increase their total production by 50%.

The Ford Foundation Team, which studied recently the food problem of India, has estimated that India would have to build up a safety margin stock of 9.4 million tons by 1961-65. But it did not realise that to undertake such a responsibility would entail a non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 920 millions and a recurring maintenance cost of Rs. 376 millions, which is far beyond the

capacity of Indian economy. This fact highlights the responsibility of world agriculturists and the F.A.O. and more especially the surplus-producing countries to reconsider the earlier proposal of the F.A.O. to build up such an Emergency Food Reserve in their respective countries from out of their surpluses at their own cost and offer to supply the quantities needed by the Asian and African countries, as and when food shortages threaten them.

The contribution made by Indian farmers and peasants to her national wealth and annual income is more than 50% of our national income, even though agricultural produce is unjustly priced much lower than non-agricultural products and services. More than 75% of India's exports owe their origin to agricultural products such as Jute, Coffee, Tea, Cotton, Oil-seeds. So the efficiency and contribution of Indian farming ought not to be rated low, just because of India's need for food imports.

The Western and Soviet farmers count their prosperity and progress by the number of tractors and pounds of chemical fertilizers used by them for every thousand acres. *Indian farmers count however their social contribution by the number of people employed and maintained on however a low standard of living, with a high degree of social and economic freedom.*

Indian farmers and peasants are keen on adopting scientific and improved methods of agriculture and on equipping themselves with as many tractors and spraying machines as possible to reclaim the vast undeveloped lands. Their insistent demands for chemical fertilizers have gone far beyond Government's capacity to locally manufacture and import them, so much so there is blackmarketing in their distribution. The richer countries of the world can make an effective contribution by offering to supply either at concessional rates or at no-profit-and-no-loss basis, agricultural machinery, fertilizers, insecticides, etc.

Till now the IFAP has concentrated on the study of the more insistent problems of Western farmers. It is time that it devotes equal attention and resources to the study of the problems of the peasants and farmers of the East who are at a much lower rung of well-being.

PLANNING IN INDIA

I

THIRD PLAN DRAFT

(Speech made by Professor Ranga in the Lok Sabha on August 22, 1960, on the Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan)

I do not propose to try to answer many of the points that have been made by my hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, because I want to leave that very pleasant duty to be performed by his erstwhile colleague, founder of the Socialist Party and his predecessor in the office that he holds now as the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, Sri Masani, because they understand each other much better.

My hon. friend has provided the sound as well as the fury that were lacking in the speech made by the Leader of the House (Sri Nehru) this morning. I was wondering how to reconcile this confusion. : one sits to your left, another sits to your right, but both of them seem to be in the same place, only one is an official, the other is a non-official. *Sri Asoka Mehta :* Both claim to be socialists.

Prof. Ranga : Here is the Planning Minister officially designated, here is a non-official Planning Minister, not yet designated.

I would like to mention that we, after all, live to learn. Both the friends of the Socialist Party have lived to learn a lot, not only about themselves, but also about Socialists in the West as well as in India. Only, the Western socialism has come to reconcile itself to labourism in England; Indian socialism has come to reconcile itself to Praja socialism. That is the only difference.

Sri Asoka Mehta : I am grateful to you.

Prof. Ranga : Here is our Prime Minister. There was a time—my hon. friend would know what I am talking about—when some of us suggested that we should welcome the offer of the gift of food to India. During those days, we were passing through a terrible crisis, but the Prime Minister had to come to the House in a terrible hurry to condemn us for it. What did we do? He has recently, and earlier also, sent successive Finance Ministers to go from country to country in order to canvass for assistance, loans and other things. We did not

suggest any such thing. We only asked those people not to obstruct their own proposal to give us a gift.

There was also a time when I myself played the kind of role that my hon. friend is now so very anxious to play. In a non-official capacity, I took the initiative in going round to persuade the statesmen of the Western countries to do what they are now proposing to do, what they are offering today, to come to the aid of the democratic countries of the East. And we were taken to task by the Leader of the House.

There was a time when some of us took the initiative in the Working Committee in persuading the Congress to accept the ideal of a cooperative commonwealth, and when the question was put to the Leader of the House what he meant by a co-operative commonwealth, he said it was some kind of a vague proposition, he did not know much about it. The General Secretary had to write a pamphlet on that in order to enlighten him and educate him, because he goes on discovering. That is where his technological excellence lies. The only thing is I congratulate him on being able to pick the brains or ideas from other people and then claim them to be his own, and then come round and say : how dare you not accept these things? That is the excellence of our Prime Minister.

I have been associated with the cooperative movement for the last 35 years in our country. Till recently, I was the Vice-President of the All-India Co-operative Union. During these times, we were asking the Prime Minister and the Government to give more and more assistance to the cooperative movement, and the cooperative movement that we had in mind was an entirely voluntary one, one which would help the self-employed people to stand on their own, one which would supplement the efforts of the self-employed people like the peasants, artisans and other people to gain all the benefits of large-scale production, co-operativised supply and demand of what are known as inputs. Government was not then so very enthusiastic. My hon. friend, the Prime Minister, was not bothered about it. Suddenly, somehow or other somebody put it into his head that if he were to go in this way, he would be able to make rapid progress towards collectivisation, his favourite dogma, which he keeps very carefully disguised in the mass of his buts and ifs and etceteras. Therefore, he took it up. Then he said : why stop with the creation of service cooperatives, let us go ahead and have cooperative farming. Why should we have cooperative farming? What is the idea? He himself said that it was for more and more production. But it has not been possible for the Prime Minister or for any of these Ministers here or even for my hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, to prove that in any of these democratic countries,

cooperative farming has resulted in higher and better production. It has not been possible for them to prove this at all. And yet, this morning, I found the Prime Minister saying that it was wrong for anybody to say anything against cooperative farming, because, ultimately, all countries had already come and India also was bound to come to cooperative farming.

What is the position in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Japan, Ireland, even certain large areas of Canada, and even the American States? Have not their small peasants and small farmers achieved all the benefits of large-scale agriculture through what are known as service cooperatives? Till very recently, this phrase 'service cooperatives' was not popular here in this country. We were talking about multi-purpose cooperative societies, and we were organising them, and Government were not giving much of a help. But then, later on, the Prime Minister took up this new phrase of 'service cooperatives'. We are all in favour of it. We have been organising them. We are not in need of being taught any kind of lessons in regard to cooperation either by the Prime Minister or by any of his Ministers or even by my hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, who is the 'non-official Minister'. We have got them already. Only this morning, my hon. friend, Sri M.R. Masani, was telling me that he was one of the founder-presidents of an industrial cooperative in Bombay.

And yet, why is it that we are oppossed to cooperative farming? We are convinced, whatever the Prime Minister is professing to believe in, that in the manner in which the State Governments and the Union Government have been utilising all their grants, all their powers and all their personalities, this so-called cooperation, this so-called voluntary cooperation, can only lead to compulsion. They want to create all that kind of atmosphere. Why do they want to do it? They have stated it in the Second Five Year Plan itself, namely, that they 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 all the people in the Indian villages will be on the same footing. That is the way in which they want to achieve equality or equalisation.

Then, my hon. friend, the Prime Minister, was saying that he was not doctrinaire, and, therefore, he was not going to insist upon ceiling being placed upon everybody. Indeed, he said that socialism did not mean ceiling; socialism does not mean distribution of poverty amongst everybody; and one cannot very well disturb productive forces, because production is the most important requisite of planning. So, he does not want ceilings for urban incomes and for urban properties. Nevertheless, in the

usual inconsistent manner, that has become the practice—I am not prepared to say, of the Government, but—of the Leader of the Planning Commission, he was prepared to allow the State Governments to go ahead with their legislation of ceiling on agricultural lands. Why? Has it been argued by anybody? Indeed, has it not been argued by the Panel on Land Reforms, which sat last time that, for a time, the imposition of ceiling is likely to affect agricultural production adversely? They said so. Therefore, the question of imposition of ceilings cannot be for purposes of increasing production; it can only be for purposes of satisfying ideological fads of friends like Sri A.K. Gopalan who spoke this morning, or these other friends like Sri Asoka Mehta, because they are all socialists; they must be in the fashion; if they cannot very well be official socialists like my hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, or official communists like my hon. friends on the Communist benches, at least, they want to be neo-official socialists; they want to be in the neo-official socialism or Nehruism. That is why these ceilings have come in.

Now, I come to the question of inflation. I do not wish to go into the details of it. My hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, and the Prime Minister have also said that a certain amount of inflation is inevitable. My hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, asks 'How can you escape it? It is already built in in this development'. Very well; what does that mean? It can only mean this. When you are not able to raise your resources in a direct manner and in an ascertainable manner through additional taxation or various kinds of taxation, or through loans etc., then, resort to the Nasik Press and also to various other methods, for the velocity of money has increased. Let us not forget that. Money is moving now. It used to be stay-put with a large majority of our masses in the past, but, today, it is moving from one man to another very quickly, and, therefore, the total circulation is very much greater. That is all the more the reason why it has got to be controlled. That is exactly what my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, has said in his own budget speech. But what can he, poor man, do? He is sitting on the top of a volcano. The volcano is all the time alive and it is bursting, and not only he himself would be blown to pieces, but the whole country is likely to be blown to pieces, as it happened soon after the First World War in Germany. So, I warn the country against this kind of process of inflation.

Then, my hon. friend asks : Do you not want foreign assistance? We want it. As I have said already, we took the initiative in those years. Many other friends also, indeed Sri Munshi, the ex-Minister, the present Minister, Sri S.K. Patil, myself and many other people had gone round and requested all those people to come to our aid. And what happened? We were abused

not only by the Leader of the House but also by some of the members of the Communist Party as being the agents of Americanism and all the rest of it. And, today, they themselves ask, 'How can you develop without foreign assistance?'

They (Communists) also say so; the only thing is that they want more and more of it to come from Soviet Russia, while my hon. friend wants it from everywhere. That is all the difference. We also want it. We have no objection. But we want the Finance Minister as well as the Government here to create such a climate in our country that private capital also will come into this country and also into partnership as our own industrial entrepreneurs in our country so that we can develop our industries as rapidly as our friends would like to have it.

Then, my hon. friend asked : Do you not want basic industries? Who said that we did not want basic industries? We want them. But does it mean that we should have all the basic industries in the public sector alone? Can we not possibly have some basic industries in the private sector? In addition to basic industries, do we not want tertiary industries, medium-scale industies, cottage industries and so on? Are they to be developed only in the State sector? I say, no; they should be developed also in the private sector.

My hon. friend, the Chairman of the Planning Commission, was saying this morning, here are these ideals, we must be very clear about them, and they must be looked at from a long-range perspective and all the rest of it. I confess having made one mistake in having allowed myself to be confused between the short-range perspective and the long-range perspective which were being placed before us like warp and weft from time to time by the Prime Minister, with the result that we did not take him so seriously when in the past he said that so many of these adjustments could be made, but we should accept the general perspective; we accepted, therefore, the general perspective. But with what result? The Nagpur resolution came on our heads. If we had not gone into that confusion which he had laid before us, it would not have been possible for us to have allowed him to come to Nagpur and then face us with that alternative. And there it is.

The Prime Minister does not want accumulation of wealth. That is our stand also, the Swatantra Party's stand.

None in this country can possibly say that I can ever be an agent or a representative or an apologist of any of these vested interests in this country. I can assure you that I have fought shoulder to shoulder with everyone of the sections in this country in fighting the vested interests, whether they be of the British or Indian or Russian make. But, at the same time, we have got

to be careful to see that power is not concentrated in a few hands; they may be capitalists, they can be industrialists, they can be the Ministers here, or, even their general managers and directors and all these other people over whom they have so little control. If they begin to exercise any kind of control, down comes the Prime Minister, down comes the Planning Commission. That is why we do not want that concentration of power, of capital, and also of direction, in Government.

We want the processes of democracy and freedom to be developed and to be protected. We fear that these processes are in danger of being blocked, if not atrophied by the manner in which the Planning Commission is going about. I wish to pay my tribute to the late Dr. Matthai who had the perspicacity and foresight to realise what a menace this Planning Commission was going to be even to the authority of the Cabinet Ministers and of the Cabinet as a whole when he resigned from the Cabinet on this specific issue.

Secondly, I would like my hon. friends of the Cabinet and also Sri Asoka Mehta to remember one thing. Sri Asoka Mehta was asking the Ministers to be energetic. He was asking indeed the Prime Minister to see that his Ministers are whipped nicely so that the horse-play will go on. I would like to tell these Ministers that if they really care for their own constitutional authority, they should underline or underwrite this demand that the Planning Commission has got to be derated to such an extent that it would become an advisory body to the Cabinet and not the master of it, as it has come to be now.

The third one is that they want everything to be tested by public interest. I am all in favour of it. I cooperated with my hon. friends in passing the Companies (Amendment) Bill several times during the last 25 years. I am prepared to cooperate with them in seeing that the companies do behave in such a manner that they satisfy the test of public interest. By the same token, I want to judge these public enterprises. My hon. friend was mentioning about H.M.T. There are so many others; H.A.L. and so on. What about B.E.L. which is lying idle there? There are so many others which are lying idle there. So all these public enterprises have got to be put to the test of public interest. Are they serving the public interest or not?

One day the Prime Minister said that there was a great demand for houses and our masons and carpenters were not able to do it. Therefore, a magician has come from Germany, Koenisberger by name; we are going to get all these things from Sweden and we are going to construct houses here; like a magical Alladin's lamp, we will be able to have 350,000 houses and thousands more in a month, or a year or so. On that, we spent

Rs. 2 crores. What happened? The whole thing flopped. When it flopped and we took him to task he said, 'We have got to learn by experience. We must pay for it. What is two crores after all?'

It is in this manner that we have been paying through our nose. Therefore, I say that these public institutions also have got to be put to this test of public interest. If it is proved to be in public interest, certainly have it by all means—any particular industry or factory—under State enterprise; otherwise, allow it to be taken up by the people themselves. Who are these share-holders, directors and managing directors? I also used to think of them, in the same way as Government does, till very recently. I was so much prejudiced against them that I would not even care to go to their meetings in Delhi whereas the Ministers were always their guests.

I have come to realise one thing that this Government as well as my hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, and all those people have come to confess that in the next five or fifteen or twenty years, it would not be possible to tackle rural unemployment, not to speak of under-employment.

He (Sri Asoka Mehta) refutes it. But they accepted it because they have written it here. They cannot tackle rural unemployment or rural under-employment. They only tinker with it here and there. Nevertheless, what has happened? During the Second Five Year Plan, as many as 3 million people were unemployed and they are a legacy to the Third Plan as unemployed. During the Third Plan, they are going to have 5 million more. All these people are going to be unemployed. How are they going to find employment for them? They can be employed in agriculture, through small holdings, not through these big holdings with which my hon. friend, the Leader of the House, has fallen in love. He does not mind big farms. He does not mind big people, but he does not want small people. Therefore, the small, poor, kisans have got to be driven into the cooperatives, so that it would be possible for him to go on the top of a harvester or tractor from one end of the earth to the other and have the satisfaction of this great vista, an extremely exciting vista. But that is not the sort of vista that we should go in for.

They want to emphasise increase of production and employment. How can they have these if they are going in favour of cooperative farming which would result in unemployment? How can they achieve these aims if they are going in favour of large arms—again unemployment? How can they have these with bigger and bigger industries and industrial units—again unemployment? How can they attain these objectives with only basic industries on the highest scale, with unemployment? They have to develop, and depend on, small industries for this. These

should not only continue to exist but should prosper and progress in our country, because labour-intensive industries are most necessary.

Both my hon. friends including the Labour Minister said recently that they were very much opposed to my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, and the Ahmedabad magnates because they wanted to reorganise their textile industry. They wanted to reorganise the textile industry and make it entirely, 100 per cent, scientific and technologically perfect. It is known as automaton. No, they did not want it. They wanted labour not to be unemployed, because they know these people. Should they not extend their capacity for imagination and see to the interests of the millions and millions of peasants—64 million peasant families and their employment, and their need for self-employment?

The next question is: what sort of employment should they have? Do you want mere wage-earning employment? My hon. friend, Sri Nanda, does not want it. He had gone to Yugoslavia. He has come back and said that there should be partnership between labour and capital. But here are my kisans. There is no distinction between capital and labour. Both are combined together. On top of it, there is no need for a separate manager. The managerial service is also provided by them. The supervisory work is also done by them. On top of it, all the enterprise, initiative and incentives are built in there in the employment itself. They are the kisans. They are 64 million of them. Do you want to get rid of them merely you accept a report like this and place it before the House?

I do not wish to take much more time. We have placed our amendment before the House. I am convinced about one thing. It is time that we make it very clear to the Government that we do not accept their planning. That does not mean that we do not believe in plan. My hon. friend, myself and others cooperated in preparing what was known as the Gandhian Plan. We were all together at that time. We went down from Delhi to Sevagram. After the death of Mahatma Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave was also there. A Sarvodaya Plan was prepared. But afterwards my hon. friend has gone over to the Government side and, therefore, he seems to sing a new song. I still continue to sit in the Opposition and, therefore, sing the same song. This is the only difference.

Therefore, we believe in plan. But our plan is a Gandhian plan, a plan that 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. My hon. friend was saying, 'Should we not have something much bigger?' Sri Harish Chandra Mathur was very bold when he said that we could achieve very much more. Let

him look into the figures here. Here is the *Progress Report on the Second Five Year Plan.* I need not go into the details. They wanted to collect small savings. The collections fell short of the target. What does it show? The Report makes interesting reading. It says :

"The yield from public loans at the Centre and the States amounted to about Rs. 78 crores and Rs. 68 crores respectively in 1956-57, Rs. 88 crores and Rs. 10 crores in 1957-58 and Rs. 182 crores and Rs. 156 crores in 1958-59."

It is going down. Then, the report says that a number of States failed to adopt additional measures of taxation. What are they—Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. They were not able to raise the money because they are also responsible Governments. They have got their own legislatures. They have got their people and they have found themselves incapable of raising any more money. In regard to the samll savings, the report says that the borrowings on the scale that was done strained the market considerably and the securities of a number of State Governments were quoted at sizable discount and the Reserve Bank had to give a good deal of support to the capital market and some of the State Governments had to repurchase their own securities. This is the secret of your resources !

You have not got the money. You cannot raise more money in the country and add more weight on the backs of the kisans or the middle-class who are suffering and being crushed down and said that their real income had not increased since 1949, but had gone down. Your own Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee has said that the real income of the agriculturist has gone down since the planning has started. Who has been benefited by this Government planning? The hon. Prime Minister is an extraordinary personality. He says in a very disembling manner that it should be enquired into.

The Minister of Labour and Employment and Planning (Sri Nanda) : Is it disarming or disembling?

Prof. Ranga : I said 'disembling' manner. He said that, so that the Opposition might be pleased. He said that an enquiry should be made in order to see where the rogues are. The moneybags are there behind the Treasury Benches and they are increasing in numbers. The Government is shielding these moneybags all over the country.

Mr. Chairman : The hon. Member must now conclude.

Prof. Ranga: I conclude by saying that I oppose this Plan and we will have no truck at all with this Plan. Nevertheless, if and when we get a chance, we will certainly have a plan which will certainly speak more of Mahatma Gandhi than this Plan.

II

THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN

(Speech made by Professor Ranga in the Lok Sabha on August 21, 1961, on the Third Five Year Plan)

I feel that the Plan does not pay sufficient attention to the improvement of the condition of the masses, his environments and the opportunities for improving his social moral, and other levels, and that is why I am here to oppose this Plan. Amendment No. 1 given notice of on behalf of the ruling Party, wants us to accept this Plan as the nation's Plan. I am here to say that this is too much of a demand to make on us in the opposition here in this House, as well outside this House in the country. I said this even when the First Five Year Plan was introduced in the other House. I said even then that it should not be accepted as a national Plan. It could possibly be styled as Nehru's plan; could not be even a Gandhian plan. It could only be a Congress Party's plan or the ruling Party's plan. It so happens today that it comes just on the eve of the elections. Therefore, it may possibly be called the 'eve of the election plan'. If only the planners had been a little more considerate towards the poor voters, they could have easily placed this before them as the Manifesto of the Congress Party at the time of the next elections.

Whether the people would be really impressed with this or not is another matter. But this is as big as the *Ramayana*. Just as there used to be so many Ramayanas, the smaller one is the *Bal Ramayana*. But while the *parayana* of the *Ramayana* is giving solace to our masses throughout all these ages in our country, my fear is that a reading of this book and the other *Bal Ramayana* also can only make our people feel more and more unhappy and more and more sorrowful.

It is said that the Swatantra Party and other friends who agree with us do not stand for a plan. We do stand for a plan. My hon. friend, Sri Kripalani, has said that Mahatma Gandhi had plans. Mahatma Gandhi had placed before the country a constructive plan which was being implemented when we were not free and which has been, to some extent, adopted as a kind of an apologia in order to recommend this thing with a silver lining. That is in regard to the Khadi Commission, the Handicrafts Commission and various other commissions. One of

these hon. Ministers is now thinking of suggesting the creation of another commission in order to provide industries in rural areas.

What does this plan stand for? Indeed all of us would like to stand for a good life for all people and for the achievement of a liberated humanity. We want to combat the curse of poverty. We want to stand for a social order offering equal opportunities for all. We want to protect the farmer and the artisan. We want to rebuild the rural economy. We stand for sound foundations for sustained economic growth. My hon. friend does not believe that we stand for it. We do stand for it. He may be shocked by it, but that is a truth. We also stand for improving living standards. We want the working conditions of the masses to be improved. We want to transform the peasant's outlook and environment so that he would become one of the masters of this country, not as he is today a depressed person and as he is being turned into a member of the depressed classes. We also stand for cooperative effort. We want economic overheads to be built up so that our horse not only begins to trot but also gallops as one of our hon. friends was suggesting this morning to my hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta. We are also keen on the private sector acting with an understanding of obligations towards the community as a whole. We want to prevent concentration of economic power in the hands of small members of individuals and businesses. Village and small-scale industries have to be developed as a crucial part of our social economy. Protection of weaker sections is also an article of faith with us. Equality of opportunity for every citizen has got to be achieved and attained. There are the basic necessities for which we also stand, that is, food, work, education, health, sanitation, housing, minimum income and also protected water supply. Social values and incentives have got to be developed with a sense of common interest to obligations among all sections of the community. Gainful employment for everyone who seeks work has got to be provided and we will certainly try to achieve that. Higher standards of productivity have got to be aimed at and achieved. Fuller utilisation of available manpower and resources is also one of the needs of our society and we stand for it. All these things we want in order that the biggest possible investment is made in man so that he can become a self-reliant, self-respecting, self-employed person who would be able to look after himself in spite of all these tyrannical means and methods that are now being proposed by several of these hon. friends on this side as well as on that side in the name of socialist pattern of society. What we are opposed to are the means that are now sought to be adopted by the Government; that is, increasing the sphere of our economy to be reserved, to be gained for the public sector

and also for State trading. These are all the things that I have taken from out of the first two chapters which my hon. friend, the Prime Minister has found it possible to pen during those few valuable days of his rest in a cool place.

I cannot congratulate my hon. friend, the Prime Minister, upon the speech that he has made. Evidently, he put all that he wanted to say in these two chapters that he could content himself with quoting from them and not be able to enthuse or inspire this House with the new vision that he has got before himself and the new frontiers that he has been trying his best to bring nearer and nearer to our own social economy and our own social life in our country.

This is a plan that has failed.

Some Hon. Members : This plan ?

Prof. Ranga : Yes. The first and the second plans. This is only one of the three. This is Ganges. It is flowing. It will go on flowing not only when the present ruling party is in power. If they could achieve it, they would like to see that their children will remain there and still continue to implement these plans, one after another, any number of them. That is the perspective that my hon. friend, the Prime Minister, wants us all to feel so that our mouths could water.

As some of my friends said, we have an excellent Prime Minister, a great national leader. We have got a powerful party with a great past behind it, so many resources, everything. Yet, why is it that India is still rated as the 21st or 22nd country in economic development by the United Nations study? He could not give an answer. I was reminded of a saying in my own language. There is everything in the house, including a lovely wife. But, somehow or other, the son-in-law only gets stones in his mouth. In the same way, we have everything here. Even foreign visitors who have come here sing pareons of praise on our policy, on our plans. They have gone to the extent that they have become so mad in their love of the Government that they are no longer keen to give any assistance in regard to specific plans, but they would simply place at the disposal of the Prime Minister billions and billions to be made use of as he likes, according to the advice that he gets from his own Planning Commission.

We have got all this. What we do not have is the right perspective, the right approach. That approach is the Gandhian approach. My hon. friend and the Government have been, so far, during the last 15 years, only going farther and farther away as rapidly as they possibly could hope to do without upsetting the general electorate in our country. I am here to protest against

that departure. An Englishman was here in 1947. He met Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi told him : "how mistaken he thought was Mr. Nehru's policy of trying to establish rationing and price control of grains". That is all envisaged in this Plan. If they are not able to implement it now, they will implement it next time, provided, of course, the Prime Minister would be able to have his bosom companion, Sri Nanda, a great champion of the proletariat.

> "This policy—Mahatma Gandhi thought—would lead, he said, to idleness on the part of the ration-recipients and to waste on the part of the cultivators; it would be much better for all to let the prices of grain rise and to expect people to work harder."

Then he said:

> "Controls give rise to fraud, suppression of truth, intensification of the black-market and to artificial scarcity. Above all, it unmans the people,—it degrades the people—and deprives them of initiative, it undoes the teaching of self-help that they have been learning for a generation. It makes them spoonfed."

This is exactly our credo. We do not want the State Trading Corporation to encroach upon ordinary trade in our country. Yet, some time ago, on the initiative taken by the Prime Minister, the Chief Ministers' conference gave a ukase to the country and also the then Food Minister that trade in food grains should be socialised. He did not make any plans. The Planning Commission did not provide any kind of scheme for it. Nor even the Food and Agriculture Minister. Suddenly an inspiration came into them and then it glowed itself into this shape. They took three years in order to realise that, that Minister had to make way for another Minister and that particular scheme of theirs could not be implemented. This is the manner in which this planning is going on, and that is why I say that it is an unrealistic plan.

Secondly, my friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, was wondering how our economy could possibly progress and get up on a kind of accelerator. I have seen some of these accelerators. There was one such, which was an accelerating lift by itself, and it was there in Copenhagon. One policeman tried to get into it but he wanted to monkey with it. One has to get into it as it comes to the floor level, but yet the policeman wanted to try his trick; he let go the lift a bit upwards, and then he jumped into it, and what happened was that he got himself stuck at the top, and finally he was killed.

Sri Asoka Mehta : Why did he monkey with it?

Prof. Ranga : That is exactly what is happening with our Plan also. Today, this Plan is monkeying with our social economy. What is it that our socialists want to achieve, and what I wanted to achieve also when I was embracing socialism in all those years in the West? We wanted to regain for an industrial worker that control over his own implements, exactly what Marx also desired to achieve. We wanted to regain for him control over his own implements, and his own conditions of working so that he would be able to become once again a master of his own economy, and a master of his own employment. He used to be such a self-employed person before industrialisation came. Before peasants were turned to be mere tenants and mere slaves and villains, they used to be self-employed artisans; before industrialisation replaced them, they were self-employed people. Marx only wanted to regain that lost freedom, but in a different way under different conditions.

Now, what is the position in our country? Is there that kind of a universal industrialisation? No. Even today not more than ten per cent of the people are engaged or are obliged to be engaged in industrialised economy. The rest of the people, or at least 75 per cent of them, are today dependent upon rural economy, upon artisan economy, upon *dukan* economy. All these people are self-employed. Even today, they continue to be economically free people. They know no master. It is only when they have to sell their commodities that they bring them into the market; there, of course, may be somebody who can say whether we would accept them or not. Would we believe in that kind of market economy or not? Would my hon. friends not want to build up that kind of economy? They seem to think that if we were to have that kind of market economy, we would not be able to have economic progress.

But here is a book which I am sure my hon. friends must all have read, and it is by the German statesman, Mr. Erhardt. He is their economic and planning Minister. He came to our country also, and he must have met the Prime Minister too, but the Prime Minister possibly did not like his thoughts and teachings, and, therefore, he would not pick his brains, although he would not mind picking the brains of all those other people who would give him only what he wants, some sort of certificate for his socialist pattern of society. Germany has made all that progress. My hon. friend, Acharya Kripalani, has just now drawn our attention to a country in the East, and to the progress that Japan has made. Did they not depend upon this free market economy? They did. Have they not progressed? They have progressed. Why is it then that we are so much obsessed only with the Soviet economy and the Russian and the Chinese example and not of the rest of the other economies?

My hon. friend, the Prime Minister, may turn round and say 'Why, even the Americans are admiring us now; they are placing all their funds at our disposal.' But how could he say so? The Americans are placing their funds at the disposal of the Communist Tito and the Fascist Salazar and also Franco. The American dollar does not make any distinction in regard to your politics and your political or economic philosophy. They want to help us just because they are in trouble with Russia. Both of them are competing with one another, and now, therefore, they have suddenly come to realise their duty to the under-developed nations and under-developed peoples in order to prevent those people from going completely either this way or that way. Therefore, let us not draw any kind of support from the help that we are getting from these people.

Then as regards heavy industries—that is item (d) in our amendment—we also want heavy industries. This kind of thing is nothing new. As my hon. friend, the Prime Minister, said even when he was Chairman of the National Planning Committee, even during those days, we were all so very keen on heavy industries. But there is a limit beyond which you cannot very well run or rush and swallow things. There is a limit within which we should function. We must develop these things in such a way that we will be able to make sustained and well-balanced progress in our society. This is exactly where our friends have gone wrong.

So many facts have been related today. Many of our industries are in such a bad way that there has been so much wastage. Recently, there has been the classic example of the failure of co-ordination between the coal industry and railways. The two Ministers concerned might have made peace between themselves, with or without the help of the Prime Minister, but the country is not at peace in regard to these two industries.

There are so many other things too. So much of industrial potential is going to waste: 25-30 per cent of the irrigation potential is going to waste, which means that nearly Rs. 400 crores worth of investment is not being fully utilised in our country.

When all this is going on, is it not high time that we begin to think whether we would be doing the right thing in proceeding with a fourth steel plant now? After having completed three great iron and steel factories and redoubled the capacity of the Jamshedpur factory, can we not very well wait for two or three years, whatever it is, and give higher priority to other aspects of our heavy industries? Take, for instance, fertilisers. What is happening there? The full capacity of the Sindri Fertilisers is not being utilised. My hon. friend, the Prime Minister, was also here several times when we were being told that as much as

35-50 per cent of the capacity of Sindri had not been utilised because of bad management and bad planning. And where are the fertiliser factories now? They have given some kind of an estimate here. Even the estimates that they have placed before us in the Second Plan have not been fulfilled, even to the tune of 60-70 per cent. Where is the guarantee that they are going to do it in the Third Plan?

What is more, the need of the country today is not what they have stated here; it is five or ten times as much. The peasant is on the move. If anybody were to say that it is necessary to put a match into the peasant, he would be making a very great mistake. It may be possible for those people in the guilded halls of the Planning Commission and of the Cabinet to think that our peasants are not progressive. Our peasants are progressive, revolutionary and dynamic and they are on the move. What is lacking today is dynamism in this Government to plan properly so that there would be sufficient production of fertilisers, different kinds of chemical fertilisers, to provide for the needs of our peasants.

Actually, there is black-marketing today in fertilisers. What does that show? It redounds to the credit of the peasants that they are making such a demand for it and it goes to the discredit of the Government that they have not been able to place these fertilisers at the disposal of our peasants.

Acharya Kripalani : Black-marketeers are giving it.

Prof. Ranga : Black-marketeers are our saviours now. Otherwise, this Government would not be able to supply anything at all.

Sri B.S. Murthy : No, no.

Prof. Ranga : That is how they have done it (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Order, order.

Prof. Ranga : They have turned our social values so badly upside down that even black-marketeers appear to be saviours; their officers, their agents, their managers have come to be known as 'fertiliser chakravarties', because they are minting plenty of money at the cost of the peasant. (*An Hon. Member : This is too much.*)

They say that the peasant is not progressive and therefore he has got to be helped. How? By depriving him of his self-employment ! By driving him into the so-called cooperative and then making that cooperative work by giving so many preferences over ordinary peasants! They have stated this in the Second Five Year Plan. They have stated that preference should be given to cooperative farms in regard to the supply of seeds, credit and implements. Just think of it, to go on discriminating against the peasant? Why? What is the sin that

he has committed? It is that he wants to continue to be free. These friends are fond of depriving him of his freedom. They seem to think like Hegel and Marx; they want to deprive him of his freedom in this way by putting him in a cooperative society, making him part and parcel of a bigger personality, and then tell him that he is bigger, he is as big as 101 as he has joined 100 other members. This kind of Hegelian philosophy they have brought forward in order to strengthen their own socialist pattern of society. We will have nothing to do with this perversion of social values.

They are providing huge sums for community development, panchayati raj, establishment of a cooperative economy in the villages. All these things are wonderful. It is like taking every good thing, nectar itself, and putting a drop of poison into it, making the whole thing unusable. In this way, very good thing in our social institutions that we have been thinking of and developing in the last 40 years under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, they have taken up. Village panchayats we have developed in our own villages, and I have had the credit of organising them in 700 villages, in those days when the British were there, out of 920 villages in my district. We have organised cooperatives also, and we have also organised community development, not with Government money and with all these Ministers, but with the blessing of Mahatma Gandhi, with the general support of the public. We had mass support then, which they are lacking today in spite of the Prime Minister and all the Ministers and the thousands of crores that they are spending from above and from below. In spite of all this, they have not been able to evoke the support of the masses. That mass support we had. All these three things we were developing in those days.

Now, what are they doing? I am making this charge with a sense of responsibility, that in many cases these things are being utilised for political purposes, for partisan purposes. There are States where the minority Congress groups including some Ministers and ex-Ministers are complaining at the partial, discriminatory and unconscionable manner in which the majority group within the Congress itself is utilising its powers, its opportunities, its influences over these three institutions. Therefore, we are opposed to this misuse of these large sums of money, of our people's money.

I am opposed to the increasing burden of inflation. I charge the Government of callousness in regard to the continuous process of pauperisation that is going on in an invisible manner throughout the country of the economic resources and especially savings of all classes of people, through this increasing process of inflation. It is an infliction. The least that the Government can do is to maintain the stability of the value of its money.

Most unfortunately for us, here comes a Government which takes pride in the fact that inflation has got to be built in, is built in, and is inevitable if we are to have economic development and planning. And they get powerful support from my hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, who says that an element of inflation is inevitable, that it must be built in.

Secondly, the Prime Minister says that the people must girdle their lions, and must be prepared for sacrifices by paying higher and higher taxes. In those days when the British were here, so many of us were on this side of the House—we did not have the opportunity to be on that side—and we used to inveigh against them because of the increasing burden of taxation. But the Prime Minister now says it is our own elected, democratic Government, and therefore we must be prepared to bear all these higher taxes in order that this development may go on. What sort of development? The other day we went to Khadakwasla, where we have our Defence Academy, and saw the horror that was perpetrated by the mismanagement of our own engineers. Let us not have any of these big dams. There are so many other things. There was a dam in Andhra which was destroyed even before the opening ceremony was performed; there were two bridges which were also likewise destroyed. This is the way they are building with brick and mortar. We have got a Tughlak Nagar in Delhi : there are growing to be any number of Tughlak Nagars. God forbid ! Let us hope that they would become to be utilised for very good purposes, not like the Bharat Electronics Ltd. which is not being utilised as well as it ought to be and not like so many other factories which have been brought into existence after opening ceremonies and other things but are not working. Let us hope that they would be all put to very good use.

We are extremely anxious that our people should be encouraged to develop their own enterprise and stand on their own feet, should be given every possible encouragement for the display of their incentives and enterprise so that it would be possible for us to develop as post-war West Germany has done and post-war Japan has done and as Canada, Australia and New Zealand are doing even today, not necessarily under this socialist pattern of society and under this partisan Government. In conclusion, I say that I cannot recommend this Plan to the people as people's plan or as a national plan. I can only say that it is a Congress plan and a Nehruite Plan, a plan conceived in the interest of the Party for the coming elections.

III

COMMISSION FOR PANCHAYAT ADMINISTRATION

We are faced with an altogether dangerous turn, given to the Plan by the State Governments, in their efforts to gain control over the internal politics, day-to-day activities and thus stifle the free and voluntary working of the local institutions. Factionalism, rivalry between political parties, and interference by the ruling Party in the elections and factional, caste-wise, communal-wise wranglings among the rival groups have come to turn these social, voluntary organisations and Local Authorities into engines of oppression, which are being manipulated by the Ministers and their favourites, group leaders and local political bosses of the ruling Party. What a Congress leader confessed recently that "What we see happening at the village panchayat and cooperative levels is a crude and unseemly struggle for power in the name of democratic elections", is less than half truth. The ugly role played by the ruling Party, its ministerial agents and administrative minions to queer the pitch in these elections and in the working of these so-called local, self-governing organisations is another part of the truth.

Something big and bold has to be done if these nominally self-governing institutions are to be freed from this deadly hold of the ruling Party and its ministries over them.

Secondly, there is widespread dissatisfaction over the way in which State Governments are utilising the vast sums (amounting to Rs. 626 crores in the Second Plan and proposed to be Rs. 1,680 crores in the Third Plan period), allotted for social welfare and development (rural etc.). One of the solutions offered and implemented in part by the Social Welfare Board has been to allot much of this vast sum to voluntary organisations of the people, which are independent of governmental control in their day-to-day activities. But, from the manner in which State Governments have been fighting against the Social Welfare Board to gain complete control over the distribution of funds allotted to the Board, it is clear that State Governments do not wish to allow any of the people's own voluntary associations to intercede between themselves and the people at large.

The ministries and their local as well as State level political bosses are constantly busy, exploring ways and means by which they can utilise their powers of patronage, given to them by the Plan's funds—easily 10 to 15% of the total Plan's expenditure—to tighten their control over the village panchayats, cooperative

societies, social welfare organisations, even religious endowments etc. Only those organisations are sure of getting either outright grants or matching grants from State Governments, which are either directly managed by the local members of the ruling Party or are willing to kotow to its district-level bosses, who run the Zilla Parishads, District Central Cooperative Banks etc. Indeed no such organisation can feel sure of exercising its legitimate powers of expending its own funds as per the resolutions of its management board, unless it gets the line clear from the local political or administrative boss, subversive to political or partisan interests of the ministry. In this way the ruling Party is trying to gain a strangle-hold on the increasing number of the people's organisation.

Thirdly, the combined effects of these first and second developments is the notorious process of wasteful use of the colossal sums set apart from out of the Plan targets for so-called social and community development, and welfare.

It is because of their insatiable greed for more power and greater control over the masses that the State ministries have been fighting against the Union Government's control over the distribution of funds for scholarships etc. for the Scheduled Castes, Tribes and other Backward Classes funds for non-university institutions and also for social welfare. They have at last gained control over these funds also, with all their deadening consequences. The recent fight put up by the Chairman of the Central Social Welfare Board is only the last tremor of the vain effort made by the Union Government to prevent the expansion of the political control over all these funds by the State Ministries and their master, the ruling Party.

Surely, it is high time that some thing is done to fight this evil; if not, it will destroy the very morale of our democracy.

The solution lies in freeing the local boards, cooperative societies and other social and local organisations from the control by the ministries over their internal activities, from elections to the utilisation of their funds and exercise of their powers. This can be done, if all such controls, powers of regulations, auditing of accounts, and settlement of internal disputes are handed over to an impartial, non-partisan, non-political, quasi-judicial statutory authority, created by the act of the Legislature and functioning independently of the ministry. It can be and ought to be expected to submit an annual report to the Legislature and also to implement the general policies and directives formulated by the ministry from time to time, but strictly within the knowledge of the Legislature. Whether one or more such authorities are needed to guide and supervise the activities

of all types of local authorities, social and educational, voluntary bodies can be settled in different States, in accordance with their local needs.

The other solution that I suggest is the transfer of the right to distribute the Central and State funds among the various competing social and local needs and the organisations interested in serving the public, from the ministries to statutory Commissions, established on a non-political basis. The Commission has, however, to keep in touch with the concerned departmental authorities and take advantage of any information or advice that may be offered and give careful consideration to it before deciding what grants to give for what object and to what organisations.

Whether both these functions, that is, the regulatory (supervisory) powers and distribution of funds should be combined in the functions of the same statutory Commission or Commissions is a matter to be decided by experienced administrators and the leaders of political parties. I am inclined to favour the formation of one Commission for all matters connected with each major category of social organisations. We have already a precedent for such a non-political impartial authority in the University Grants Commission. It is not impossible to find in every State a number of eminent, non-political and judicial-minded public men, like the members of the U.G.C.

The Swatantra Party has already offered not to take any part in the elections for the local boards from the panchayats up to Parishads. I now go further and suggest that all political parties should agree to free the local authorities, cooperatives and religious endowments, welfare organisations from all political influences and controls, either through State apparatus or otherwise in their internal affairs. Let all political leaders and parties and ministerialists agree to entrust the onerous and sacred duty or power of distribution of public funds to impartial, quasi-judicial, non-political statutory Commission or Commissions. Let there be an independent audit of the accounts of all these social and local bodies under the authority of the said Commission.

It is only when this challenge of our times, not of any political party, is accepted can the present ruling Party expect the public to look upon its huge expenditure on social schemes as being "National Expenditure". Otherwise it will continue to be treated as party political expenditure.

—Professor N. G. Ranga

IV

REMUNERATIVE AGRICULTURAL PRICES

(Speech made by Professor Ranga in the Lok Sabha on September 1, 1961 on a private Bill introduced by Sri Bibhuti Mishra)

I am all in favour of the principle behind this Bill, and I am very glad that this opportunity has been taken by my hon. friend to introduce this Bill in order to bring this particular important question prominently to the notice of this House as well as the country. Only as a matter of principle, Government, I think, has already conceded that it is its duty to see that agricultural prices are maintained at a reasonable level. I would like them also to concede the other associate principle that agricultural prices should be maintained at a remunerative level.

Secondly, I think Government has also conceded in the Third Five Year Plan the need for fixing and announcing agricultural prices well in advance of the sowing time or the harvest time, so that peasants would know what prices they could expect for their produce and therefore decide accordingly their planning.

But what steps has Government taken so far or proposes to take in order to implement these two pious declarations of theirs as embodied in the Third Five Year Plan? If one reads very carefully the chapter on price policy in the Plan, one gets the impression that although Government has paid lip sympathy to these two needs of our peasants, Government all the time has kept in its mind the need for it to keep down prices in general. They go on repeatedly saying that the price levels in our country are dependent upon mostly the prices of cereals, because our economy is considered to be a cereal economy and our wage-earners, the lower middle class people, the Government employees and others spend so much more on cereals than upon other commodities. So it all comes to this, that their emphasis upon the need for keeping down the prices is to be implemented only by depressing and keeping down the agricultural prices. Therefore, there is very great need indeed for the Government to decide upon the need for relating agricultural prices and price levels with the price levels prevailing for all other commodities. That is to say, the general price level should be related to the agricultural price level and vice-versa, just as the working class wages and wage levels are sought to be related to the cost of living index. It is high time that Government gives that assurance

to the country, that it would not yield to the pressure from all those non-agricultural classes for a virtually unilateral depression or suppression of agricultural price levels in the interest of their passion for economic and industrial development.

Thirdly, some time ago Government has given an assurance to the country that it was going to constitute some agricultural commission in order to assure our peasants a reasonable level or at least a minimum level of prices, but when it came to implementation something or the other happened and it was not able to give any practical shape to its own proposal. That commission should have the necessary powers and those powers should also be backed by the necessary funds and financial equipments.

Government has taken sufficient care, I think, in the interest of the consumers as a whole and not only the non-agricultural classes, by building up, what they call, a buffer-stock, not only by purchasing our own surplus supplies but also by importing huge quantities of wheat and rice from other countries and they hope, and they are managing also, to keep down the price level so far as the food front is concerned.

Has it begun to take steps similarly, practical, effective steps, in order to maintain the agricultural prices? In America these steps had been taken for years. For more than 20 years American farmers have been given this protection. So is the case with the Scandinavian countries. Even such a conservative country as England where the general majority of the people happen to be non-agriculturists and urban people has taken such protective steps and they have been implemented there. Their farmers are assured of not only a minimum price level but also a remunerative price level. The same thing can be said of Australia, New Zealand and even Japan. Ours seems to be the only country, the only exception, and yet we pride ourselves that we have the largest area of cultivable land available and brought under cultivation. To whose credit does it go? It goes to the credit of our peasants. Yet, what is the return that we give to them? What is the assurance that we give to them? Till now our Government has not played fair with them.

There was a Committee appointed with my hon. friend, Sri Krishnappa, as Chairman, to study the ways and means by which the prices could be fixed. Before that Committee made its recommendations, another Committee known as the Asoka Mehta Committee was appointed. It wanted to hold our peasants hand and foot tied down and then deny them the freedom to sell their produce in the open market by socialising marketing in agricultural produce. Goverment accepted that anti-peasant recommendation. At the same time its recommendation

in favour of stabilisation of agricultural prices was given the go-by. And, recently there were these abortive proposals made by the new Food Minister.

A fresh instance of the failure of the Government has been displayed this morning when we put a question as to how is it that the fertilizers produced in Nangal Fertilizers are not made available to the South, which is badly in need of it. Because of the failure of the railways.

In the light of all these things, is it not high time for the Government not merely to be satisfied with expressing its pious hopes in the Third Five Year Plan but really to take definite administrative as well as legislative steps to provide the necessary assurance for our farmers?

Why is it that more and more land is being diverted to non-food crops? It is because of the failure of the Government in this direction. And what is more, even in the Third Plan Government has paid a great compliment to our peasants by saying that they are expecting increase in the production of almost every agricultural produce. Is there one crop, let them say, where they expect lower production? No, only more and more. But who is going to do it? Not the Government, but the farmers themselves without any outside help. And the farmers who were responsible for this huge economic development during the last fifteen years despite these failures of Government deserve a better deal.

V

DEFENCE MINISTRY MISHANDLED

(Speech made by Professor Ranga in the Lok Sabha on February 21, 1961, on the Address of the President)

I would like to repeat what the Prime Minister had stated, that the health of the nation is not quite sound. But who is responsible for this? It is easy to blame the people. It would be all right if a great national leader like Mahatma Gandhi had said so. But is it all right for the Prime Minister who has been in charge of law and order in this country during the last 14-15 years to come and say that now and at the same time take so little action? Some years ago, there was a terrible and tragic accident on the railways and one of his own colleagues had shown the way by setting an example to the railwaymen and showed how strongly the Union Government felt about that matter and expected them to live up to their own code of conduct and profession and sense of discipline. We have not heard of any such sort of thing on the part of the leaders of the Madhya Pradesh Government or of this Government here in that direction. As if he had nothing to do with the administration at all he goes and gives a historian's judgment: 'the health of the nation is not sound'. That is a judgment which cannot be accepted without proper action on their own behalf—with impunity from the Prime Minister.

Terrible things had happened there in Madhya Pradesh. Just now my hon. friend had explained all these things in his own extraordinarily eloquent manner. Something has got to be done in order to prevent recurrence of these things. It shows quite clearly that there is some kind of connection and contact—maybe wireless too—between the leaders in different places, not of one community alone but of several communities. Something has got to be done by the Government in order to sever these connections and prevent a recurrence of such tragic events.

The President has asked the Members of this House to give special attention, vigilance and cooperation in respect of the many problems of our economic planning, our defence, world peace and the struggle of the still dependent peoples on the last page of his Address. I would like to take up this question—defence. Are we quite sure that we can feel quite satisfied or complacent about the manner in which our Defence Forces are being managed by this Ministry? Not so long ago, there was

that unseemly occurrence of the Prime Minister himself coming to this House and saying that there were temperamental differences between the Chiefs of Staff—or one of them—and his own Defence Minister. He was not able to make any change in the set-up of our Defence in the light of that. A little later there was a furore raised in this House as well as outside by one of the newspapers which was castigated by the Prime Minister not so long ago as gutter press and yellow press, over the biography written about our Army Chief of Staff, General Thimayya. I have read it with very great care and have found that there is nothing that could be objected to. Of course there were some interesting things, as is usual with American biographers, as to how some of the officers had drawn lots in order to exchange their household conveniences. But beyond that there is nothing else. Yet they made all that fuss and brought the Chief of Staff into so much trouble and worry and gave the impression to us also that there must be something wrong with the patriotic spirit of that great and eminent General. Not being satisfied with it, a unique thing has come to be done establishing a very bad and unwise precedent—of informing the whole of the country as to how soon and when the Chief of Staff is going to retire. Is it a right way to do so several months before he retires?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Sri Jawaharlal Nehru) : I am sorry to interrupt, Sir, but may I say, that it is the fixed way of doing it; it has been done for years past every time. There has been no exception.

Prof. Ranga If that is the fixed way of doing it, I can only say that my hon. friend does not seem to have become any wiser than his predecessors.

Sri Ansar Harvani (Fatehpur) : Probably, you are not aware that our Prime Minister had no predecessor as Prime Minister.

Prof. Ranga : Information of a special event is passed on to the aggressors on the other side. Are we going to make a present of this important information to them that the Chief of Staff who is one of the ablest living Generals anywhere in the world is going to be made to retire on a future date? I think it was a bad mistake. *(Interruption).*

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Order, order. I have no objection to his criticising the Government in any manner he likes. But he should take care that he does not bring in individuals or makes any representation on their behalf. It may rather give scope to others to criticise : it is opening ourselves to too much of criticism rather than serve any useful purpose.

Prof. Ranga : We would like to be better informed than we had been of the manner in which the Defence Forces are being

managed. Only yesterday, Sri Asoka Mehta has placed a very interesting proposal before the Government; it does not go far enough but it is good enough. In addition to that, there have been—we are told—some promotions and some changes. We would like to know, if not at this stage at some suitable stage, which of the senior officers are being promoted and why, which of the senior officers are not being promoted and why and whether there is any kind of a policy at all in regard to all these things and whether all these changes are being made and all these decisions are being taken not only with the full concurrence but with the full knowledge and understanding of the Prime Minister as well as the other members of the Cabinet and the Defence Sub-Committee of the Cabinet. If they have not done so, then they owe an explanation to the country and also an assurance that all these changes are being done with a view to ensure a greater efficiency and a more assured patriotic responsibility from our Defence Forces.

Then whose duty is it to keep a watch over our borders—Defence or the External Affairs Ministry? It stands to the credit of my hon. friend, socialist—at that time they were all together—to have brought to the notice of this House several times about what they learnt in regard to the incursions that the Chinese were making on our borders. Repeatedly, the other side, the Treasury Benches, were unwilling to give us any information. Years afterwards, the Prime Minister went to the other House and said: yes, it was a mistake that we have not been able to give timely information to both the Houses.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru : I do not think I have ever said that.

Prof. Ranga : If he has not said it, it makes it even worse for the Prime Minister.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru : Maybe. I do not accept what is stated by this hon. Member or any other in regard to this matter.

Prof. Ranga : It only makes his position much worse. At least now, any responsible Government should be prepared to apologise—

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru : What for?

Prof. Ranga :—to the nation for having kept in ignorance for such a long time over the incursions that were taking place. He would never agree. Otherwise, he would not be there! (*Interruption*)

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Order, order.

Prof. Ranga : If interruptions are made, that would waste my time.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru : Would the hon. Member repeat what he said, so that I may be able to understand him?

Prof. Ranga : I am speaking, I think, plainly enough so that my hon. friend can understand. We have known each other for 30 years and he should be able to understand.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru : I know. The hon. Member has been shifting from party to party in these 30 years. I do not know what he is after.

Prof. Ranga : It is a cheap jibe: I had the courage to do that. My hon. friend never had the courage to do that. (*Interruption*)

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru : I should again want to know what he said. If the hon. Member makes charges, let him be precise and definite and I shall have my say. It is no good making insinuations of the kind the hon. Member is making.

Prof. Ranga : There are no insinuations. We are making charges.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru : Would he kindly repeat that charge so that I can deal with it?

Prof. Ranga : I am coming to the next question. The report made by the officers is there. It shows that they have done a very good job, to which testimony has been given by the leaders of the two other Opposition parties, and I agree with it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : One thing. The hon. Member just now said that he is coming to the next question. If some charges are made against any hon. Member—and particularly now it was done against the Prime Minister—and if he wants them to be repeated as he had not followed them, and he wants that it might be done more precisely so that he might give an answer when he replies, where is the harm if the charges are made clearly, if really there are any?

Prof. Ranga : It only means a waste of time. Anyhow, my hon. friends from the Socialist side informed the Prime Minister as well as the members on the Treasury Benches and pointed out repeatedly that they were in the know of the repeated and growing incursions that the Chinese were making over our borders, and we were not given either definite information or satisfactory information. In the end, as my information goes,— if my hon. friend contradicts it, I stand corrected—after a long time, when the hon. Prime Minister was accosted about this in the other House, I understood he said that he should have given this information to the country much earlier but he did not do so. I thought he admitted his mistake. But now he said he has not admitted the mistake. That is all.

The next point is about Tibet. So many of us objected to the stand taken by the Prime Minister at that time, and yet he pursued that line; you know the results now. Over this long border of 2,000 miles and more, the enemy—I would like to call him so now—or the aggressor certainly has come up, and he has come on the other side of our border, and he is aggressing on our territory. This is the result of that early failure of our Government, and this report of the officers makes it very clear. Whether people would agree to consider Tibet to be a sovereign country or not, she was certainly enjoying such autonomy as to be able to send her plenipotentiaries on a par to the international conferences to discuss and decide and put her signature to questions and decisions or the borders between Tibet and ourselves. For over many years that has been going on, and yet the Ministry of External Affairs was ignorant or indifferent to all those facts. They thought that they were or could be very liberal and therefore they have made a free gift of it, as it were, to China, and we are paying for it. That is another charge.

Thirdly, was it not the duty of the Defence Ministry at that time itself to have warned the Prime Minister and then strengthened themselves? Now, they say that progressive steps are being taken in order to build roads, and all sorts of dumps and other stations on those high altitudes. We have lost ten years with bitter results. They stand condemned. I do not know who will have to apologise to the future, but certainly the present Government has got to be held responsible for this. It might be said, "You were also then with us." But even though I was with them, I was then protesting against this, and my hon. friend used to be very, very angry with me over this Tibet. That question is not over so far as I am concerned. I do not want to talk about it any further.

The next question is about the Congo. Bitter things have happened; tragic things have happened. We are all unanimous in condemning the murder of that national leader, Lumumba.

Sri Braj Raj Singh (Firozabad) : So many others have also been killed now.

Prof. Ranga : Yes; Lumumba was a national leader; there are others also. (*Interruption*). We would like the United Nations to take more effective action in order to prevent any more such tragedies. There we are one with the Prime Minister. How I wish that the Prime Minister had shown some consideration, and more than the Prime Minister, Sri Dange, the leader of the Communist Party, had shown the same indignation when Imre Nagy was done to death by the Hungarian Communists.

Sri Tangamani : You are justifying!

Prof. Ranga : Recently, I was rather shocked at the alacrity with which the Prime Minister criticised what has happened in Nepal. We can hold our opinions. The Prime Minister is extremely anxious that the House should be very wise and should be very chary about expressing its views and yet, somehow or other, he thought it fit to go to the Press. What are our relations in regard to Nepal and in regard to Burma? Burma has been receiving a tremendous attention and a lot of assistance from us, and we have held them as more than our brothers. And yet, when it came to settling the borders between Burma and China, she did not mind allowing a certain amount of uncertainty to remain over certain parts of the borders which are there between China, ourselves and Burma. I hope the hon. Prime Minister and his External Affairs Ministry have protested against it. They seem to have made some representation. How long are we to continue to consider the Chinese Government as a very friendly 'bhai-bhai-Government'? I would like an assurance to be given by the Government, if it can, and if it would like to, that we are not going to sponsor her application in the United Nations any longer.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru : I can give an assurance that we will.

Prof. Ranga : "We will". There you are. That is also another charge of mine. I can understand it, and I have understood it earlier, that they were making this proposal in order to bring her within the four corners of world order and world decency and all the rest of it, so that she might be made to behave.

Only yesterday, my hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, drew the attention of the House to the impunity with which the callousness with which and the unscrupulousness with which Communist China set at naught any kind of document on which she puts her signature. What is the use of bringing her there. It may be said, "The whole world has brought South Africa also into the United Nations." We know the results, and can the other results be different? Of course, there would have been some justification for expecting or entertaining some hopes after all that they have done. We will forget all that. After the gentleman, Mr. Chou En-lai, had come over here and gone back, he has added an additional word "proper". In addition to this, the officers have met each other; and from time to time, they went on changing their maps and were bringing out and producing new maps as if from a magician's box. Are we to continue our attitude towards China in blissful faith in People's China's willingness to stand by any of those agreements or even the Charter of the United Nations? Let us make it very clear now to the rest

of the world. I think the time has come that we no longer consider Peoples China to be our friend.

My hon. friend, Sri Dange, was met effectively by my hon. friend, Sri Asoka Mehta, yesterday in regard to China. I need not add anything more than this. I am not quite sure whether the attitude that he has displayed is the presage of a kind of policy of the Government in the next one or two years—we must continue to negotiate, we must parley with those people, if not at official level at some other levels also. And in that way anyhow, let the Ravaneswara *kashta* go on burning ! And that is exactly what is happening. Let us be careful.

An Hon. Member : What is your proposal?

Prof. Ranga : My proposal is, do not recognise Peoples China as an aggressor and simply refuse to deal with her in the manner in which we have been dealing with her till now.

The next point is planning. In regard to planning I would like to say that God gave me the power for the moral courage to oppose the First Five Year Plan itself when we had to walk into the lobbies nearly eight years ago. And at that time the Communists also were not in favour of the plan. Now wisdom has dawned on them, but we have not achieved that wisdom ! Therefore they are now all in arms with the Government. Well, I wish all good luck to the Government with their two bedfellows, whether they are straying or comfortable, or whatever it is. It is their own concern.

Sri Dange is all in favour of the plan. I wish to tell you that I am opposed to this very general approach of this plan. Their priorities are all wrong. There should have been the first priority for agriculture. Secondly, they have upset the sense of security of our self-employed people in our country. They have been persistent in dealing with all the self-employed people as a kind of a private sector and giving the impression as if, as my friend, Sri Dange, put it, these people are all profit-making people.

Sri Harish Chandra Mathur (Pali) : My hon. friend is the only one Member representing a particular view in having no faith in the plan. So we would like to have a little clarification from him. When he says that the first priority should have been given to agriculture, that clearly indicates that he wants a plan. Priority means plan and nothing else.

Prof. Ranga : My hon. friend should go to an elementary school to get himself educated. I will tell him why. It does not mean that I do not want any kind of planning. Mahatma Gandhi wanted a plan, he believed in plan. One of our friends

who wrote a book on Gandhian Plan has gone over to the other side. I also wrote one book; Mahatma Gandhi approved of it. My hon. friend, Acharya Kripalani, also wrote one book on certain aspects of that plan, and Mahatma Gandhi approved of it. One of those books I may refer to my hon. friend *The Latest Fad of Mahatma Gandhi*. There was plan, we wanted a plan. But we do not want this plan. I was responsible like my hon. friend also—and he was the Chairman of the Standing Planning Committee of the Congress of those days—we wanted a plan, we wanted a Planning Commission also. Yes, but then unfortunately the plan came this way. I even warned at that time the other side of Parliament that this is a Soviet plan, it is not a Gandhian plan, it may be a socialist plan but it certainly is not a Gandhian plan. And I said, it might be given the stamp of Nehruite plan; but with that name also you cannot very well push it down like sugar-coated quinine.

And therefore I say that all these tens of millions of self-employed peasants, for whom it is not necessary to exploit anybody, and most of whom work on their own farms, by their own labour and family labour and carry on their non-exploiting self-employment activities, those people should have been given the necessary assurances.

Now they have passed a Ceiling Bill in various legislatures, and here also. What is the consequence? Not only those few lakhs of people who would come somewhere near the ceiling but millions and millions of others would also have to be afraid now that possibly the ceiling would continue to be reduced stage by stage and when my hon. friends come into power, from the P.-S.P. or the Communist Party, or even the ginger group provides an overwhelming majority to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then the ceiling would be reduced. Where is the guarantee that it is not going to be reduced? They have already fortified themselves by amending the Constitution, Article 31, as the House knows, in regard to property. And therefore they have given themselves the power for the legislature as well as Parliament. And in this way they have created a sense of insecurity among our peasants, the great bulk of our people. They are not profit-making people, they are not exploiters, they are small entrepreneurs, all in their own, independent, freedom-loving people. They are the people who should be cherished as forming the back-bone, the very base indeed of our national development and socialist economy. Unfortunately it is those people who have escaped the attention of the planners.

And at long last, now, after ten years of this bad planning, they say that they are going to provide all these various facilities. Did we not suggest then? I myself sent a report to the hon. the Prime Minister—it was published too—that fertilizer, credit,

soil conservancy, improved seeds, all these various things should be provided to our agriculturists. Now, in the Third Plan they are thinking of providing these things, and for that too they want to make an experiment by having what are called package plans in a few districts here and there. It has taken them ten years. If they had only gone about it the right way all these things could have been done and our peasants would have been able to produce very much more than what they are able to do today.

The hon. the Food Minister is taking pride in the fact that the conditions of the crops are very much better. But they were bad last year. They are better today, not because of the Minister but because of...

An Hon. Member : Swatantra Party.

Prof. Ranga : ...the seasons. Yes, Swatantra, you may not believe in Him, but the swatantra of God is responsible for these things. There is no good taking any pride in it. What we have to do is to show the country the irrigation potential that has been developed. They themselves admit that 25 per cent has not been developed. If peasants have been able to make use of this water to some extent, they have not been supplied with the necessary credit, so much so that the land is not fully exploited and cultivated to the maximum possible extent with good crops and so on.

And then they say that they are going to increase employment. I warned them then, and I warn them here also now, it would not be possible for them, to provide employment for all the new entrants into the employment market either in the towns or the villages. They themselves admit it. And the unemployment problem is going to grow more and more. In spite of it, look at the foolhardiness of their planning. They want to introduce power-looms in place of handlooms, so that lakhs and lakhs of weavers can be thrown into unemployment! They appear to be Adisesha with a thousand breaths!

I cannot congratulate or thank the President for having given us this Address in this manner only based upon the failures of the Government.

WHY SHOULD PROFESSOR RANGA RESIGN FROM PARLIAMENT?

I

WITHDRAWAL FROM CONGRESS

New Delhi,
12th June, 1959.

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I hope you have received my letter of resignation, sent on the 4th instant.

I have decided to join the Swatantra Party started by Rajaji, our oldest and dearest statesman, to serve as the broadbased democratic Party and provide the parliamentary alternative to the Congress Party.

I am enclosing herewith the provisional statement of aims and objectives of this Party and we hope to give final shape to it in the convention. I am also sending a copy of the publication, 'Why Ranga Resigns?', published by the Indian Peasant Institute. I would like to quote the following sentences in the last two paragraphs of my letter to you dated the 19th May, 1951 on page 3 for your reference: "The need to reorganise the political leadership of our country into more or less equally balanced but friendly political parties, both aiming at the same cooperative commonwealth and Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj but making their approaches in different ways, has become too insistent. Otherwise we shall be running the grave risk of allowing the Congress Party alone to monopolise the national leadership and then to rot from inside and collapse all too suddenly, thus making a free gift of our country to the Communists as has happened in China.

"Many of us are, therefore, obliged to build an alternative democratic leadership and thus ensure future progress of our country and protection of our masses from the threats of totalitarian forces both from inside and outside."

Since then, the activities and the expenditure resulting from the Plan have helped our bureaucracy and certain sections of the ruling Party to develop their far from wholesome contacts with various aspects of our people's lives.

All these threaten to create a new class and a new vested interest if there is no effective parliamentary opposition party to prevent the misuse of their powers.

I am glad to learn that you have welcomed the emergence of our party and also liked the name of our party, the "Swatantra Party of India".

I have had the honour of working with you in the Congress Party and Indian National Freedom Movement since 1930 and I would always cherish the comradeship that we have enjoyed together under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Now that I have been called upon by Rajaji and other friends to accept the leadership of the Swatantra Party, I trust that it would be possible for us to work in our parliamentary democracy through healthy competition in public service.

I hope that through the actions and reactions of our two democratic parties, the freedom and independence (socio-economic) and self-employment status of our peasantry and artisans and of all other non-exploitative entrepreneurs, would come to be protected and promoted and our parliamentary democracy would be insured against authoritarian encroachments.

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister,
NEW DELHI.

Yours sincerely,
N. G. RANGA

II

A REJOINDER TO CONGRESS

(In his Press Statement on 18.8.'59 in reply to the Congress demand for resignation of his membership of the Lok Sabha, Prof. Ranga criticised the unjust attitude of the Congress Party. He made a detailed reference to the special circumstances in which alone he agreed to rejoin the Congress, on the latter's invitation in forming the United Congress during the Andhra general elections of 1955 to defeat the Communist challenge to capture power.)

If that coalition had not materialised, Andhra would have had the first Communist Ministry in 1955 alone and who could say how many more States, besides Kerala and Andhra, would have gone that way in 1957 general elections. The Congress leaders acknowledged the good and big role I and the Krishikar Lok Party played in that anti-Communist struggle and suggested a complete re-union between us and the Congress. By ignoring my moral right to be consulted before such serious inroads or attacks on peasant family economy as the Gramdan and national campaign for cooperative farming were decided upon, they refused to heed my repeated warnings against their one-sided proposals for imposing ceilings and for fixing the ceiling limits at too low a level. Their Ministers in the State and at the Centre, including Sri Nehru, carefully abstained from entering my constituency during the 1957 general elections, though they hovered around it for the sake of their favourite candidates. How can they now make the petulent and malicious demand?

Verily political gratitude seemed to have been assiduously dismissed by the Congress leaders in their relations with us of the Krishikar Lok Party. Why? Could it be because the Krishikar Lok Party of Andhra was the first to force the Congress to eat the humble pie and confess its need for a coalition with us, before it could achieve a majority? Or could it be because Sri Nehru could not get over his chagrin that it was on the initiative of the Krishikar Lok Party that the Andhra Congress Ministry fell on the first successful vote of no-confidence? Or could it have been because of my incorrigible opposition to the Planning Commission's *manoeuvres* against our peasantry? No wonder, the Congress Party descends today to this *manoeuvre* of asking me to resign from Parliament just because I

choose to continue to work so effectively for the protection of all the self-employed by leaving the Congress in continuation of my eight years long struggle against their anti-peasant machinations. It is also no wonder, that the Congress so conveniently forgets that its M.L.A.s and M.P.s were elected from the eleven Andhra Districts as much because of K.L.P.s as because of the once-defeated and disabled Congress Party and would have no moral right to retain their seats in the legislatures and ministries. after having so dishonourably broken all the pledges given to our peasants regarding their proprietorship and family economy and to the people about forming a representative and truly united and broadbased Congress Ministry.

The results of the general elections of 1957 in Andhra are consequent upon the results and activities of the United Congress of 1955 general elections and its Election Manifesto and my well-known and oft-repeated stand in support of the peasants' family farm economy. Hence my strong opposition voiced in Parliament in July 1957, that is, soon after the general elections, against Government's and Planning Commission's designs to introduce cooperative farming, through the Second Five Year Plan etc.

Let me clinch this reply to the Congress Party's letter, and Sri Nehru's broadsides hurled at us through the Press, by reminding them that such great national issues as this, whether India can benefit best through family farming and self-employed peasantry or through cooperative farming cannot be settled by the "Discovery of Congress Election Manifestoes" and peurile threats of asking for resignations from dissenters, but by conceding the right to all members of the Congress in Parliament and outside to exercise freedom of voting and if the need is felt by any, resigning from the Congress Party, without having to think of reprisals, unworthy of any great national party.

If, however, the Congress Party is willing to test the public opinion on this vital issue of cooperative farming, *let them dissolve the present Lok Sabha and face the general election or at least the Andhra Assembly, two-thirds of whose members were elected as long ago as 1955 on the basis of the United Congress to help the public to decide this issue between the Congress and myself and the peasants that I claim to speak for.*

I think the Congress Party has stumbled upon this untenable demand for my resignation, for the ulterior purpose of creating an atmosphere in favour of an imaginary convention against members of legislatures crossing the floors without resigning their seats and thus preventing a large number of Congress legislators from leaving the Congress Party at the Centre and in the States as a protest against the latest developments within the Congress,

It is a notorious fact how the Congress has not thought of establishing any such convention when it was enticing so many legislators away from other groups through its powers of patronage and punishment. In fact it has gone to the extent of smuggling two of our K.L.P. M.L.A.s to make Ministers of them. Never did it think of asking any of them to resign their seats and seek re-election as Congress candidates. Let us also remember that even in England, their political parties have not been able to prevent the exercise of freedom of their M.P.s to revolt against the Party whips and cross the floor, whenever differences over national issues provoked such revolts, as evidenced by such revolts during the recent crisis over the Suez episode. Therefore, I trust that as many of those Congress legislators as are feeling so strongly against the Nagpur resolution and other equally objectionable policies and activities of Congress and its Governments, would not allow themselves to be in any way inhibited by this indefensible demand made on me by the Congress Party and will take time by its forelock and resign from the Congress. I sincerely hope that all those who are obliged to continue to remain in the Congress Party while agreeing with our political stand will assert themselves in their own Party counsels so as to minimise the mischief and harm that will follow from the headlong drive of Jawaharlalji and Planning Commission towards collectivism and controlled economy.

I RESISTED KUMARAPPA COMMITTEE'S DRIVE TOWARDS COMPULSIVE COOPERATIVISATION

In the first flush of achievement of Independence and our non-experience of the evils of bureaucratism and nationalisation in independent India, the majority of the Kumarappa Committee on Land Reforms suggested so much of State interference with our agricultural economy, that, Sri O.P.R. Reddiar, the then Chief Minister of Madras State, and myself of the minority had to invoke all the moral courage we could command, to try to arrest their drive towards cooperative farming and Service Cooperatives through regulated compulsion by offering a compromise with the then prevailing trends towards maximum State interference. Even then, we took care to mention, as even the Congress Party admits, so many safeguards which were calculated to protect our peasants from the worst evils of cooperativisation. Even the quotations given by the Congress Party from our Minority Report with the intention of damaging my stand can only prove how I have been trying to champion peasants' interests in spite of the greatest pressure exercised by collectivisation-minded majority. Throughout our dissenting minute, the use of compulsion in any form as well as the pooling of the lands for cooperative farming has been objected to. It would be seen

how we have insisted upon the indispensability of the Government and cooperators making experiments with cooperative joint farming only on Government lands before recommending it to peasants. It was never contemplated, nor has any large body of public men imagined that the Congress and its Goverment would be so unwise as to launch upon a nation-wide campaign in favour of cooperative farming and proposing to utilise their present campaign for Service Cooperatives as the necessary preparation to decoy peasants into cooperative farms without making sure of the success of their experiments.

As soon as I realised, from the discussions we had both before and during the making of First Five Year Plan, the designs of Government and planners against our peasant economy and how they would accept only the drive of Kumarappa's majority towards cooperativisation and not our pro-peasant policies, I hastened to warn Government against its dangerous moves, in my speech in Parliament on 10.12.1952 and actually walked into the opposition lobby to express my dissent from its plans on the so-called land reforms. In spite of that, the Congress Party proposed to me on 22.12.52 a re-union between us. Though I took care to draw their attention to that important vote of mine, they persisted in asking me to rejoin them, so anxious they were to give me freedom of action on this vital matter so that they could save themselves from being overwhelmed by the Communist Party in Andhra.

Why is the Congress Party so silent about these and so many other facts about my continuous and persistent refusal to accept their stand on cooperative farming, but wishes to twist what I had said ten years ago? We have to decide these issues now in the light of their thirteen years of failure to control the over-sized bureaucracy and humanise Statism and free the existing cooperatives from the evil influences of groups and cliques within the Congress and from officials and local political bosses?

I opposed even the First Plan. I declared in Rajya Sabha on 10.12.52 that "I am not able to associate the farmers and the artisans whom we (KLP) represent with the collectivist plans that are suggested in the Plan". I complained that "From one end the Communists and from the other the Government wish to squeeze out the smaller holdings from our land economy". Also I warned that "It is wrong for the planners to decide against small holders".

I stated my opposition to the various kinds of farms which the Plan suggested whether they be organised with or without the cooperation of peasants, because I espied, from the implications behind the recommendations the planners wanted to

gain "the control over the economic and social activities of every individual and every group in rural India".

I demanded that all the Government lands, and Bhoodan lands should be placed at the disposal of the landless agricultural workers and also "parity between the rural and urban people". I concluded that the Plan "would not become a Gandhian plan. It would only become a pale imitation of the Soviet Plan."

It was the General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee who wrote to me on 20.12.52 that "we would consider a coming together of progressive forces". In my reply I took care to say "You say Parliament has approved the Five Year Plan. But I have had to vote against it because I could not agree to the planners' approach to the interests and problems of our 180 million small holders." I also said "the planners seem to be keen on centralisation and authoritarianism. So I cautioned that "if you and Jawaharlalji feel that there is scope for proper reorientation of these important aspects of the plan then my party will be quite glad to place its resources at the disposal of the Congress".

In answer to this, the Secretary of the Congress echoed that attitude of his leadership that he could hardly ask Sri Nehru to "change the plan now a few days after we passed it. But as I have said the plan itself has scope for advance in any direction that appears feasible." In the light of this, it is for the public to see whether Jawaharlalji and Congress have made any advance at all towards meeting the legitimate needs of our peasants for protection in spite of my support to the Congress for full four years after defeating the Communists in Andhra.

UNITED CONGRESS MAIN BASIS FOR MY ROLE IN CONGRESS SINCE 1955

It was only under the leadership of the United Congress the Andhra Communists were routed and reduced from having been the single largest party to the small minority of 13 in the Andhra Legislature of 196, and in virtue of that victory the present Congress Ministry, Congress M.L.A.s and M.P.s from Andhra, have come to enjoy their political power. So Sri Dhebar, the then President, was glad to say to me on 7.3.1955 that "I must congratulate you for the great part you played in achieving the results" and added "the alliance at the time of the election has been very fruitful". Sri Nehru and Sri Dhebar were keen on the K.L.P. joining the Congress to improve the "electoral alliance" and the former expressed his happiness over the decision of our K.L.P. to join the Congress, that is after having won the election, under our respective and different symbols.

The Election Manifesto of the United Congress made no mention or reference to any of the Congress Election Manifestoes and stated in categorical terms that peasant proprietorship and economy were to be protected.

VARYING DESIGNS OF CONGRESS MANIFESTOES AGAINST PEASANTS

Moreover, it is to be noted how the Congress has had to go on varying and ultimately moderating its ambitions regarding cooperative farming in successive Election Manifestoes from 1945 up to 1957. For instance, the 1945 Election Manifesto, framed before the attainment of power by the Congress, said that "Progressive agriculture as well as the creation of new social values and incentives require some system of cooperative farming suited to Indian conditions". By 1951, the Congress, made bold to say that "small and uneconomic holdings stand in the way of rapid advance in agricultural production. The line of advance should, therefore, be cooperative farming with the objective of making the whole or a substantial part of a village a unit of cooperative management". Several of us protested against this anti-peasant offensive, left the Congress and formed opposition parties (K.L.P. etc.). So by 1957, the Congress Manifesto came to speak in more moderate terms, and contented itself with the statement "it is desirable to encourage intensified methods of cultivation on a cooperative basis". The latest Election Manifesto is supposed to supersede all other earlier Manifestoes and this latest could not certainly be taken as a sufficient warning to the crores of kisan voters that they would be giving power to the Congress through that Manifesto, to launch a national campaign in favour of cooperative farming with the pooling of holdings and removal of boundaries in preference to the "individualist farming of peasant proprietorship" which were assured to be continued as per 1945 Manifesto and in disregard to the assurance given by 1957 Manifesto itself that land is to be owned, after the removal of all intermediaries "by the cultivator himself". Therefore, it is indefensible for the Congress or Sri Nehru to whom I am obliged for having sent me on 27.7.59 the relevant extracts from these Manifestoes to claim justification for their Nagpur resolution on the basis of the 1957 Manifesto. Let it be realised by all that the Nagpur Resolution is a *new lead* given independently of the Election Manifesto. This is the first time this issue has been put so prominently before the people and the reaction of the public has been frightening to the Congress. So the Congress leadership ought not to make the unjust demand on its docile legislators and rank and file that they should allow themselves to be committed to every statement made in the Election Manifestoes. Let Congressmen also realise, at

least now, the dangers of allowing one or two leaders, who have been ideologically attuned to Marxism, Statism and controlled economy to draft these Manifestoes.

KISANS HAVE BEEN PROTESTING FOR LONG AGAINST CONGRESS MOVES

Sri Nehru in his latest Press Conference (7.8.59) said that the critics had kept mum during all these years while successive Election Manifestoes were being released by the Congress and have suddenly seen wisdom to oppose the Congress threat to organise cooperative farming in place of peasant farm economy. It only means that he had been keeping himself strangely ignorant of the continued agitation that the Bharat Kisan Sammelan, Federation of Rural Peoples' Organisations and myself have been carrying on for so many years against this dangerous move of himself and the Congress. Surely he must have read the annexure to my letter to him of 19.1.59, protesting against the Nagpur resolution, indicating the books and brochures I have written since 1955 warning him and the Congress against such a dangerous drive. It cannot be peasants' fault or mine, if he was kept ignorant of the Editorial of the *Hindustan Times* entitled "Bold Lead" of 25.12.56, commending the warning sounded by the Federation of Rural Peoples' Organisations on 20.12.56 against "the initiation of hasty campaigns againt small holders in order to mislead them and induce them to join cooperative farms". And as recently as 14.12.58, the Bharat Kisan Convention which was held in Delhi and was reported fully in the Delhi Press warned Government against the move of so many Congress leaders to get the Congress commit itself to this disastrous national campaign.

Incidentally, it is noteworthy that the Congress had had to accept my candidature for Lok Sabha, even in the face of my persistent opposition to cooperative farming, as voiced repeatedly in Parliament, governmental conferences, through the publication of chapters of my book on "The Peasant and Cooperative Farming" in 1956 and last but not the least through the resolution of the Federation of Rural Peoples' Organisations of December 1956, two months before the 1957 general election, which was highlighted by the *Hindustan Times* Editorial and which was also noticed by International farming organisations.

Is not all this enough to disprove the claim, made rather so late in the day, by the Congress Party that it had ever hoped to bind me down by its manoeuvres incorporated so cleverly in its Manifestoes against our vast masses of peasant proprietors, and with so much forethought by its most experienced draftsman.

CONGRESS IGNORED ITS MORAL RESPONSIBILITIES TO PEASANTS AND THEIR K.L.P.

Surely, if Governments had wished to attach importance to my views and warnings, borne out of my deep study of peasant economy and long espousal of peasants' cause, its leaders would not have so recklessly committed themselves to the Yelwal Conference's decision in favour of transforming our peasant economy into Gramdan economy under State leadership, patronage and propaganda. Hence my protest against that decision and complaint to Sri Nehru on 25.10.57: "I was most unhappy like many other peasants over Yelwal agreement on this socially dangerous and economically unproductive move reached without consulting those of us who have been in intimate contact with peasants and their organisations."

How is it the Congress leaders conveniently skip over these inconvenient facts, though they are all published in their proper context in the brochure "Why Ranga Resigns?", a copy of which was sent to Sri Nehru along with my last letter?

III

CONGRESS HAS NO RIGHT TO DEMAND RESIGNATION

(Reply given by Professor Ranga in the Lok Sabha on December 15, 1959, to the Home Minister, Sri Datar, who demanded Professor Ranga to resign his seat in Lok Sabha)

The hon. Minister called upon me to resign from this House because I resigned from the Congress Party after having been elected on the Congress ticket. I would like to inform the House and remind my hon. friend that in November 1954 on a vote of no confidence moved by the leaders of my party in Andhra, the then Congress Government was defeated. In 1955 the Congress had to enter into a coalition with me and form what is known as the United Congress Party. That manifesto is still governing the United Congress Party. That manifesto never made any mention of the Plans for these land reforms. It was to that manifesto that the present Ministry owes its strength because two-thirds, or about 120 members from Andhra came to be elected under that manifesto in the name of the United Congress Party and not the Congress Party. In that United Congress Party there were three leaders. One was the late...

Mr. Deputy Speaker : He need not go into all those details. He can say that he was not elected on the Congress ticket. That is all.

Prof. Ranga : It is that United Congress Party and the agreement that we reached that governs us. There were three leaders, the late Sri Prakasam, the great Pandit Nehru and myself. It is because of that today 200 members are sitting in the Cabinet as well as in the Andhra Assembly. If I am to resign...

Mr. Deputy Speaker : We are not at present concerned with all those details and the number of the leaders. The only thing that the hon. Member can say is that he was not elected on Congress ticket.

Prof. Ranga : Therefore so far as Andhra is concerned, it was not the Congress as it is understood in other areas but it is a Congress that has arisen out of the United Congress. In the United Congress I am a co-equal of the other two partners.

If I am to resign, all those M.P.s, my hon. friends who have been elected in the name of the United Congress and also the Assembly members have got to think of resigning their seats.

On what point have I resigned? Not on a personal point but on a point of principle. If my hon. friend or the party to which I had the honour of belonging till the other day were to think that anybody could resign just because he does not agree with their policy, then they should have asked me the reason. In April or May 1957 when I came here soon after the election, I declared here, on the floor of this House, that I am opposed to the conception of land reforms that has been placed before the House by the Planning Commission and by the Government. From the very beginning I had been opposing these proposals placed before Parliament in that House as well as this House by the Planning Commission. I concede one point. It is futile for me to oppose these things when the opposition is so strong. But, nevertheless, as a matter of principle it is the right of every Member of this House, whatever may be the consequences of the division or voting or his speech, he should be prepared to lay bare his heart and his faith before the House and if he thinks that a warning should be given to the party in power,—after all it is usual parliamentary decorum to give warning to the party in power that what it is doing is not likely to meet with the favour of the electorate next time, because the last election is over and this election is going to come. That is all I had to say.