

329.954

329.954
J 251 J

THE JANA SANGH APPROACH

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH
PUBLICATION

DATA ENTERED



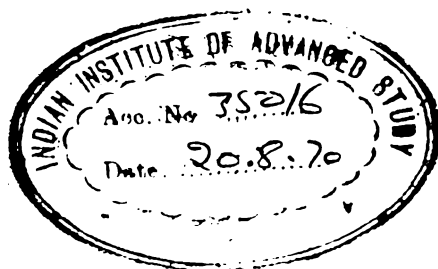
THE JANA SANGH APPROACH

Publisher :

Bharatiya Jana Sangh

Vithhalbhai Patel Bhavan

New Delhi



November, 1968

329.954
J2515

Price : Rs. 1.50



Library IAS, Shimla



00035016

Printed at Navchetan Press (P) Limited
(Lessees of Arjun Press),
Naya Bazar, Delhi-6.

Publisher's Note

Unfortunately Jana Sangh lost its three illustrious Presidents under tragic circumstances. None of them could live full span of life. Circumstances leading to death of Dr. Mookerji and murder of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya are yet shrouded in mystery. Acharya Raghuvira met his death in a car accident near Kanpur. What has made the loss more poignant for Jana Sangh workers is that none of them could even enjoy full term of presidentship. Their brilliant presidential addresses, delivered at New Delhi, Bhopal and Calicut happen to mark three important stages of the party's birth, growth and influence. We hope that the three addresses would provide a penetrating study of the Jana Sangh approach to various questions.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee

Birth :	7th July, 1901
Demise :	23rd June, 1953

Dr. Raghuvira

Birth :	30th December, 1902
Demise :	14th May, 1963

Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya

Birth :	12th September 1916
Demise :	11th February, 1968



**Presidential Address of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
at the First Convention of All India Bharatiya Jana
Sangh, held in Delhi on 21st October, 1951.**

I rise to welcome you all to this historic Convention which meets at a momentous period in the history of India. I am well aware of the fact that the task ahead of us is a difficult one. We have many obstacles to struggle against and have to face powerful opposition. What, however, must hold us together is an unflinching faith in the great cause that our Party claims to serve and a clear appreciation of the objectives, we have set before us. I am confident that if we all proceed unitedly with undaunted courage and vigour, not deviating from the right path, keeping to service of the people and the advancement of the honour and dignity of our beloved motherland as the principal aim before us, we are bound ultimately to attain success.

Let me make it clear at the outset that Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not coming into existence merely to fight the forthcoming general elections. The elections have no doubt an importance of their own and wherever circumstances allow, we will put up our candidates. The elections will mainly help us in carrying to the masses our ideology and in laying a firmer foundation for developing our Party on an All India basis. Whatever may be the result of the elections, our Party must however continue to function thereafter carrying a message of hope and goodwill to all classes of people and trying to draw out from them their

best efforts in re-building a happier and more prosperous Free India.

Four years have passed since the attainment of political independence and it is admitted on all hands that the country today is in a much worse condition, the distress and sufferings of the people are much deeper, than in the pre-independence days. If we take a detached view of the present situation, we will realise that while certain world events may be partially responsible for economic depression in India, the main reason for the present state of affairs is the failure of Government in dealing with the essential problems facing the country in a manner which would have advanced the welfare of the masses. Today the country is in the grip of deep-rooted discontent and frustration and the faith of the people in the capacity of Government to run the administration smoothly, impartially and efficiently has been rudely shaken. Black-marketing, profiteering and corruption have demoralised our society. Instead of attempting genuinely to appreciate the basic causes of this nation-wide discontent and to remove them with the co-operation of the people, Government have been singularly intolerant of criticisms and have often tried to suppress the legitimate expression of free public opinion.

It is indeed strange that the Congress which started with an enormous fund of goodwill four years ago has today lost the willing support of large sections of the public and has to keep itself in power by dubious means. One of the chief reasons for the manifestation of dictatorship in Congress rule is the absence of well-organised opposition parties which alone can act as a healthy check

on the majority party and can hold out before the country the prospect of an alternative Government.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, emerges today as an All India Political Party which will function as the principal party in opposition. It does not mean that it will hesitate to take upon itself the reins of administration should it succeed in winning the confidence of the majority of the electorate, but where this is not possible, it will remain in opposition, whether inside or outside the legislature. Opposition does not mean senseless or destructive approach to all problems that confront a responsible Government. While, therefore, we may have to attack or criticise official measures or acts, our aim will be to approach all problems in a constructive spirit so that we may keep the public vigilant and make our humble contribution in developing a real democratic structure for the sound administration of our country.

The programme of the Party will be settled in detail after consultation with the representatives who have assembled at this Convention. Our Party, however, has been functioning in the provincial sphere in different parts of India for the last few months and the main trends of its programme are already known.

We have thrown open our Party to all citizens of Bharat irrespective of caste, creed or community. While we recognise that in matters of custom, habits, religion and language, Bharat presents a unique diversity, the people must be united by a bond of fellowship and understanding inspired by deep devotion and loyalty to the spirit of a common motherland. BHARAT today is divided by many conflicting slogans based on caste, or

class or provincial ideology. Our party will strive to work for that unity in diversity which has been the key-note of Bharat's culture and civilisation. This task of making the foundation of Bharatiya nationhood deeper and stronger is not an easy one.

While it will be dangerous to encourage the growth of political minorities based on caste and religion, it is obviously the duty of the vast majority of Bharat's population to assure all classes of people who are truly loyal to their motherland, that they will be entitled to full protection under the law and to complete equality of treatment in all matters, social, economic and political. Our party gives this assurance unreservedly. We do recognize that there are large sections of Bharatiya people who are today backward and down-trodden. Full opportunity must be given to them so that their social and economic status may become higher and they may function as worthy participants with their more fortunate brethren in building up a new Bharat.

The Congress in its anxiety to maintain the secular character of Bharat has continued a suicidal policy of appeasement of Muslims and some of its leaders, specially the Prime Minister, take special delight in outraging Hindu feelings and sentiments, and sometimes attacking Sikhs also. One may remain a good Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Christian or even a Muslim and yet be a staunch Indian devoted to the highest national cause. Our party firmly believes that the future of Bharat lies in the proper appreciation of Bharatiya *Sanskriti* and *Marjaya*. Naturally, the growth of Bharatiya Culture and Civilization has been due to many factors arising out of clashes and conflicts, harmony and synthesis between

different ideologies, both native and foreign. In this great drama extending over thousands of years, empires and dynasties rose and fell and many a personality worthily played their part. Let all true sons and daughters of India—Hindu, Sikh, Christian, Muslim and Buddhist—pride themselves in the thought that the heritage that has come to us from ancient days is something noble and enduring, that it must not be allowed to stagnate and degenerate and that free India's future must be closely linked up with Bharatiya ideals, which must if necessary undergo changes from time to time so as to make them respond to the needs of modern and scientific age. This must be suitably reflected in our system of national education. While we, therefore, aim at establishing a Dharma Rajya, or a Rule of Law, we only abide by the highest tradition of Bharatiya Sanskriti, that binds all people together in ties of real amity and fraternity.

The most acute problem facing Bharat today relates to the deteriorating economic condition of her people. Our party has laid great stress on the solution of the basic problems of food and cloth and checking rising prices of essential commodities. Since they are closely related to improved agriculture and extensive land-reform, our party has stressed the need for adopting a progressive attitude in relation thereto. We realise that this is not an easy task and it cannot succeed unless we can rouse the spontaneous enthusiasm of the vast multitude of primary producers. Our party recognises the need for an integrated scheme of development of large, medium and small scale industries. The growing menace of unemployment can be tackled only through this means. We stand for a well-planned decentralised national economic plan. There is much in the Sarvodaya

scheme of economic planning which can be fruitfully adopted in raising the standard of living of the common people, avoiding the harmful effects of large scale industrial expansion. Our party is against concentration of economic power in the hands of small groups and cartels. Sanctity of private property will be observed and private enterprise will be given a fair and adequate play, subject to national welfare. State ownership and State control will be exercised when found necessary in public interest but progress in this regard must be actuated by consideration of efficiency and general welfare. The party will stand for progressive decontrol. Social and economic exploitation must be checked, distribution must be fair and equitable and an atmosphere created so that all may jointly work for increased production. Rehabilitation of refugees is a vast problem involving adjustment of social and economic conditions of an unprecedented magnitude and must be undertaken with greater vigour and sympathy.

Regarding foreign policy, our party believes that it should be more realistic, the primary consideration being the advancement of the cause of our own country and the maintenance of peace and goodwill in international sphere. We believe in democracy and in the maintenance of civil liberties. We are against totalitarianism of any kind whatsoever. We recognise that every nation must have the liberty to shape its national policy and attitude towards life according to the genius and traditions of the people themselves. Bharat's message to the world has been the doctrine of "Live and let Live". So long as India's right to determine her own pattern is not interfered with, there is no reason why we should not maintain friendly relations with all other countries. Bharat's conti-

nuance in the British Commonwealth is a matter which has to be re-examined with great care. We frankly recognize that we have gained very little by continuing to function within the Commonwealth. On the other hand in our dealings with Pakistan we have been struck by a strange policy of partiality towards that country observed by Great Britain. This may be due partially to faulty propaganda of our Government. Our party has no grudge against the people of Britain as such. If Bharat comes out of the Commonwealth she will still continue to maintain friendly relations with U. K. and other Commonwealth countries, subject to her receiving equal treatment at their hands.

We have very definite views regarding Pakistan. We hold the opinion that partition of Bharat was a tragic folly. It has served no purpose and has not helped to solve any problem, economic, political or communal. The manner in which the minorities have been and are still being treated in Pakistan proves conclusively that the agreement that minorities would be protected in both countries, has been flagrantly violated. We believe in the goal of a reunited Bharat. We would like it to be achieved through peaceful means and through the realisation by the people of both countries that such re-union will be of benefit to the masses and will make the country a real bulwark of peace and freedom. So long as Pakistan continues, we will urge a policy of strict reciprocity. The present policy of appeasement followed by the Congress Government has weakened India and has affected her honour and prestige. This weak-kneed policy has made Pakistan strong and defiant. There are still about 10 millions of Hindu minority in East Bengal and a very small number in West Pakistan. Government have failed

to provide security for them although repeated assurances were given to this effect. They cannot be allowed to take shelter under the plea that such people belong to a foreign country. They never asked for a divided Bharat and they were given pledges and assurances which are conveniently ignored today. This is a sin for which there will be no forgiveness. Similarly, compensation for properties left by Bharati evacuees in Pakistan still remains to be settled on an honourable basis. Our party lays great stress on the need for a satisfactory solution of these difficult post-partition problems which the Congress Government systematically try to shirk. Our approach to these problems is not at all communal. They are mainly political and economic and they have to be settled between the two countries in a fair and straightforward manner.

Regarding Kashmir our party feels that the case should be withdrawn from U.N.O. and there should be no further question of plebiscite. Kashmir is an integral part of India and should be treated as any other State. It is indeed tragic that one-third of Kashmir should be in the hands of the enemy and our Government should be unable to free the area from foreign occupation inspite of occasional outbursts of determination to fight any future penetration.

From what I have stated above it will appear that our party claims to deal with national and international problems in a spirit of realism consistent with the honour and dignity of India. We have been attacked vigorously by some spokesmen of other parties specially Mr. Nehru, the President of the Congress. Since he also happens to be the Prime Minister of India his utterances naturally carry great weight. The vigour of his repeated attacks

has given us added strength and determination. We will not succumb to threats and abuses. Indeed they have provided us with widespread publicity and for this our thanks are due to him. It is open to anyone to criticise another party's programme freely and unequivocally but such criticisms should not amount to misrepresentation of facts. The main charge against us is that we are a communal party with retrograde ideas. A bare examination of our programme will convince any right-thinking man that this is a perversion of truth. The charge of pandering to communalism really lies at the door of the Congress and specially against Mr. Nehru himself. Let him coolly examine his own performances during the last thirty years. At every step when he and his colleagues had to deal with the intransigence of Muslim League, they ran away from the fight and ultimately succumbed to it by dividing their motherland. Dr. Ambedkar's recent proposal to partition Kashmir on the basis of Hindu and Muslim population has shocked many. We also do not approve of this. Such concessions do not settle disputes but only create fresh jumping grounds for Pakistan for making fresh demands. That was indeed the old Muslim League technique. But surely this was exactly what Mr. Nehru and his friends had done with regard to India in 1947. It is true that some of us supported the partition of Bengal and Punjab in 1947 but be it recorded that we were forced to do so when Bharat division was imminent. We always wanted to keep these and other Provinces within United Bharat. When we found that this was not possible due to the betrayal of the Congress and the pact between itself and Muslim League supported by an astute British policy, we were anxious to save as much of these provinces as possible and keep them within free India. Otherwise they would have been lost to India in their entirety.

If Bharat had not been partitioned, there would have been no occasion to partition these great provinces whose people have suffered enormously for the sake of Bharat's liberation. Having repeatedly sacrificed Bharatiya nationalism at the altar of Muslim communalism and even after partition having surrendered to the whims and howls of Pakistan Government it does not lie in the mouth of Mr. Nehru to accuse others of communalism. There is no communalism in Bharat today except the new policy of Muslim appeasement which has been started by Mr. Nehru and his friends for the purpose of winning their votes at the forthcoming election. We have provincialism and other types of class or caste differences in the country today. Let us jointly try to remove these evils so as to lay the foundation for a truly democratic India. The cry of communalism raised by Mr. Nehru is to sidetrack the real issues now before the country. The problems before the country today are clearly related to hunger, to poverty, to exploitation, to mal-administration, to corruption, to abject surrender to Pakistan, all being evils for which the main responsibility rests on the Congress and the Government under it. Mr. Nehru, the Arch-Fascist of India, accuses others of fascism. Such efforts to hoodwink the public will meet with miserable failure.

We firmly believe that the inauguration of this party will usher in a new era of hope, peace and strength. Our goal and objective are sound but our success will depend on the organisation that we can set up and the confidence that we can create in the minds of the people themselves. That will take time and much patient labour. Let us not be completely over-shadowed by the forthcoming elections. No doubt we will face them boldly and

appeal to the electorate wherever we can to trust us with their votes explaining the view-points that we are claiming to advocate. There is however greater chance of defeating the Congress at the elections if there is at least electoral understanding among the principal parties in opposition. The main basis for such understanding should be popularity and confidence of the voters. The Congress has collected enormous funds and all sorts of pressures are being put upon various classes of people for getting their support for the Congress. It enjoys the powers of Government today and there is every likelihood that it will not hesitate to manipulate the official machinery for winning the elections. From our recent experience in Delhi elections it is feared that elections may not be free and fair. The manner in which the official machinery was utilised for the Delhi session of the Congress also indicates how Congress and Government have become synonymous expressions. Such abuse of power creates most unhealthy precedents. All opposition parties should, therefore, unite in demanding that the conditions for free and fair election should be scrupulously observed. Even Delhi elections, where the Congress has won, reveal interesting conclusions. Of the total voters barely 30 percent have voted for the Congress. Thus the majority of the voters are anti-Congress. This has been the case in the capital city of Bharat in spite of feverish and hectic efforts of the Prime Minister and others to win success for the Congress. But for the fact that the contestants were too many in number and in some places Congress gave tickets to non-Congress independents, the majority of the votes would have been cast against the Congress and the Congress would have been ultimately defeated. In any case our party, although barely two months old, has secured about 24 per cent of the total votes and in many cases the differ-

ence between the Congress candidates and ours was very small. This is no small achievement. Our workers must march ahead in full confidence of the justice of our cause and the support which we have already received in different parts of the country.

We enter upon our task with full faith, hope and courage. Let our workers constantly remember that only through service and sacrifice will they be able to win the confidence of masses of the people. The great task of revitalising and re-constructing free Bharat awaits us. The mother calls her children, irrespective of class, caste or religion to come to her and serve her. However dark the present clouds may be, Bharat has a great destiny to fulfil in the years to come. May our party whose symbol in the forthcoming election is a humble earthen 'Pradip' try to carry this 'light of hope and unity, faith and courage' to dispel the darkness that surrounds the country. The journey has just begun. May Providence endow us with strength and fortitude to remain ever on the right path, not cowed by fears or tempted by favours, and to help to make Bharat great and strong, spiritually and materially, so that she may become a fit and noble instrument in the preservation of world peace and prosperity. Jai Bharat !



**Presidential Address of Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira at the
Tenth Session of All India Bharatiya Jana Sangh
held in Bhopal on December 29, 30, 31, 1962.**

You have honoured me with your faith and confidence in this sombre hour in the march of our Motherland. May God give me strength and wisdom to bear the weight and carry the lamp a little farther.

Our Motherland is our sustenance. माता भूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्याः She is विश्वंभरा the filler of our vacuities, वसुधानी the repository of our values and valuables, प्रतिष्ठा our base and foundation, हिरण्यवत्ना golden-breasted, पप्रधाना strong and expansive. We pay our homage to Her. Every wee bit of the mother's soil is sacred and inalienable. Our rocks, mountains and deserts are ours in perpetuity. Let us re-sing the Vedic song that appeared at the very dawn of India's history :

गिरयश्च मे पर्वताश्च मे सिकताश्च मे
...यज्ञेन कल्पन्ताम् ।

I pour my offerings and take charge of these hills, mountains and desert lands.

ओजश्च मे सहश्च मे शर्म च मे वर्म च मे
...यज्ञेन कल्पन्ताम् ।

I pour my offerings and capture vigour and defiance, security and armour.

We have gathered here to re-live these words, to formulate and conceptualise our policies and attitudes in accordance therewith.

A Nation Without A Will To Arm

Two views present themselves to us—our own view and the view that the Chinese have set up. Events on our side are broadly clear. Before 1947 we did not engage ourselves with the economics, struggles and military make-ups of our neighbours. Our total gaze was fixed on our bondage and its makers, the British. We had no arms and we had to wriggle out. We found a way of collecting our armless people and our will to freedom and lo! the British began to recede. We propounded the thesis that armless meekness is more powerful than armed might. There came the Second World War. The British and their allies were victorious but they could not save colonialism. Not only India but Burma, Ceylon, Singapore and Malaya, Cambodia and Vietnam, Laos and Indonesia, even the unlettered races of the African bush and desert began to emerge as sovereign States. In the glow of the pride of our achievement we concluded that our carefully cultivated relinquishment of physical prowess and total attachment to what we conceived as good and right were the sole instruments of our success. We went farther into believing that somehow our non-violent methodology lay at the root of the liberation of other colonised lands and peoples as well. Non-violence had become our ideology and our dogma. The echoes of our joyous acclamations of 15th August, 1947 had

hardly subsided when Kashmir was invaded by hosts of marauders who cried 'Jehad' and carried fire and sword, sweeping our rocky ranges and descending as an avalanche over the valley of Jhelum.

Under the stress of the moment we forgot non-violence and started ferrying our armies and arms through hourly despatches of aeroplanes. Bullets were met by bullets. Pakistani troops, who were then about one-third of our own, could not withstand our superior forces. The invader began to recede. But as soon as the stress of the moment was over, our thinking went back to save our dogma. We halted the forward march. We argued peace and established a cease-fire line, voluntarily giving up one-third of Kashmir to be controlled and governed by men who had no legal right to it.

Pakistan made frantic efforts to increase her military power and did so. Indian eyes saw what was happening but the mind refused to think in any other direction but that of non-violence. Hence the eyes saw but there was no concern or worry, no thought of the future.

A Chain Of External Defence Posts

The British colonialists were men with a global over-view. As they developed their interests in India they arranged for her defence. They established military posts and approach lines far beyond India's frontiers. The first post was Gibraltar. Without the control of Gibraltar the British army would have to circumnavigate the continent of Africa. After Gibraltar there was the naval base of Malta and the 70 miles long Suez canal. Aden was the southern door that opened from the Red sea into

the Arabian sea. Between Aden and India were the Maladiv islands. In the south, Trincomali and farther to the east Singapore, served as powerful naval bases. In the north was instituted the Consulate at Kasghar. Such were the fortifications that the British had erected all round India. When India became independent these outposts were lost to her. With the signing of the Panch Sheel Agreement with China in 1954 we relinquished whatever hold we had in Tibet. We did not visualise, we did not calculate as to what the result could be. When the result began to appear we did not react in the normal way. We argued "Tibet belongs to China, whether the Chinese make roads, whether they bombard the temples and lamaseries, whether they amass arms, we are not concerned. It is their territory and their business". The Five-year Plans were our major concern. When the Chinese occupied Aksai Chin, our first reactions were those of playing down the invasion. The famous phrase that not a blade of grass grew there was a perfect epitome of the working our mind. We refused to accept a challenge to fight, to defend, to expel the intruders.

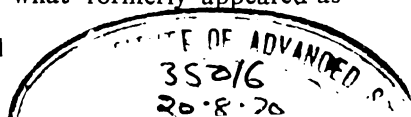
Combat Planning And Intelligence

During the British regime the overall military thinking for the defence of India was carried on by the General Staff in London. When the British left India the services of the British General Staff *ipso facto* became unavailable to us. We ought to have instituted a powerful enough military intelligence machine with adequate staff and scientific means to fulfil its national duty of land intelligence, air intelligence, published material intelligence and interception intelligence. We did not possess U-2 planes that

could fly 40 to 60,000 feet high and photograph minute details from the enemy's territory. We did not have trained specialists who would collect, analyse and reconstruct from the enormous mess of published Chinese materials, the political and military information that would have been of assistance to us in formulating our policies and postures. Interception intelligence which was so vital could be possible only with a far higher stage of scientific development than what we had attained. But if we had been so minded we could have trained our men in friendly countries.

Chinese Imperialism

Let us now have a view of China. The original home of the Chinese is the area irrigated by the three great rivers—Yellow, the Yangtse and the Canton river. Its extent is of the same order as that of India. But for several centuries the Chinese imperialists have been extending their territories. Pompously they called their domain the Celestial Empire. The small kingdoms on their periphery were considered barbarians and tributaries. Moreover, the people who once ruled over China, were subsequently absorbed into China. The Turks, the Mongols and the Manchurians, who had held sway for long periods over the Chinese, were ultimately Sinified and their lands added on to increase the mass of Celestial Empire. What was Eastern Turkistan in the 19th century now appears as Sin-Kiang. 'Sin' means new and 'Kiang' means a province. What was Manchu-Kuo till 1949 has now been split up into three provinces, Liao-Ning, Kirin and Hei-Lung-Kiang, the three together having been designated as North-Eastern region of China. Similarly what formerly appeared as



Tibet now appears on Chinese maps as three distinct regions, Tibet, Chamdo and Ching-Hai. Ching-Hai is again a Chinese designation, being a translation of the original Kokonor (Koko being 'blue' and nor 'lake'). Ching and Hai connote the same thing. The replacing of the original name by the Chinese one connotes that the province is now a Chinese one. From 1949 till 1954 Chinese maps used to write 'Tibet Autonomous Region' but after 1954 they simply registered 'Tibet', thereby taking away its autonomous character.

Tibet, Turkistan, Mongolia and Manchuria which have been appended on to China have a total area of 21 lakh square miles.

Tibet's Personality

India's security and defence is closely related to the independence of Tibet. Geographically Tibet is a distinct territory removed away from China. It is a domain by itself, so much so that uptill the 13th century it was a closed land even for their cousins, the Mongols.

Racially it is not the Chinese but the Mongols who are the kinsmen of the Tibetans. The racial differences between the Tibetans and the Chinese are clear and unmistakable. Like the Mongols the Tibetans are a race of nomads living in tents and wandering from one posture to another where their sheep and yaks can find nourishment. On the other hand, the Chinese are a settled agricultural community. They have been so since the beginning of history.

Culturally the Tibetans have never been the disciples

of China. The Chinese system of writing is ideographic and logographic and extends to 40,000 characters. The Tibetans have learnt their writing from India. In fact their history begins with Thon-mi-Sambhota who visited India under Royal command and here learnt the art of reading and writing. The Tibetan writing resembles Nagari and Bengali. From the seventh to the 17th century A.D. the Tibetans have been carrying loads of Sanskrit literature from India and translating them into their own language. From 792 A.D. they have not allowed Chinese to influence their literature and philosophy. Even Confucius, the father of Chinese culture, had nothing to do with the development of the Tibetan people.

The social and political system of Tibet is mostly of her own making. After more than a millenium Tibetan painters still retain the Indian background. Among ice-clad peaks stand out Indian saints and scholars, half-clad, retaining the company of Indian deer and the entire flora of the Gangetic plain. According to Tara Nath, the doyen of Tibetan historians, the Land of Snows received its first art teachers from Varendra in Bengal, but according to Sum-pa-Khampo, from Nalanda. Schools of Kashmir and South India, linked to Ajanta, contributed to the Tibetan arts, sometimes directly often through Nepal.

Tibet And China

At the very dawn of their history the Tibetans pressed on into China and in 635 their young King Song-tsen-gampo demanded and eventually received a Chinese princess as his bride. Song-tsen-gampo is the first great name in Tibetan tradition. It is he who created Tibetan

military greatness and the Chinese princess whom he got as his bride was the daughter of Emperor Tai-tsung, the founder of the Tang dynasty. The greatness of Tibetan achievement can be easily measured in the light of the strength and glory of the Tang empire of China.

After their first invasion of China the Tibetans extended their warlike activities in all directions with remarkable vigour. In 670 they laid the foundation of a Tibetan empire in Central Asia. They came in contact with Arab conquerors of Transoxiana. Harun-ar-Rashid, the Caliph of Baghdad, had to ally himself with the Chinese to protect himself from the Tibetans.

To China, the Tibetans were a constant source of trouble. To win respite the Chinese had to pay an yearly tribute of fifty thousand rolls of silk and in 763 when a new Emperor provoked their resentment by withholding the tribute the Tibetans captured the Chinese capital of Chang-an and set up for a short time the brother of the Tibetan King's Chinese wife as emperor of China.

Tibet and China were in those days two powers on an equal footing. In general, the Tibetans had the upper hand.

Now we come to the last phase, namely the Manchu period of Chinese history. The Manchu emperors were the disciple of the Dalai Lama. Tibetan temples were created in Peking and some other great cities of China. As Rockhill has clearly stated, the Dalai Lama remained an independent ruler of Tibet, although the Manchu kings tried to interfere with and influence his administration. Tibet remained a free country. The relationship of the

Dalai Lama with the Manchu emperor was more of a personal nature than that of one state with another. With the establishment of a Republic in Peking and the disappearance of the Manchu dynasty all relations between Peking and Lhasa were snapped. From 1912-1949 Tibet's freedom was firmly asserted and fully maintained.

And once a country is free its freedom cannot be destroyed on the basis of previous relations. As since 1892 so once again the British Government in India tried to throw Tibet into the grip of China by convening a Conference of Tibetan, Chinese and British plenipotentiaries at Simla. The Conference was held in October 1913. Lonchen Shatra, the Tibetan plenipotentiary, brought with him loads of documents bearing on the Tibetans' relationship with China during the past few centuries and repudiated the Chinese claim to Tibetan provinces and districts which China had militarily occupied from time to time. The Chinese plenipotentiary Mr. Ivan Chen had little evidence to oppose the loads of registers, laws, executive orders, tax accounts, bonds of allegiance, militia lists etc. that proved clearly and decisively the claim of Lhasa to rule their own countrymen. Sir Henry McMahon, the Indian Foreign Department Secretary, served as the British plenipotentiary. It was he who played the leading role in guiding deliberations and in arriving at decisions. The discussions extended over six months and it was on the 27th April 1914 that the Convention was initialled by the three plenipotentiaries. According to its provisions Tibet was divided into two zones: the zone contiguous to China was styled inner Tibet, the zone far removed from China but contiguous to Inner Tibet was styled Outer Tibet. It is Outer Tibet whose southern boundary formed the northern boundary

of India. The eastern part of this boundary is the McMahon Line.

The division of Tibet into two zones has a parallel in the two zones of Mongolia, Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolia. Inner Mongolia is that part of Mongolia which is contiguous with China. Like Inner Tibet, Inner Mongolia has been absorbed as a province of China. Chinese officials and troops are aided by Chinese colonialists in progressively converting Inner Tibet and Inner Mongolia into Chinese territories.

In the case of Outer Mongolia, Russia was able to exert her influence to the extent of ousting China altogether. Now Outer Mongolia is an independent sovereign state.

The provisions of the Convention were only initialled by the three plenipotentiaries. Two days after, on the 29th April 1914, the Chinese Government disowned the action of her plenipotentiary. China's disowning was caused by disagreement on the border line between China and Inner Tibet, as established in 1727.

After the breakdown of the Convention and consequently of its provisions concerning Tibet and China, things became easier for the Tibetans. The Tibetans constituted a good strong army and there was peace between Tibet and China. The breakdown of the Convention gave the Tibetans freedom from the grip of the British and the Chinese.

After the failure of the 1914 Convention to establish *de jure* relations with China, fighting broke out in 1917 and resulted in a crushing defeat for Chinese forces.

In 1928, the Kuomintang Government sent a Mission to Lhasa, not to force their suzerainty or to assert their historic aggressiveness, but to invite the Tibetans to join the Chinese Republic. This invitation was ignored.

Hostilities recurred in 1931 and 1932. The occasion was the effort of the Kuomintang Government to assert its authority over the territories of Amdo and Kham, where the Lhasa Government was operating. In 1936 the Tibetans routed the Chinese Communist forces from Kham.

India, Tibet And China

By the middle of 1949 the Communist armies had consolidated their hold of the whole of China. The People's Republic of China was formally inaugurated on the first of October. On the 24th of November Radio Peking announced to the world that the Panchen Lama had appealed to Mao Tse-tung to liberate Tibet. This was extraordinary, as the Panchen Lama at that time was only a boy of 13 years. This appeal was followed on the first of January 1950 by an official announcement that it would be one of the major tasks of the People's Liberation Army to 'liberate' Tibet. A few months later General Liu Po-chen announced the Chinese decision to bring Tibet back to the Motherland's big family.

Pressure was mounting.

The Tibetans, though desperately wanting to retain the factual status of independence that they had attained, were not able to resist the Chinese pressure to bring them to a talking table and to negotiate their future relations.

The Indian Government, anxious to avoid misunderstanding with the Chinese, suggested to the Tibetans to negotiate directly and to arrive at peaceful settlement. Having no way out, a Tibetan Delegation, headed by Mr. Shakabpa, reached New Delhi in August 1950. *India had no desire to involve herself. She did not feel any responsibility towards protecting Tibet. She did not sense any danger to herself. She did not sense that these negotiations are bound to lead to the loss of a vast buffer state. She did not sense that the People's Liberation Army would next be standing on her own mountain passes. India had only one thought, the thought of not getting involved.*

There were angry communications between the Indian and Chinese Governments. We quote hereunder a Chinese communication dated 30th October, 1950 :

“Tibet is an integral part of Chinese territory. The problem of Tibet is entirely a domestic problem of China. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet to liberate the Tibetan people and defend the frontiers of China. No foreign interference shall be tolerated.”

The Indian Government missed the threat embodied in the words ‘defend the frontiers of China’. The Indian Government advised the Tibetan Delegation to proceed to Peking and negotiate directly with Chinese. Thus India helped in sealing the fate of Tibet.

In the meantime, on 11th November, 1950, the Tibetan Government appealed for help to the United Nations. But under a belief, that was soon to be proved a total delusion, that a peaceful settlement safeguarding Tibet's

autonomy while maintaining its association with China would be reached, the Steering Committee of the Assembly decided to postpone the consideration of the appeal. Tibet was friendless and forlorn.

On 29th April 1954 India signed an Agreement with China renouncing all rights in Tibet and severing her long historical and neighbourly ties. Later on the 20th of September, 1956 the Indian Agreement led to Nepal's signing a similar treaty in which she surrendered the concessions she possessed in Tibet under the treaty of 1856. Accordingly on 18th March, 1957 the Nepalese withdrew their troops from Tibet. From now on the Chinese pressure on Tibet increased.

Tibet's Loss Of Freedom

We shall now pass on to the final scene. On 10th March 1959, Lt. Gen. Tan Kuan-san despatched directly to Dalai Lama a curt invitation to attend a cultural programme at the Chinese Military Headquarters. The Dalai Lama was asked to come unaccompanied by any of his ministers or his bodyguards. That his Holiness should appear unescorted was not only irreverent and against the laws of Tibetan protocol, it was clearly a noose to snatch him away from his people and use him as a helpless instrument. The first to hear the news was the great Mother, Gyeyum Chemmo, whose distressful wailings infested the milling crowds who had filled the streets.

Members of the Cabinet, the Kashag, and of the National Assembly, the Tsongdu, gathered in an anxious debate and issued a Proclamation of Independence. The Kashag and the Tsongdu were in continuous session up to

the 17th, until they came to a unanimous decision in the afternoon of March 17th—that the Incarnate Avalokiteshvara should leave Lhasa and march to safety beyond the reach of the Chinese. The decision was conveyed to His Holiness with pleadings to leave immediately. When the decision was made the sun was shining brilliantly. But with the coming of the evening a sand-storm swept Lhasa enveloping the palace and escape routes with a thick veil of gritty sand and dust. Nature had come to the help of the God-king. Around 11 p.m. His Holiness, dressed in the garb of a poor monk, shorn of his spectacles, swathing his face against the sand-storm, emerged from the south gate of Norbulingka, his summer palace. His Holiness and his three attendants passed unrecognized and unnoticed.

It was on the 19th that the Chinese discovered that His Holiness had left. Within a few hours they began a mammoth man-hunt by air and land, involving some 50,000 troops. Air operations were painstaking and thorough. The area which the Dalai Lama was traversing was over 300 miles wide and 70 miles deep. Only it was inhabited by the rebellious Khampa, Admo and Golok tribes. While the planes flew low over the valleys and passes and the troops combed villages and monasteries in a desperate attempt to intercept the Dalai Lama, dark clouds hung a protective canopy over the daylight marches of the Dalai Lama. It is curious but true that the clouds lifted and the sun shone brightly on the 1st of April to show to the Chinese pursuers that the Holy King had reached his journey's end into the Indian territory on the previous night.

After the Dalai Lama had left, the Chinese bombarded

the monasteries, derobed lamas and plundered the granaries and treasury chests of Potala, the largest sanctuary of historical artefacts, documents and statuary handed down from the times of Nalanda, Vikramshila and Pala and Sena dynasties of eastern India. The vandalism that was perpetrated has not yet been assessed. The population was put to all the large scale sufferings and tortures which a Communist terror brings with it. Libraries full of sacred and secular lore were burnt as if they had been stacks of hay. From Tengri at the base of Mount Everest up to Rudok the serene plateau was converted into noisy roads, air strips and military barracks. Each significant mountain pass was turned into a military post, jet bombers were posited for miles together and young Chinese from the littoral of Canton and Shanghai were lifted into thin, dry air to practise coming down by parachutes. It went on for 3 years until the Chinese had amassed on our borders an army bigger than that of India.

India continued nursing her dreams of World disarmament, and practising a philosophical and suicidal programme of no-preparations.

Mao's Armies

We shall now turn our attention to the course of Mao's combat strength. It was in 1928 that in collaboration with Chu-teh Mao conceived an ambitious plan of enlisting the Red Army. The ubiquitous bandits and members of secret societies were induced to join Communists. By 1932 he had an army of 75,000 men. In 1933 the Government commissioned well-equipped and well-trained loyal divisions to suppress the bandits.

Communist morale sagged and Mao made the decision to shift his base to Shensi province and undertook the celebrated march of 6,000 miles. 50,000 or more men perished on the way. The exhausted armies of the Reds eventually found shelter in the loess caves of Pao-An, from where they shifted on to Yen-an.

On the 7th of July, 1937, the Japanese entered the prosperous seaport of Shanghai. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek entered into "Sacred Union" with Mao and the two together prepared to fight the Japanese. It was a God-sent opportunity to Mao to enhance his forces and to equip them with national resources. Mao did not merge his men into the national army, he kept their separate identity. It is the universal practice of Communists that even when they have been given a legal status they continue their illegal activities and organisations. They utilise the protective umbrella of national recognition to enhance their power. By 1944, Mao had attained the high figure of 6 lakhs under arms.

On the 3rd of August 1945, the Japanese forces laid down their arms and six days later Soviet Russia joined the Allies and declared war upon Japan. Through the machinations of Stalin, the surrender of Japanese forces in China, Manchuria and Korea was received by Mao at Harbin instead of by Chiang Kai-Shek. This is known as the Harbin coup. Here Mao received vast dumps of arms and equipments, and with their help he was able to pursue the civil war to total success in 1949 when Mao got the control of continental China.

In 1950 there occurred the war between North and South Korea. Chinese 'volunteers' sided with the North

and invaded the South where they fought American men and arms for three continuous years and obtained valuable experience. By the end of 1953, Mao's armies had reached the stupendous figure of 5 million men. In 1954 the army was re-organised on the Russian model and cut down to half. To that was added 7 lakhs of a special People's Security Force to guard the interior and patrol the frontiers.

On the 28th of August 1958, the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued two orders of the greatest historical dimensions. According to the first order, 750,000 villages or Agricultural Production Co-operatives were recast into 26,000 Communes. Fields and crops, houses and furniture, clothes and cattle were transferred from the peasants to the Communes. Long dormitories were put up to house men, women and children, each separately. Sacred family graves were dug up and the bones of forefathers were pounded to supply manure to crops. Personal properties and individuals' desires were crushed in a nation-wide *coup de grace* and communism began its final act. The second order was the conversion of each person into a soldier. According to this order martial whistles and bugles woke men from their hard beds, sent them hurriedly to work for food and aligned them for a two hourly military drill everyday. Even small children practised on dummy guns of wood. Hsin-Hua boasted that 600 million men and women had been converted into 600 million fighters of liberation. I have before me Volume 118 of a dutch research journal named 'Bijdragen' in which Dr. E. Zurcher has given close description of Chinese communes. On page 15 he writes, "each commune forms a unit of the national militia. According to recent estimates, this provides the means for immediate

mobilisation of 30 million men and women with a reserve of another 130 million." At first sight one can hardly believe the massive figures.

Let us cast a look at the armies of other Communist Governments. The USSR, inspite of her atomic arsenal, still maintains 35 lakh of men under arms. To that may be added 11 crores of men in DOSAAF or paramilitary organisations, and at the back of these two stand 51 crore males who have received military training. Similarly in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other East European countries the general rule obtains—1.5 percent army, 7.5 percent militia and universal conscription for male youths. We can turn back to China and compare. In terms of proportions of population her army of 32 lakhs is only .5 percent and her militia of 5 crores is 5 percent, as to conscription it is not only the male population but the female as well who passess through the military mill and this does not come to an end after a year or two ; conscripted training is designed to continue for life.

Besides Communist China, North Korean regime has an army of over 350,000 men with good armour and artillery and an Air-force of over 700 jet aircrafts. Communist North-vietnam has close to 300,000 troops. These two provide China with useful strength on the two most sensitive flanks.

Counterbalancing Mao

All through the past 15 years of our independent existence India turned her blind eye to the developing military power in our neighbourhood. But it should not

be taken that the whole world was asleep. Since the North Korean attack on South Korea in June 1950. American forces equipped with atomic weapons have created the counterbalance to Communist strength.

Japan has a small army of 200,000 men with 1300 planes and a navy of 124,000 tons. But the strongest nations in the Far-East are South Korea and Formosa. South Korea has 600,000 well armed ground troops with a small fighter air-force.

The Chinese nationalists on Formosa have a total of 600,000 troops in uniform of whom 465,000 are in active navy, air-force and marine units. The air-force has considerable strength, over 500 aircraft. The regular army forces of Indonesia number 190,000, South Vietnam 200,000, Thailand 100,000, Burma 65,000, and Philippines 35,000.

From the counter-balance point of view Japan and Okinawa are the most vital military positions to the east of China, Japan as the principal supply base and Okinawa as the strongest complex of air bases.

Of American forces in the Western Pacific, the Pacific Fleet and the bulk of United States combat ground forces is located in South Korea and Okinawa, in each of which there are about 50,000 American troops. American military strategy in West Pacific and South-East Asia is based on the concept of mobile striking force operating from bases in the island chain stretching from the Aleutians to the Philippines and ready to respond to emergencies. This mobile strength is composed primarily of Air and Naval forces equipped with both conventional and

atomic weapons. The core of United States naval strength in the area is the 7th fleet, manned by 70,000 men and about 50 combat ships. From a number of bases such as Guam, the United States strategic Air Force is capable of striking at targets throughout the Far-East. The 5th and 13th Air-forces operate with up-to-date jets out of Okinawa and the Philippines.

This is a broad view of the Asian military situation. Let us now consider as what is the responsibility of India.

Our Geographical Obligation

Nature has put India in the centre of Southern Asia. As the single biggest country in the region India has to watch and guard the liberties of her neighbours across the mountains and beyond the seas whether to the north or the east and west.

India is the only country in Asia which has the resources to take up the challenge of China and to thwart her expansion to the south. India alone can muster a big enough army to stem and to roll back the human waves of Mao. India alone has the ideological basis to withstand the onslaught of communism. At present what India is lacking is the military will. With the assumption of military will India can go ahead with universal military drilling and mould an army as big as China's. India's technical, scientific and industrial base can be expanded to adequate limits. There are those who think that a democracy is genetically soft and slow. It may be true for times of peace but democracies have defeated totalitarian invaders in the past. In a Communist State people work

under terror, in a democracy they work to ward off the terror, and hence their greater power in the defence of the motherland. Invading armies may start well but when faced by determined defiance their morale flops.

We have full confidence in the capacity of India. There is no time to wait. We are in a state of emergency. India would do well to string together in a common purpose the countries that lie on the periphery of China and that are threatened by her. If there be nations that have been intimidated into meekness, even then India has to stand guard to maintain their security. India has to be the bulwark of freedom, fighting off the law of the jungle which has put on the mask of 'Communist Liberation'.

Adequate Military Preparations

So far the objective of India's foreign policy was very different from that of military prowess. The friendly countries have come forward to aid us in our need, let us accept their help gratefully and in full measure. India needs not only arms and equipment but also the factories to manufacture them. We have declared a state of emergency ; let us also capture the sense of emergency. What would have been done in normal times in 20 years must now be done in 20 months.

Both the Government and the people have their duties to perform. The first and foremost duty of the Government is the formation of a nation-wide army. Experts have expressed their opinion that India's immediate need is two million soldiers. Let us accept two million as our first target for recruiting volunteers. People are anxious to enlist, only there are not enough recruiting centres to

do so. For some time past the daily newspapers have been announcing to the nation contributions to the National Defence Fund and that keeps the enthusiasm of the masses rising from one level to another. In the same way if recruitment had been brisk and announcement could have been made from day-to-day, it would have given courage and confidence not only to our own people but to our friendly countries.

There should be a recruiting centre in each tehsil. There are 303 districts in India and about 1,500 tehsils. If there be an average daily recruitment of 50 men at each centre, the total for the whole of India would be 75,000 per day or 22½ lakhs in one month.

To this we may add three million retired soldiers, among them some would have passed the age of utility but there are others who could still fight or serve as training officers or render other services connected with the army. I am not aware of any timetable having been prepared by the Government for recruiting of so many men. In the absence of a phased programme neither the Government nor the people would be able to gauge the progress that is being made.

In all civilized countries compulsory military education is a part of every youth's training. Our small neighbour Thailand sends every boy of 18 to a military course of 18 months. In India the number of youths of the age of 18 is one percent or 44 lakhs. For the period of emergency initial training may have to be cut down to three or more months and so also the training of officers; later on the deficiencies in training can be made up.

As for civil defence the people have to take the keenest interest and help the Government in organizing Civil

Defence Corps in every village and town. The energy usually spent by political parties during elections should now be made available to Civil Defence. Every police station could train civilians in the handling of small weapons. Coming to know what they have to do when facing the enemy will add strength to their confidence and the liability to panic will be vastly diminished.

New military industries should be rapidly established. The problem of payments is not basic to the situation and should be shelved. Defence of India is the defence of democracy. India's defence industries will serve not only India but all the democracies from Africa to Philippines.

Supreme National Council

The public is wide awake and is determined to see that the Government does its duty. Since the massive Chinese invasion it is the nation which is guiding the leaders to go the correct way. The people must continue their vigil. The Government is formed by one party. The ideology of this party has all along been that of non-violence. How wrong this ideology has been, has been made patent by the happenings of the past years. Voices have been raised throughout the country that the Government should secure the cooperation of all nationalist parties in the country. But in my opinion an addition of three or four leaders of the opposition to the army of Congress Ministers is not likely to bring about a major change in the thinking and working of the Government.

Policies shall continue to be formulated by the Prime Minister and the majority party. Members of the opposition would simply be drowned in the ocean of the Congress. Our clear demand must be for the institution of a Supreme National Council for deciding all the policies and programmes including foreign aid and foreign alignments. It should be constituted of the leaders of different political parties except the communists and pacifists. It should again be the business of this very Council to supervise the implementation of the programmes. The Council's overall purpose would be to increase our defensive and striking strength in the air as well as on land and sea, so that the Chinese, who are currently amassing fresh air and land forces in Tibet, be not in a position to attack us again. This responsibility can not continue to be shouldered by one party and one man. The crisis is too deep and heavy to be grasped and crossed over by any one but the nation as a whole.

India's Defence Is Pakistan's Defence

Under the stress of Chinese invasion, friends of India have been pressurizing us to solve the Kashmir dispute. Pakistan is threatening her Western friends that if the Kashmir issue is not solved to her satisfaction, she may even leave SEATO. Pakistan is already wooing China. For the last decade, England and America have been aiding Pakistan with modern weapons in order to make of her a bastion against communism. Now if Pakistan goes over to Communist China that creates a new headache. India's security also would not be served if Pakistan continues to be hostile on the Western front while China is threatening us on the Himalayas. The people of Pakistan were our kith and kin till 1947. The

same blood flows in their veins. They speak the same languages. If there could be a change in their hearts, India would welcome it but Pakistan wants to trade her good will for the Kashmir valley. We have only this much to say that if there be an agreement, it should be a stable one. And it can be stable only, if there is justice and fair play. An agreement under pressure could neither be just nor fair. And finally, if Pakistan does not consider an invasion of India to be a prelude to an invasion of Paklstan, and if instead of fighting it now she wants to play the part of Jai Chand, then what sense can there be in talking about on agreement over Kashmir.

Social Justice

We have to devote our time, attention and energy to the utmost to achieve security and defence. Whatever energy is left over we must devote to social justice within the country.

The weaker sections of the society are too weak to stand up by themselves. The vast majority of the masses earn no more than one rupee per head per day or even less. How to raise the floor of these lowliest men is the socio-economic problem of the first magnitude. Even in the national and provincial capitals and industrial cities where there is concentration of wealth, thousands and lakhs of men and women in the lower echelons are obliged to lead sub-human existence. In the cities of Calcutta and Bombay half a million men have their nightly abode on roads and pavements. In Delhi, Madras and Kanpur, over a million men shelter their women and children in unhealthy and cramped shanties. The conscience of the society and the resources of the Government have not yet

been moved to the upliftment of these sons of mother India. The administrators find reasons in their law codes to argue the ousting of these men from the hearts of the cities. They still treat them as economic pariahs. We are convinced and we are determined to see that the poverty-ridden people in the cities be taken care of and that national finances be utilized to erect pucca civilized homes for them. To use a spiritual term they are the "Daridra Narayana" whom the well-to-do should worship and be blessed thereby. It is our social and human obligation. The brotherhood of man will find its consummation on the day when we lead these unfortunate men and their families into modern homes and when we give them the training and the means to achieve the normal life of a human being.

As to half a million villages, they are so many slums. Parents have no hopes, for they have no resources to build up the future of their progeny. For months on end they are obliged to remain idle. The Five Year Plans have done something but much more is yet to be done. Only 20% of the fields bear two crops in a year. The remaining ones depend on the caprices of monsoons and raise one crop in a year. The water resources of the 29 river basins in the country have been estimated to possess 140 crores of acre feet of water, out of which our engineers have not utilized more than 20 crore acre feet. In the case of Ganges and its tributaries only 7 crore acre feet has been harnessed to quench the thrust of dry crops. Another 33 crore acre feet is annually poured into the sea. It is no occasion to dilate on the issue. Here I have only to point out that even in regard to the fundamental requirement of growing food, we have been slow and inefficient, which is again due to the lack of correct ideas

and to feebleness of mind and effort. All taken together the result is that there has not been much diminution in economic injustice. The disparity between villages and towns, between the educated and uneducated, between the rich and poor, and overall the disparities of opportunities are building up nation-wide resentments. The promised revolution has not arrived. On the one hand there is sloth, petty-mindedness, corruption and callousness, on the other disintegrating forces allied to international communism are eating into the vitals of society. To achieve and maintain national solidarity, security and advancement we have to work for the removal of ideologies that preach hatred, plunder and barbarity. Although communism promises liberation from hunger and exploitation and holds out dreams of heaven on earth, yet it is the agent of a new colonialism the like of which the world has not witnessed. We have to work hard and long to carry the message of socio-economic equality to all and to see that the State does not only make pious declarations but also translates them into the life of the people.

Exploitation of the lower echelons by higher groups continues unabated. The establishment of State industries follows the same pattern. The concept of class struggle has not been replaced by that of mutual love and benefit.

The society has not fixed its economic targets and consequently has not started working towards them. It would hardly be 5 per cent of the population which may be said to have arrived at an international level of economic well-being. There would be another 5 per cent which is striving to reach the international level, but the rest is so low down in the scale that unless massive efforts are made, there would be no hope for a general rise in their

situation, worker by worker, family by family, region by region. The Government's Five-Year Plans make no provision for such a rise.

The demand of the second half of the 20th century is the evolution of each and every individual member of the nation. That a few should evolve and the rest remain wallowing in dust will not be tolerated. Social peace is dependent on universal rise. India will be able to stand up against communism, when the mirage presented by communism is translated into reality by the devotees of democracy and of social equality. We know that what communism promises, it is not able to deliver. The inner aim of a Communist State is not the providing of a happy life to its people, but the development of a mighty military state machine which terrorises over its own people and exploits them to the maximum. A human being is reduced to an automation without personal desires and satisfactions. The day when communism is ushered into a country millions are liquidated. A reign of terror is spread as a matter of cold-calculated policy. Sons and daughters are taught the virtues of reporting the conversations of their parents. Wives are used against husbands. People are afraid of walls, doors and windows. In China, the people in villages have lost their homes and furniture, their fields and cattle. A Chinese peasant today has only one possession which cannot be passed on to another and that is the tooth-brush. Communist China is now poised with her teeming armies to spread her bleakness and misery into the rest of Asia. Thousands of her agents are operating in the rural and urban areas of our country and deceiving the ignorant masses with false accounts. Those who have not seen China or have not read enough about her would do well to visit Hong Kong and contact the million and

half of Chinese refugees from the mainland and assure themselves that India and the rest of Asia cannot be the willing recipients of Chinese tortures.

Only democracy can serve us and only through democracy shall we strive for and attain higher standards of existence just as they have already been attained in the 30 and odd lands of the globe.

Planning For The People

But we must point out that Five-Year Plans of the Government have been conceived and executed so poorly that with every rise in the national income there is also a corresponding rise in the price level. We must plan afresh, with more vigour, with a deeper sympathy and with higher goals.

There are $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakh villages in India. Community Development Blocks have been created to improve them. On an average, a Block covers about 80 thousand people. To each unit, the Block funds allot Rs. 12 lakhs for five years, out of which 2 lakhs are consumed by the administrative machine, and the rest 10 lakhs are available for utilisation for 5 years. This works out to two rupees and a half per person per year. With this money the Blocks are able to erect a panchayat-ghar, repair a few roads and give minor reliefs by way of a dispensary and a school-room here and there. It gives some relief to the people, but it certainly does not affect their living standards.

For improving living standards, I may enunciate three basic principles :

(a) There should be an increase in the money income of every worker, (b) there can be an increase in the money income only when there is an increase in his production, and (c) increase in production can be effected only by increase in investment. Investment includes the investment of new skills, new means and more money.

An average peasant may have a pair of bullocks costing as high as Rs. 2,000 and a holding of five acres valued at about Rs. 5,000. To this he brings to bear his knowledge and practice of agriculture acquired through tradition and personal experience. With this he is able to produce, in low areas, about 10 maunds of wheat per acre per year and earns thereby 700-800 rupees for the entire family. To increase this amount he should increase production. Ten maunds per acre can be raised to 20, 30 or even more maunds. One crop a year can be increased to two crops a year. That would be raising production six-fold. This increase cannot be achieved by investing $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per head per year. The first essential is water, 25 inches for wheat and 50 inches for rice. Besides water, more and better manure, better seeds, better implements, better procedures have to be invested. All this needs money, organisation and planning on an intensive scale. To add to this if the peasant could be provided with two or three high quality milk cattle (cows and buffaloes) each yielding 8 to 10 seers of milk daily, the peasant would be able to sell half his milk and earn 5 to 6 rupees a day. Small subsidiary home industries would be useful in the slack season.

Planning each family's rise to a surperior level is a new planning concept for India. It has been worked out on the national scale in my book "Micro-Planning". The

same is getting ready in Hindi version under the title “Jana Yojana”. The objective of democratic planning is the fulfilment of the individual in his own right as well as an organ of the nation. The individual is the micro-nation and the nation the macro-individual.

Continuous Progress

Our view of life is inspired by our culture and the process of progression is best expressed in Vedic phraseology—

उत्तरो ऽहं सर्वेषां समानानां भूयासम् ।

उत्तरो ऽहं सर्वेषां समानानां भूयासम् ।

The place which we occupy today either as individuals in society or as a nation among other nations, we would do well to follow the Vedic aspiration that we shall constantly endeavour to rise above our equals and when we have reached a higher level, again we shall endeavour to rise above them and so on from one level to another, till we have reached the very top.

Human life is compared to four ages, Satya Yuga, Treta Yuga, Dvapara Yuga and Kali Yuga. Kali Yuga is the dark age. A person lying down with sloth and inactivity represents the Kali Yuga. When he sits up, he attains the Dvapara level, when he stands up he attains the level of Treta. It is only when he begins to walk and move forward that he enters the age of Satya, which is rightly re-named as Krita Yuga, the age of activity. Let me repeat the famous words :

कलिः शयनो भवति
संजिहानस्तु द्वापरः ।
उत्तिष्ठंस्त्रेता भवति
कृतं सम्पद्यते चरन् ॥
चरैवेति । चरैवेति ॥

Our rivals and detractors accuse us of facing the past. Let us prove it to them that we do not face the past and that our gaze is constantly fixed on the future. Yes, our roots go deep, and we are proud of it. Our history does not begin with the 19th century Marx. It goes back to the early dawn of history. The knowledge and experience of the human race is there to guide and inspire us. Science and technology are the material means by which we shall convert our future into the brightest epic of our exertions. Mother India is the wide stage for the performance of our role. We are conscious of our deficiencies and mistakes. We recognise them and are endeavouring to get over them. We shall build the India of tomorrow with energy and understanding. We shall resist and fight the invasion of our country by tyrannical and deceitful ideologies. We shall cross over the straits in which we have been landed by wrong thoughts and by lack of building up military strength. We realise that the danger to our liberty is the direct consequence of the loss of Tibet's liberty. If Tibet cannot be liberated and put again on the map of the world as a sovereign State, it would be hard to defend our own liberty.

Nation's Self-expression

After having dealt with political, military, social and economic problems, I shall come to the Nation's vital need

of self-expression. Each civilised nation has naturally used its own linguistic medium for transacting its public life. It is a curious irony of independence that even after 15 years of the passing away of the colonial status, India has not got rid of the colonial stage. The Government that is being run by the Congress Party is proposing to continue English even after 1965. The colonial bureaucracy that has monopolised government, law courts and education is jealous of its power and privileges and will not allow the coming up of the languages of the masses to take their rightful place in the administration, law courts and universities. Our Anglocracy has even set up rivalries between different Indian languages. The interest of one language is considered to be inimical to that of others. Our Anglocracy has transgressed the boundaries of national honour. It argues that the unity of the country can only be maintained by tying the country in the chains forged by the colonial administration. The truth is that as long as English occupies the place of power and prestige the Indian people will not be able to participate either in democracy or in the fruits of higher learning. Only when English is removed out of the way, shall Indian languages and literatures come near to each other. Let us examine if there are any real areas of conflict between the different Indian languages. Of the 14 languages, Sanskrit does not occupy any geographical area and hence does not contend with any language. The place of Sanskrit is as the language of inspiration. Sanskrit is the source language from where words and ideas have been drawn since the beginning of history. The other Indian languages are either the direct descendents of Sanskrit or have been receiving sustenance from it. Of the remaining 13 languages, Hindi is the mother-tongue of seven States, namely, Himachal Pradesh, Southern Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya

Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Bihar. In terms of geolinguistics, Hindi may be said to be the heart or the central language, on the periphery of which lie other languages. To the north-west of Hindi lie Punjabi and Kashmiri, to the north Nepali, to the north-east Assamese, to the east Bengali and Oriya, to the south Telugu, Kannada and Marathi, to the west Gujarati. On the boundaries there is a wide belt where people are bilingual. Millions of people speak Hindi and Punjabi, Hindi and Assamese, Hindi and Bengali, Hindi and Oriya. Hindi and Telugu, Hindi and Marathi or Hindi and Gujarati. They do so from their childhood onwards. In the same way there are wide bilingual belts between Marathi and Kannada, Kannada and Telugu, Telugu and Oriya, Tamil and Malayalam. Each language is surrounded by two or more languages. Taking Telugu, it is surrounded by five languages, namely, Oriya, Hindi, Marathi, Kannada and Tamil. Tamil has a bilingual belt with Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu. And so on. Our languages are not living in isolation. They have had a common history, Our religions and philosophies, arts and sciences have been developed through close cooperation of all linguistic areas and they are reflected in the community of terms of higher culture. At the same time, each language is occupying a precise geographical area. With the formation of monolingual States, the people of each State have decided upon the language of administration, law courts and education in their State. Here the Centre has not interfered. For inter-provincial contacts and central unity, we have Hindi. Those who are trying to build up resistance against Hindi and thereby are thinking that they are serving their own language are sadly mistaken. The fate of the central language immediately reflects on the provincial languages. If the States use provincial languages

only then it would be possible for the Centre to use the central language, and vice versa. The removal of the central language *ipso facto* works of the removal of the State languages. Indian unity cannot be forged from outside. It must develop from inside. The bond of unity, however, may not be monolingual but multi-lingual. While Hindi may be taught in non-Hindi States, Hindi States must of necessity teach other Indian languages to the Hindi speakers. The literature of Kashmiri or Malayalam is as much Indian as that of Tamil or Bengali. In fact, the diverse literatures in State languages are complimentary to each other and are essential for a correct and detailed view of India, vertically throughout the ages, and horizontally all over her wide expanse. In fact, there is so much common linguistically and conceptually that when passing from Assamese to Kannada, we are only discovering a new facet of what is essentially one.

Since the treacherous Chinese invasion, the Government have decided to postpone the introduction of a Bill to continue English for an indefinite period for all the purposes for which it has been used so far. We welcome this move of the Government but we decry the statements and expression of views in which the Home Minister and other protagonists of English have indulged with regard to finding the earliest opportunity to introduce this black Bill. Let me warn the Government that it would meet with the strongest opposition to any such efforts. Two per cent men who control national life through the strangulating English leash cannot defy the 98 per cent for ever. It is the duty of all understanding Indians that their vigilance has to be extended from the invasion of our boundaries to the invasion of our tongues within our boundaries. Free India must be free linguistically as well.

It is not possible to develop the nation excepting through its own mother-tongues. Whatever development the Chinese have made during the last 13 years has been done through their own mother-tongue. The Japanese emerged within the short span of 30 years from middle ages into a strong modern power and defeated the big giant Russia. They could not have worked the miracle through a foreign tongue.

We shall continue to teach English. Not only that. We shall add to English the teaching of German and French, Russian and Japanese. But this will be for specialists. The medium of instruction, the medium of administration, the medium of law courts shall be the people's tongues. The protagonists of English threaten us with Balkanisation. That is a false cry. That denotes utter lack of realisation of the fundamental unity of our society, culture and languages. That also ignores the unifying language, Hindi. If we should accept the logic of the Anglocrats, we should have to liquidate our provincial languages altogether. The 98 per cent population which does not know English is now assigned to the lowest job, i.e. that of peons. Another limit to the extent to which a non-English knowing Indian can operate is the Tehsil and District. The 98 per cent population shall not tolerate it. It is an injustice which has to be done away with immediately. Thus the linguistic struggle is a struggle for the liberation of democracy. The Constitution had clearly laid it down in 1950 that English shall not continue after 15 years. If the Government has not trained Indians, all of whom speak one Indian language or the other, into the art of running its machines through Indian languages, the fault cannot be laid at the doors of the people. Let us declare unequivocally that the Anglophilic oligarchy can be turned

into a true Indian democracy, only when each State functions through the language of the people of the State at all levels and in all matters. No restrictions can be placed on the extent to which the people will use their language. For recruiting new men to Central services, a quota may be fixed so that non-Hindi speakers should participate in due numbers. Mutual love and respect in the linguistic sphere are essential ingredients of national unity.

*

*

*

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is a rising and progressive force. It seeks to align itself with all national and patriotic forces. It takes a national overall view of social, cultural, economic, political and military issues. In its short life of 10 years, it has demonstrated its vitality and virility.

Friends and compatriots, let us all join in a country-wide effort to muster the defensive potential of the nation and constitute it in an invincible instrument of the people's will.



**Presidential Address by Shri Deendayal Upadhyaya
at the Fourteenth Session of All India Bharatiya
Jana Sangh held in Calicut on
December 28, 29, 30, 1967.**

Fellow delegates,

You have entrusted to me this year the responsibility of party Presidentship. Ours is an organisation of workers, all engrossed in building up the party with equal zeal and devotion. That you have called upon me to fulfil this particular constitutional obligation and thus honoured me is token only of your own generosity and affection, which indeed I have been receiving in liberal measure during the past fifteen years that I have been General Secretary. It is this generous affection of you all that is going to be my mainstay hereafter too.

Conjunction Of Two Eras

We are meeting today in Kerala, this land hallowed by Bhagwan Parashuram's *tapas*. In point of time we are at the conjunction of two eras. During the half century gone by, the country's mind has been dominated completely by the Congress and its ideology. Its leaders have been not only the framers of national policy but the arbiters of contemporary life-values as well. After independence, the reins of government also came into their hands. While this is no occasion for any elaborate stock-taking of the Congress' performance, it cannot be gainsaid that awakening of political consciousness in the

common man has been the most significant contribution of this era. If this political consciousness, unpolluted by the exigencies of day-to-day politics, had been made an instrument for the country's resurgence on a positive national basis, we would have made considerable progress by now and the country might have been spared the problems which beset it today. The new era, at whose threshold the country stands today, should be a positive manifestation of this political awakening. There are people in the country who are still chained to the age gone by. Then there are others who are ignorant of national values, or have scant regard for them, and so are readily influenced by foreign concepts. The country's transition into the new era, therefore, is not being smooth. It is accompanied by severe strains and struggles. It is against this background that we must analyse present problems and draw up our policy.

Search For An Alternative

Portents of the coming revolution had become visible in August-September, 1965, when India's brave legions proved their valour against Pakistani aggression. The policies framed by the Congress regime in the wake of these events demonstrated only its utter incapacity to function as the instrument of the coming revolution. The result was that the people began longing all the more intensely for emancipation from Congress misrule. With the Fourth General Election, the process has started for Congress' gradual withering away. If opposition parties had been better organised then, the results would have been even more convincing. In comparison to other parties, the Jana Sangh's achievements in the election have been considerably significant. But in relation to the

demands of the situation, the results left much to be desired. However, the outcome of these elections clearly proved to the people the Jana Sangh's potential of growing into a clear alternative to the Congress. It is this confidence created in the people which accounts for the sharp rise in the party's popularity and its organisational expansion after the elections.

Nature Of Problems

Post-election problems can be classified into three categories. Firstly, there are the problems pertaining to the politics of transition. Inter-party relations, instability of coalition ministries, floor-crossing etc. are problems which fall in this category. To the second category belong those problems which stem from our constitutional set-up but which had either not arisen as yet, or had not confronted us as seriously as now. And thirdly, there are the manifold problems relating to economic, defence, home and foreign affairs which, because of the impolicies of the Congress Government, have become very grave now. Problems of the first category are of immediate topical interest and so generally evoke the maximum of public comment and debate. But they are less important than those in the other two categories. If these latter problems are not properly tackled, they can jeopardise the country's unity and interests seriously.

Conduct Of Governors

The first problem which faced opposition parties after the elections was that except in Delhi and Madras, no where else was any single party able to secure a clear majority and so be able to form an alternative non-

Congress Government by itself. Appreciating the requirements of the situation and in deference to the verdict of the electorate various non-Congress parties came together to form coalition governments in Punjab, Bihar, West Bengal and Kerala. In Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, however, in the teeth of public opposition, the Congress contrived to worm its way into office with the assistance of the State Governors. In Uttar Pradesh, they could not hold on to office for long; but in Rajasthan, by taking recourse to various devious means, they have managed to increase their majority considerably.

The arbitrary conduct of the Governors in the above cases, then later in Madhya Pradesh at the time of the fall of the Mishra Government, and again recently in West Bengal, Haryana and Punjab, has lowered the prestige of this august office and weakened regard for constitutional proprieties. As Governors are the representatives of the Centre, the Central Government must own full responsibility for their actions. By declining to take the onus of their actions the Central Government has only created mistrust about its own bonafides and confirmed misgivings that they are intent on using the office of Governor only as a facade behind which they might further their own party ends.

The demand has been voiced in some quarters that the Governor's should be an elected post. I do not think that that would solve the problem. Exceptional occasions apart, the Governor is only a constitutional head. Appointees to this post, therefore, should be men of integrity capable of exercising their discretion in a judicious manner and in whose impartiality there is general confidence. I think that it would be better if instead of

selecting rejected politicians or retired civil servants for this job, the Government turned its eyes to retired judges of the Supreme Court. A list may be drawn up on the basis of their dates of retirement and posts of Governors falling vacant hereafter may be filled by these judges in their order of priority. If some such convention is followed, neither the consent of the State Government concerned, nor the wishes of the Home Ministry would have any relevance.

Performance Of Coalition Governments

On the administrative level, the coalition governments did present a better alternative to the Congress, but they did not offer any comprehensive set of policies and programmes in substitution of the Congress'. Actually, I think, they were not intended to. It is a matter of regret that some of the constituents of these coalitions failed to appreciate the ideological limitations under which such coalitions would necessarily have to function, and tried to use these governments as instruments for the execution of their respective party policies. As the result of this partisan approach and lack of a sense of responsibility, these governments have been subject to internal strains, and have had always to work under a shadow of uncertainty. It must be recorded, however, that despite all these handicaps, despite the limited resources and rights of the states, and despite continuing Central machinations to topple non-Congress governments, these coalitions have during their brief term of office brought relief to the people in many matters. Of course, they who expected these governments to work miracles might have been disappointed.

If this coalition experiment has given birth to a sense of realism and a habit of objective political appraisal that, in itself, would be a gain. Also, the formation of these Governments has been a commendable step in the direction of eradicating political untouchability. A readiness to appreciate an opponent's viewpoint and a willingness on the part of different parties to work together in spite of variations of policy is an index of a democratic temperament and of the nation's basic homogeneity. Whatever be the future of these coalition governments, I wish we are able to conserve this achievement.

Parliamentary Democracy On Trial

The strains inside these coalitions and the political instability resulting from the continued efforts to topple these Governments, or from their fall, have prompted many to suggest that the present cabinet form of Government be discarded in favour of the Presidential system. Shri Ashok Mehta has suggested that the system be introduced only at the State level. I really fail to understand why a distinction is sought to be made between the Centre and the States. Fact is that the systems of Government in Britain and in the U.S.A. have grown out of their history. Instead of trying merely to imitate the one or the other, let us try to evolve democratic practices suited to our own genius. Actually, during the past 50 years or so we have been working with the parliamentary system of Government. It would be more fruitful if we try to mould this to suit our changing politics. Instead of conventions relevant to the two-party democracy of the British Parliament, let us develop conventions suited to the multi-party pattern of Indian

politics so that the instability of the transition period can be avoided. A convention can be accepted, for instance, that no Government would resign except on the adoption of a no-confidence vote against it by the legislature. Another convention which might be evolved in conjunction with the above one is that if a majority of the members of a legislature request the Speaker that the House be convened, a meeting of the legislature would be invariably summoned.

Problem Of Floor-Crossing

Floor-crossing by legislators is another issue which has occasioned much comment in the context of the formation and fall of Governments lately. Floor-crossing is no new phenomenon. Quitting the Congress on the eve of elections and re-joining it after the elections has been a familiar feature of Indian politics, and the birth of several parties and the dissolution of others can be traced to this feature. Even those who may not have left the Congress have been shifting their factional loyalty within the party very frequently. As a result of all this, even though outwardly the Congress' name has been a constant, Congress Ministries have been in a state of perpetual instability and have often fallen too. After independence Congress and Congressmen have betrayed a singular lack of idealism and direction. It is therefore that they have been inclined to behave thus. Ninety-nine per cent of those guilty of floor-crossing are either Congressmen or ex-Congressmen. As the policies and programmes of parties crystallize on the basis of well defined principles, their organisations become stronger and political enlightenment of the masses grows and enables them to exercise their vote on the basis of a

party's platform, this tendency of floor-crossing will automatically decline.

It has been suggested that legislative steps be taken to check opportunistic floor-crossing. Rather than take recourse to law to control law-makers, it would be better to leave the matter to convention and the pressure of public opinion. After all, every legislator is responsible not only to his party but to his constituency and the country as well. It would not be easy to fit all these varied obligations of his into a rigid legal scheme. If, however, political parties could agree on a code of conduct in this regard, opportunism can be suitably checked. Also, if instead of having electors vote for individual candidates on the British pattern, we could have the Lists System in which votes are cast for the party, many of the evils of present-day politics might be obviated. Perhaps, a synthesis of both these patterns on the lines of West Germany might suit us best.

Centre-States Relations

The Congress continues to rule at the Centre while in the States we have several non-Congress Governments. This has invested the issue of Centre-States relations with considerable political importance. Our Constitution is federal in form but most of its provisions reveal a unitary bias. The political situation prevailing during the last 20 years and the existing planning and financial arrangements have made the Centre all the more powerful. In the [past, as the Congress held sway at all levels, no one ever challenged the Centre's dominance or alleged misuse of authority by the Centre. The Congress High Command also exercised its influence to see that Centre-

States relations remained smooth. The situation has now changed, however. Several States are now in the hands of non-Congress Governments. They wish to serve the people according to their own concept. They should be given a full opportunity to do so, and provided resources to meet their obligations.

The sovereign authority of the nation vests in the Central Government. In its dealings with the State Governments, let the Central Government show an awareness of this responsibility, and act in a liberal and impartial manner. If, instead, they keep looking at things from the narrow party standpoint and try to explain away pettiness of approach by citing powers conferred on them by the Constitution, they would only be harming the country's interests. Nationalists would feel sore and frustrated while those interested in promoting disintegration and disruption would exploit the situation only to challenge and weaken the Centre's authority. The conduct of Communists in West Bengal and Kerala is a pointer. In order that Centre-States tension should not imperil the country's unity, it is necessary that while on the one hand the structure of our Constitution is made unitary, on the other, financial and other powers presently concentrated in the Centre should be decentralised in favour of the States to enable them discharge their functions responsibly.

Wanted : Permanent Finance Commission

Financially, the States today are badly dependent on the Centre. The Constitution so divides resources and obligations between the Centre and the States that the entire burden of Administration, Public Welfare and

Development lies on the States while all the elastic and rich resources of revenue are with the Centre. Although States do get a share of income-tax and excise duty on the basis of recommendations made by the Finance Commission they have to depend very greatly on discretionary grants from the Centre. In 1951-52, 29.4 per cent of the States' expenditure came from Central resources. According to the revised figure for 1966-67, this amount has risen to 55.3 per cent. Over the same period the Centre's discretionary grants to the States have risen from 7 per cent to 19 per cent of the States' expenditure. Obviously, this state of affairs militates against the spirit of responsible government. It has to be changed. A demand is being made that the Constitution should be amended for the purpose. I think that without amending the Constitution, a flexible arrangement can be devised to meet the requirements of the changed situation. The Finance Commission, which is now appointed every five years, can be made a permanent body, and grants and loans under Article 282 given by the Central Government in its own discretion may be brought within the purview of the Commission's recommendations.

Tax-Structure Needs Re-Examination

In the same context, it needs to be observed that States also should consider how fully to exploit their own revenue resources. No doubt, there is a need to lessen the tax burden and to simplify the existing machinery for tax realisation. But I must say that the present taxation policies of several State Governments bear the impress more of political slogans than of Governmental responsibility. Many revolutionary ideas are now being

propounded in respect of land revenue, income-tax, sales tax, etc. It would be well if all these proposals are submitted to scientific scrutiny before a final decision is taken in their regard because these taxes have been till now important sources of revenue.

Even otherwise, there is imperative need for a commission to examine the entire tax structure. It was in 1953-54 that the last Taxation Enquiry Commission had been constituted. The first Plan had only been launched then. Now, three Plans have been completed. In 1951-52, the total tax revenue of the Centre and the States was Rs. 638 crores whereas the estimated tax revenue for 1967-68 is Rs. 3599 crores. During this period land revenue has been doubled, income tax and company tax quadrupled, sales tax increased 9 times and excise duty 18 times. These taxes have off and on been increased on an ad hoc basis and later the increase has been made permanent. Again, there are commodities which have been subjected to excise duty, sales tax as well as octroi duties and terminal taxes. This has naturally increased their price. During the last 15 years there have been vast changes in the distribution of incomes. The value of the rupee has gone down steeply. States have been reorganised and today the Plan itself is being reconsidered. Because of all these considerations, appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Commission is necessary. This Commission might consider all problems of economic development, capital formation, public welfare, the need to remove disparities and the requirements of decentralised government, and in that light make recommendations about existing taxes and the tax structure.

Devaluation Has Harmed Economy

The country's economy has been causing anxiety since

several years but lately it has deteriorated rapidly. Signs of recession had started showing in the beginning of 1965. With the cessation of foreign aid and imports during the war with Pakistan, industries whose production was dependent on imported raw materials and spare parts from abroad were seriously affected. But at that time the country was psychologically prepared to face such adversity. As a result programmes of import substitution were undertaken on a large scale and a feeling of confidence took roots that the country was all set on the way to self-sufficiency. But even before these efforts could bear fruit, the Government succumbed to foreign pressure and devalued the rupee. Relying on the Rs. 750 crores united foreign loans available, it liberalised imports. This policy adversely affected the trade and industry of the country. The quantum of foreign loans increased, so did the prices, but the pace of industrial production did not grow. In some industries, production for 1966 was even less than that for 1965. The object of export promotion also was not realised. The balance of payments position on trade account for 1966-67 shows an adverse balance of Rs. 773.4 crores, which is higher than that for the preceding year. In the sphere of foreign trade the same trend still persists. Devaluation thus has done harm to our economy.

It appears, however, that in spite of this, international forces are exerting once again to impose on us yet another dose of devaluation. By threatening to resign if anything of that sort happens, Deputy Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai has given an indication of firmness. But unless those basic ills are remedied which account for an adverse balance of payments position and which compel us to approach foreign governments with a

begging bowl, it may not be possible to sustain even the present value of the rupee.

Ad-hoc-ism Will Not Do

Comprehensive measures are called for to counter the effects of growing recession and to impart dynamism to the economy. It is a matter of regret that the Government does not seem to appreciate the gravity of the situation and has made little effort to analyse it carefully. A casual consideration of problems and adoption of ad-hoc measures only to solve them will not do. The devaluation decision of June 1966 was based on the analysis that the slump in economy had been caused by paucity of imported raw materials. And in this year's budget this aspect has been ignored, and drought and shortfall in agricultural production have been blamed for the economic crisis. Then, some engineering industries are sought to be kept alive with the assistance of executive orders from the Railway Department. There is no realisation of the fact that with a halt in the expansion programme of railways these orders would only mean needless waste.

Diversionsary Tactics

When today the situation demands some revolutionary changes in the country's economic policy, the Congress Government at the Centre is wasting much of its time and energy on issues which may be important by themselves but which are not relevant so far as the basic problems of Indian economy are concerned. Thus, the problem of privy purses, the issues raised by the Hazari Report, the proposal for nationalisation of banks and general insu-

rance are animatedly debated, and projected as if the economic development of the country hinges round these questions. Actually, these questions are not even remotely connected with our basic problems of food scarcity, falling production, growing unemployment and rising prices. And when these matters are debated over and over again, with Government giving no indication of a will to clinch these issues, one is naturally led to suspect that the real object of these discussions is only to divert public attention from the crucial problems and use these debates to exert political pressure on certain sections.

Social Control Of Banks

At the last session of Parliament, Finance Minister Shri Morarji Desai made a statement that an Enquiry Commission would be appointed to go into the problems of banking. This statement also announced a scheme for social control of banks. As the Finance Minister evidently held that the problems of banking merited a thorough examination by a Commission, I wished he had waited for the Commission's report before precipitately coming forth with his Social Control Scheme. The real problem today is of capital formation, and social control is not going to help capital formation. Also, it is doubtful that this scheme would ensure optimum utilisation of the resources available with banks. There is no doubt that agriculture and small industries need capital badly. But what about the industries that are benefitting today from these resources? How will they run? Or, are they regarded as unnecessary? The proposal to have representatives of small industry and agriculture on the Board of Directors is welcome. But how are they going to be selected? Are they to be nominated? If so, the

nominations are very likely to be vitiaied by political considerations. I wonder why depositors have been given no representation on the Board. Besides, foreign banks have been kept outside the purview of this scheme. This would naturally injure the interests of Indian banks. It would be better if instead of launching such political schemes the Government decided to open new banks to meet the growing demand for capital investment.

No Plan Holiday

We have been disappointed also with the Planning Commission. By suggesting that the Fourth Five Year Plan should commence from April 1, 1969, it has agreed to a Plan Holiday. The situation calls for greater endeavour and not a holiday. When conditions are difficult, well considered, planned measures become all the more necessary. Programmes should be undertaken to remove the strains and cracks caused in the country's economy as a result of the Plans till now, and in a way so as to avail of our developed potential. The present recession and large-scale educated unemployment owe to a great extent to the manner in which plans have been arbitrarily slashed or changed during the past two years. Productive schemes under the Plan have been cut while unproductive expenditure of the administration has been increasing. Such budgeting is not conducive to economic growth. Recession leads to fall in revenue and increase in administrative expenditures causes inflation. As a consequence, despite all efforts, deficit financing becomes unavoidable. In this matter, however, let us be practical and not doctrinaire. In order to utilise the potential of the unemployed, and to implement quick yielding schemes, a judicious recourse to deficit financing would certainly prove profitable.

The Planning Commission should play the role of an expert and suggest short-term and long-term measures to solve the problems which face us today. Planning does not mean a mere fixation of target in various spheres and an arithmetical dove-tailing of these targets. It calls for imagination, farsight, and a sense of realism—qualities, which unfortunately have been conspicuous by their absence in the preceding plans.

We Must Be Self-Reliant

A constant refrain heard nowadays is about paucity of resources. I do not accept that this nation lacks resources. There are adequate resources in this country—human, physical and financial. What is required is that the size and shape of the Plan should be correlated to the quantum of available and potential resources. Till now our Plans have been based on foreign resources, foreign machinery, foreign technicians, foreign capital—and lately, even foreign raw materials and market. Schemes are formulated to secure what we do not possess, but no attention is paid to the conservation of what we already have, or to develop on that basis. Agriculture and indigenous industry have been neglected, and foreign collaboration has been welcomed even when the terms of agreement are contrary to our interests and deorgatory to our self-respect. Vested foreign interests in this country are today so powerful that they seek not only to influence our economic programmes, but our educational and political policies as well. If independence is to be preserved, we must become self-reliant in the economic sphere. This must be the cornerstone of our future plans.

Problems Of Agriculture

Repeatedly for the past many years we are being treated to pronouncements that priority would be given to agriculture. But the Government's policies evince little regard either for the farmer's interests, or the needs of agriculture. Prices of fertilisers in India are the highest in the world. Under this head, Government had given an assistance of Rs. 55 crores last year. But in this year's Central budget, this subsidy has been stopped. Foreign concerns have been permitted to set up fertiliser units here and they have been allowed to fix fertiliser prices arbitrarily. Fact is that if the farmer was enabled to meet his fuel requirements with soft coke, and encouraged to use cow-dung as manure, there would be no need of any new fertiliser factories. A report of the National Council for Applied Economic Research has noted: "India burns ten Sindries every year"! But indifferent to this indigenous potential, we continue to hanker after foreign concerns.

The manner in which some districts have been selected for intensive cultivation betray a partisan approach. All told, the programme is not going to achieve its objective of maximum production. Also, the use of fertilisers, to the exclusion of national manure, will gravely affect the fertility of the soil. One shudders to contemplate the possibility that a day may arrive as the result of our present myopic policies when rich abundant areas like Ludhiana and Tanjore may become barren. Let us avert such a calamity.

No doubt, some attention has been paid to irrigation, but the Government's ways of doing things are such that

the general reaction of farmers could be summed up by the Hindi saying : *Ka pani jab krishi sukhani* (of what avail the water provided only after the crops have failed). In the matter of inter-state river water disputes provincial loyalties have become so strong that crores of cusecs of water are allowed to go waste into the ocean rather than that the parties to the dispute relent a bit. The decision to provide power for tube-wells at the rate of 12 paise per unit is commendable, but the decision can have meaning only if power is actually made available to them.

Agriculture And Price Policy

Procurement schemes of Government have hit the farmers very badly. Kerala has proved the worst offender on this count. Here we have *babus* in the offices determining how much grain a particular peasant must produce and how much he should consume. And the peasant is ordered to deposit his entire surplus with the Government godowns. The prices of various crops fixed by the Centre are uneconomic. While it is essential that prices should be stabilised, it would be unjust, and suicidal besides, to deny the farmer a fair and full price for his produce. The foremost object of our price policy should be to prevent a fall in the income of producers, specially primary producers. After all, it is the agricultural income which sustains the economy.

It is true that rise in the price of foodgrains has caused great difficulty to the urban population—particularly the low and fixed income groups. For these sections, essential commodities of life should be made available at fair prices. If the Madras Government can successfully implement in some cities its scheme to sell

rice at a rupee per measure, there is no reason why similar steps should not be possible in other parts of the country. Also, dearness allowance must be linked with the cost of living. It is regrettable that the Government refuses to accept this principle. This attitude of its is the cause of many a dispute and of industrial unrest. Apart from workers and employees, pensioners also must be paid dearness allowance, and their pensions should be co-related with present pay scales.

Scrap Food Zones

Food Zones and the very many restrictions imposed on the movement of various commodities are economically unsound and also against the spirit of the Constitution. These restrictions block normal channels of trade, create an artificial scarcity in the market, and encourage smuggling and black marketing. This policy militates against national integration also. If we cannot think about as vital a matter as food from the national standpoint, and allow our vision to be warped by narrow regional interests, national integration would become a meaningless slogan. It seems that some corrupt officials, power-hungry politicians and big businessmen who find smuggling a lucrative trade have developed so great vested interest in the continuance of this policy that mere logic and reasoning is not going to change it.

Need For National Approach

In the absence of a national approach to economic problems, of proper planning, concerted effort and sound leadership at the Centre, every State and section is extorting to fend for itself, with total unconcern about the rest.

As they say: "Every one for himself, and let Devil take the hindmost." Wittingly or unwittingly, this attitude has been encouraging provincialism. When Kerala's Chief Minister Shri E.M.S. Naboodiripad advances claims that he should be allowed to use the foreign exchange earned out of exports from Kerala to buy foodgrains from abroad for his State, or when he calls for a Kerala Bandh against the Centre, it is surely a blow struck at the country's unity. Similarly, when on the plea of securing justice for Maharashtrians, the Shiv Sena agitates against any quarter being given to people from other States in the services or trades of Bombay, it is becoming blind to a basic fact, namely, that the economic interests of all sections in the country are inseverably interlinked. Unemployment and poverty in this country can be eradicated only by a combined effort.

Inter-State Disputes

In the resolution of the country's political problems also, this basic unity of the nation must never be overlooked. Today, there are border disputes between some States. These should be generally settled on the basis of principles formulated at the time of reorganisation of States. The Jana Sangh accepts that language is one of the factors which should be taken into consideration while demarcating the borders of the two States, but it does not consider it the sole determinant. Language has an important place in the administration, particularly in a democratic administration. Therefore, ordinarily, linguistic boundaries have crystallised into State boundaries. But there are people who would like language to be the one and exclusive factor to be taken into account. The

approach of these people smacks of a sub-national loyalty. The Jana Sangh disapproves of it.

The Mahajan Commission had been appointed to report on the Mysore-Maharashtra and Mysore-Kerala border disputes. The Commission's report should no doubt help settle the disputes. But this is possible only if there is a readiness to consider the issue dispassionately and without any sense of false prestige. The suggestions for an opinion poll cannot be accepted. Demarcation of State boundaries is the function of Parliament. Let it fulfil it.

Reorganisation Of Assam

The Central leadership's handling of the issue of Assam's reorganisation has greatly complicated it. Home Minister Chavan's statement just before the General Election that Assam would be given a federal structure was a political blunder which the Centre is finding it hard to rectify now. Unfortunately, the seeds of separatism in Assam were sown when a special place was given to Assam's Hill Tribes in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Today, we are having to reap its ill-fruits. Creation of a separate Naga State for a population of just three lakhs has greatly encouraged these separatist trends. And foreign missionaries in the region have been doing their worst to incite disruptive forces. Our Assam policy ought to take cognisance of all these aspects of the problem ; mere patchwork will not do.

Why Not The Hindu Nagas?

The Government has been holding prolonged negotia-

tions with the underground Nagas; but no fruitful outcome is yet in sight. Meanwhile, it has been reported that these rebel Nagas are hobnobbing with Communist China. Outbursts of sporadic violence also have continued. Manipur particularly has been an intensification of such activity. Obviously, the extremist section is availing of the present interlude only to prepare for a bigger revolt. The Government of India must be extremely vigilant. It should consciously exert to isolate the rebels and deal with them sternly. It would be in place to mention here that half the population of the State comprises of Hindu Nagas. New Delhi's dialogue with Nagaland till now has been exclusively through the medium of the Baptist Mission. The Hindu tribals have never been given the recognition due to them. This must change. Their interests and rights also must be safeguarded.

No Going Back On Kashmir

Following the removal of restrictions on Mirza Afzal Beg, and Sheikh Abdullah's release in Delhi, those elements have once again become active who would like to detach Kashmir from India. All the stale arguments, long debunked and exploded, are being repeated again, and proposals are being revived which have been rejected by the people as against national interest or impractical. The Central Government's support for these proposals is being canvassed on the plea that these would procure us Pakistan's friendship. It is high time now that all these self-anointed patrons of peace and justice, as well as Pakistan itself and the international powers who keep giving us uncalled-for counsel about Kashmir were told in plain, unambiguous language that Kashmir is an indivisible part and parcel of India, and, come what may,

there we cannot allow any intervention, even by the UNO or any agency of its.

Some people have been advocating even greater autonomy for Kashmir than it now enjoys. The proposal is rooted in separatism and runs counter to national interest and our Constitution. We would like to state categorically that the people of India will not suffer any act which amounts to reversing the process of Kashmir's fuller integration with India. In this context, I would like to say a word about Article 370. Though this is an internal arrangement of ours, and does not in any way affect the fact that Kashmir is an integral part of India, it is certainly an exceptional provision which ought to be abrogated. Its repeal would serve a valuable psychological purpose. All speculations about Kashmir would automatically stop.

Failure Of Sadiq Government

The Centre should also pay attention to the internal administration of Jammu and Kashmir State. Shri Sadiq has failed to give to the State a clean, impartial and strong administration. The indifference, apathy and communal bias betrayed by the J & K police in its handling of the case in which a Hindu girl was abducted and forcibly married has impaired the faith of Kashmiri Hindus in the administration. The Hindus of the Valley complain that Union Home Minister Shri Chavan also has failed to fulfil his assurances. It is regrettable that any section should feel that they are being denied justice, or that they are insecure. A Commission headed by Shri Gajendragadkar, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, has been constituted to examine the question of

representation in services, etc. Misgivings about discrimination on regional grounds must certainly be enquired into, but it would be against the spirit and letter of the Constitution if the issue is looked at from the communal angle.

Vested Interests In Riots

There have been during recent months communal disturbances in some parts of the country. These are unfortunate and deplorable. So far as Government is concerned, it must deal with all such breaches of peace and incidents of rioting sternly and impartially. But I must say that the code which regulates the administration's policy and conduct on such occasions is the one that was evolved during the British regime. It did not aim at curbing the mischievous elements or punishing the guilty. The Government would conspicuously appear to hold the scales even between the communities involved while in fact its actions only perpetuated the gulf between the communities. This code of make-believe impartiality must change, and rioters, to whichever community they belong, should be punished.

There are elements in the country who have developed a vested political interest in riots. Instead of exerting to localise these incidents and suppressing them, these elements deliberately magnify and distort reports about these incidents in a manner as to suit their purpose. Whatever the incident and whatever the place of occurrence, theirs is a stereo-typed analysis, and a set line of propaganda. According to them, it is the Muslims who are killed everywhere and the killers always are workers of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and the R. S. S. Amusingly, even at places

where the Jana Sangh and the R. S. S. do not exist, journals belonging to these sections discover 'strongholds' of these organizations. Their conduct often reminds you of the technique of pick-pockets and thieves who act in a concerted manner and after a crime has been successfully committed by one of them, rush in a certain direction shouting "Thief ! thief !" and start belabouring some innocent passerby. By then the real thief would have decamped. We have certainly to be very careful about these elements.

Language

Both patriotism as well as commonsense demands that the country's work should be conducted in its own languages. The Central Education Ministry's decision this year to make Indian languages the media of education right up to the University level is a commendable step. The decision conforms with the recommendations of the Education Commission. The Parliamentary Committee on Education, the Education Ministers' Conference and the Conference of Vice-Chancellors also have endorsed and supported the decision. In spite of this, some Anglophiles are attacking this decision. The problems they refer to are either imaginary, or affect isolated individuals, or then, pertain to the transitional period only. It would be better if instead of raising this hullabaloo about problems, they exerted earnestly to solve them. After the formation of non-Congress Governments in several States, the use of regional languages at the State level has considerably increased. If the pace is maintained, within a few months the work of Government in most of these States would be conducted in the people's languages. I must congratulate all these Governments for giving the country's langu-

ages their due place. By pursuing this policy, they have justified their claim of being popular Governments.

The Central Government's policy in regard to the replacement of English by Hindi at the Centre has continued to create difficulties. It is a matter of regret that instead of taking positive steps in this direction, the Government by its actions has only been creating controversies and misgivings. The Jana Sangh does not support any step which restricts the right of those who do not know Hindi or deprives them of any of their rights. The Jana Sangh has, therefore, been demanding that all examinations of the U.P.S.C. should be conducted through the media of regional languages and that knowledge of any particular language should not be compulsory at the time of recruitment. Those who want to use English during the period of transition should be permitted to do so. But the perpetual domination of English and denial to Hindi of its rightful place cannot be suffered. The Official Languages (Amendment) Bill and the Language Resolution recently passed are steps in the wrong direction. The Centre's language policy as envisaged by this Bill will be an impediment in the way of even those State Governments which want to carry on their work in their regional languages. So long as English continues to rule in New Delhi, Tamil also will not be able to get its rightful place in Madras.

U.A.R. Must Ponder

The foreign policy of the Government of India neither reflects public opinion nor does it protect national interest. Government's attitude towards the West Asian war, for instance, did not have the approval of the people. When

Britain had bombed the Suez Canal, the people of India had protested strongly against it. We have always favoured friendship with the Arab countries. But when the Indo-Pak war broke out, we failed to get even lip sympathy from the Arab countries, even though Pakistan was obviously in the wrong. Jordan actually pleaded Pakistan's case against India. The Indian people then felt greatly disappointed with the Arabs. It was this disappointment which explains the change in their attitude during the Israel-U.A.R. conflict. If the Arab countries sincerely desire India's friendship, they must appreciate our feelings. They must also realise that when they can have warm relations with our enemies, there is no reason why we should not have relations with Israel.

Sino-Pak Collusion

Our policy towards Communist China and Pakistan should be such as befits a self-respecting nation dealing with enemy countries who have aggressed on her soil. It is surprising that we have not yet recognised the Government of Formosa. Also, India must actively contribute to Tibet's struggle for independence. Our present attitude towards the Dalai Lama obstructs, rather than helps, fulfilment of this objective. Pakistan has virtually thrown the Tashkent agreement into the waste-paper basket. It is ridiculous that our leaders should nevertheless continue to swear by it. There is an obvious shift in Soviet Russia's policy towards Pakistan. It seems that our attitude to Pakistan is determined mainly by an intention to please the Soviet leaders. We really see no other explanation for Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi's uncalled-for congratulatory message to Ayub Khan in respect of the Mangla Dam. If India's policy towards

Pakistan is to be formulated not on the basis of that country's own conduct but in deference to the wishes of either Soviet Russia or America, there can never be peace in this region.

China and Pakistan are preparing a concerted plan of aggression. We cannot remain indifferent to the scheme they are hatching. No doubt, there has been some increase lately in our military preparations but much more needs to be done to meet the requirements of the situation. China has made great progress in the sphere of nuclear armaments. The Government of India, however, continues to stick obtusely to its original stand. I would like to reiterate our view that India must go in for the nuclear bomb. Our failure to take this decision gravely endangers our security.

Peking-Pindi Patriots

In the context of this threat posed by China and Pakistan, we must also consider the activities of elements within the country who take ideological inspiration from them and act in concert with their designs. In West Bengal and Kerala, after securing representation in Government, the Mao Communists have been feeling greatly emboldened and have been misusing power to promote their designs. By organising the Naxalbari uprising they subverted law and order. Simultaneously they have been trying to paralyse the administration and demoralise the police.

The country must be ever watchful. People must ensure that these elements are not allowed to create a situation which could be taken advantage of by Commu-

nist China or Pakistan. Whenever and wherever these elements disturb peace or pose a threat to the country's security they should be ruthlessly suppressed. But it is necessary that these forces be checkmated on the political level also. The people of this country have an abiding faith in nationalism and democracy and they will not tolerate elements who seek to subvert these values.

However, the powers assumed by the Central Government under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act recently passed are unjustified, and unwarranted. It appears that following its defeat in the last election, the Congress Government at the Centre is anxious to give to itself all such power as might some day come handy to it to retain its stranglehold on Government.

Channelise Popular Awakening

We should also be cautious about people who see in every popular agitation the hidden hand of Communists and suggest that the agitation must be crushed. In the changing situation at present, public agitations are natural and even essential. In fact, they are the media and expressions of social awakening. It is of course necessary that these agitations should be made instruments of a constructive revolution and not allowed to become violent or adventurist. Therefore, we must actively participate in popular movements, and try to guide them. Those who are keen to preserve the *status quo* in the economic and social spheres feel unnerved by these movements and are wont to create an atmosphere of despair and pessimism. We are sorry we cannot cooperate with them. We think these sections are trying in vain to halt the wheels of progress and avert the destiny of the country. This is

not possible. While we do draw inspiration from the past, we do not regard the past as the highest pinnacle of our achievement: while we have a realistic approach to the present we do not feel tied down even to the present: and while we do have before our eyes a vision of a great future for this country, we are not mere visionaries but are *karmayogis* resolved to translate our vision into reality.

We are pledged to the service not of any particular community or section but of the entire nation. Every countryman is blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh. We shall not rest till we are able to give to every one of them a sense of pride that they are children of Bharatmata. We shall make Mother India *sujala*, *suphala* (laden with fruits and overflowing with water) in the real sense of these words. As *Dashaprahana Dharani Durga* (Goddess Durga with her ten weapons) she would be able to vanquish evil; as Lakshmi she would be able to disburse prosperity all over and as Saraswati she would dispel the gloom of ignorance and spread the radiance of knowledge all around her. With faith in ultimate victory, let us dedicate ourselves to this task.

VANDE MATARAM

