

CHAPTER - III :

THE RIGHTIST ALTERNATIVE TO THE CONGRESS

- 1) Main features of Election Manifesto of Bharatiya Jan Sangh - 1967 and 1971.
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CHAPTER - III :

THE RIGHTIST ALTERNATIVE TO THE CONGRESS :

1) MAIN FEATURES OF ELECTION MANIFESTO OF BHARATIYA JAN SANGH - 1967 AND 1971 :

1) BHARATIYA JAN SANGH MANIFESTO OF 1967 :

The Congress always wanted to preserve its leftist image and it was called a party of left of centre. The leftist policies and especially the leftist rhetoric made the rightist forces to pose their own alternative before the people. The Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the Swatantra party and Congress (O) could be considered as the rightist parties.

At the time of fourth general elections both the rightist parties - the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra entered into some sort of alliance and taking help from the anti-Congressism, they tried to emerge as the major parties. The Jan Sangh grew very fast in these years, because of ~~the~~ two Wars India has to fight against China and Pakistan. Ideologically, the party was vigorously opposing communists. As far as the Swatantra party was concerned 1967 was its finest hour.

In the fourth general election Bharatiya Jan Sangh placed before the electorate its manifesto having following main features.

a) SITUATION AT THE TIME OF POLL :

Bharatiya Jan Sangh manifesto of 1967 depicted the entire gloomy ~~na~~ picture of the country in brief. It stated that the situation is grave. The country is - threatened by external and internal forces. The economy is weak. In such a grave situation Congress leadership - indulged in discussing lofty ideals. Jan Sangh does not believe in any isms as isms do not feed the hungry nor - encounter aggression. The manifesto clearly stated that "these 'isms' can neither feed the hungry nor expell the invader. Bharatiya Jan Sangh will solve these problems in a pragmatic way keeping the interests of the nation supermost in mind."<sup>1</sup>

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b) EXTERNAL AFFAIRS :

The manifesto took into account the failure of Congress in external affairs as the country was invaded twice. So, it stated that "Non-alignment can neither be our creed nor a permanent basis of our foreign policy. -' To-day when we are attacked we must have allies."<sup>2</sup> As the country was attacked twice we must have allies to safeguard National interests and integrity. It would adopt independent foreign policy and would enter into bilateral alliances with countries on the basis of mutual interests .

c) SOCIAL ASPECT :

The Bharatiya Jan Sangh manifesto of 1967 - emphasised the aspect of National unity. It stated that anti-national elements are threatening the integrity and sovereignty of the country. These forces should be checked by adopting drastic measures. It stated that "positive steps will be taken to strengthen sentiments of national unity."<sup>3</sup> As the present constitution does not manifest the country's basic unity. India would be declared as unitary state by amending the constitution. The manifesto suggested number of measures to maintain national unity. Apart from this, it stressed importance of prohibition policy, medicine, housing to maintain security and welfare of - society.

d) CONSTITUTIONAL :

The manifesto stated that Bharatiya Jan Sangh wanted to reform judicial systems. It wanted to separate judiciary from executive at all levels. Moreover, judicial services would be under the control of High Court .

It wanted to adopt the policy of decentralization in real and effective way.

e) EDUCATION :

The manifesto stated that the objective of - compulsory education incorporated in the Directive Principles is not yet achieved. Bharatiya Jan Sangh wanted to - implement these objectives within next five years. The manifesto pointed out that "it will further seek to make education free up to Higher Secondary Stage."<sup>4</sup> Steps would be taken to adopt provincial language at provincial level. UPSC Examination will be held in regional language. Besides, the manifesto promised that it will prepare a common - scientific terminology for all the Indian language.

f) ECONOMY :

The manifesto noted down the failure of the Congress in economic development. The three plans have failed to regenerate economy and in raising living standard of the common man.

Bharatiya Jan Sangh would outline new plan. The plan

should be pragmatic and aim at an organic growth of economy. It would adopt the system of micro-economic planning - regionwise and projectwise. The manifesto also took into account the problem of food, agriculture, credit, Irrigation, Foreign aid etc. The Bharatiya Jan Sangh believes in - mixed economy. But public sector has expanded so much - during the last three ~~plan~~ plans that now it needs - consolidation. Jan Sangh is not in favour of nationalization. If at all it is needed, decision should be taken not on political basis but on the basis of recommendation by a judicial commission to be appointed for the purpose. It clearly mentioned that "the present planning commission will be replaced by a small committee or commission of experts who will prepare a perspective plan and from time to time apprise the Government, planning cells and the - people about the overall trends in the economy." 5

g) APPEAL TO VOTERS :

The Congress leadership has failed miserably during the last three decade in various sphere of the country. Hence it does not deserve another opportunity. The fourth general election would bring democratic revolution leading the country towards new direction.

ii) BHARATIYA JAN SANGH MANIFESTO OF 1971 :

The Jan Sangh emerged as a strong force in 1967

as it secured highest number of votes among all the opposition parties . The Jan Sangh became major partner in SVD - Governments ~~was~~ established in Panjab, Haryana, U.P., M.P. and Bihar but the coalition Governments were short lived.

After 1967, the rightist consolidation began and in 1969 the Congress got divided. The congress (O) the Congress right decided to join hands with Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. In the fourth Lok Sabha more than 140 members belonged this group. At the time of 1971 elections the grand alliance of the Jan Sangh, the Congress(O), the Swatantra party and the S.S.P. was formed to fight the Congress (R). Though the alliance ~~was~~ failed in 1971, 1977 was to be its finest hour. The Jan Sangh continued to articulate its old policies.

The main features of Bharatiya Jan Sangh manifesto issued at the time of mid-term poll in 1971 can be brought out as under.

a) ECONOMY :

The manifesto has described the economy in detail at the outset of the manifesto. It declared that fight against poverty is national War. The manifesto stated that the "Jan Sangh declared a national War on poverty. It is committed to the objective of total victory in this War."<sup>6</sup> It wanted to break down the vicious circle of poverty. It would plan for full employment and would attempt to attain

self-sufficiency in food. It would uphold the principle of 'land to the tillers'. The manifesto stated that the party opposes both type of capitalism - private and Governmental as both are inconsistent to economic democracy. It would convert nationalised industry in to an Autonomous Monetary Authority. It would also work for completely self-reliant economy and would give up foreign aid. All forms of - technical know-how and equipment would be purchased through open global tender. The manifesto declared that the party stands for micro-planning for the public sector and - macro-planning for the whole country.

b) SOCIAL ASPECT :

The manifesto published that Bharatiya Jan Sangh wanted to impose restriction on the activity of foreign missionaries. It had adopted the programme for the backward classes in order to bring them to the level of advanced sections. It would foster the feeling of Indianness in all sections, of society. It stood for Sarva-dharma Sama bhava. Moreover, Hindi will be developed as, a link language. The manifesto has suggested some steps for national integration. It stated "National Integration - through Indianisation . Jan Sangh will work actively for national integration."7

c) INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY :

Congress adopted the policy of Non-alignment but



it is leaning towards Russia. Bharatiya Jan Sangh wanted to make friendship with Russia without interfering each others internal affairs. It will take serious note of - re-arming of Pakistan by America. It wanted to give up the membership of British Commonwealth. The manifesto stated that Bharatiya Jan sangh wanted to make India strong so that she can play major role in world politics. In case of ~~fr~~ friendship with other countries the manifesto - mentioned that " but friendship can survive-and grow-only on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and a - scrupulous avoidance of any meddling in each others internal affairs."8

d) APPEAL TO VOTERS :

As the party of patriots, it will inspire the people to achieve the above mentioned objectives especially to wipe out poverty.

2) MAIN FEATURES OF ELECTION MANIFESTO OF SWATANTRA PARTY ----- 1967 AND 1971 :

1) SWATANTRA PARTY MANIFESTO - 1967 :

The Swatantra party slowly grew in strength in different areas of country and made a strong bid for power in few states. The party developed genuinely rightist alternative based on the ideology of freedom of free - enterprise.

The Swatantra party placed before the electorate its programme and policies in the fourth general election after bringing to the notice of the voters the failure of the Congress party in various sphere of national activities during last twenty years. Moreover, it summarised its achievements and ensured the voters what the party would do if voted to power. The programme and policies placed in the fourth general election had the following main features.

a) ECONOMY :

The Swatantra Party believed in democratic planning practised in France, Britain and opposed to Soviet type co-ercive planning. The ~~man~~ manifesto stated that " the Swatantra Party will dissolve the planning commission which has become in effect a parellel Government unknown to the constitution and which has shown its unfitness for its task and will replace it with genuinely expert advisory bodies with which Agriculture, Industry, Labour and other interests would also be associated." <sup>9</sup> It wanted to remove all compulsory levies and zonal barriers for free movement of agricultural products throughout country. Celings on landholding would be removed as it is meaningless. The Joint Stock Company would be encouraged to set up seed farm and fertiliser factories. The public sector or state sector should provide infra-structure such as development of road, air communication, telephone and telegram services. It is of the view that we must rely on private sector. There should not be clear ~~■~~ cut

division between private and public sector.

b) CONSTITUTIONAL :

The Swatantra Party manifesto of (1967) deplained<sup>pled</sup> the frequent amendments to the constitution that curtailed the fundamental rights. It wanted to restore these rights in original forms. It would end state emergency misused by Congress Government in the interest of the party. Apart - from this, the party would provide clean, honest and - efficient administration to the country. The manifesto stated, "the party will give the country clean, honest and efficient administration. It will ensure that there is no interference by politicians, either of the ruling party or any other party, in the day-to-day administration, nor any by-passing or interfering with the independence of Union and State Public Service Commissions."10.

c) ELECTORAL REFORMS :

The manifesto declared that the party wanted to evolve a system of proportional representation that would be helpful to represent the will of the electorate in the Parliament.

d) EXTERNAL AFFAIRS :

The party is of the view that enlightened national self-interest and progress towards world unity and progress as the bases of a sound foreign policy. It wanted to have alliance with powers taking into account the situation.

The manifesto stated that "the concept of non-alignment has lost all meaning and our foreign policy needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation."<sup>11</sup> It wanted to correct pro-communist bias in our foreign policy.

e) EDUCATION :

The party would raise the standard of education in primary school. It would reject the measures like Nationalization of text books.

f) RELIGION :

It stated that the religion provides a dynamic force for strengthening moral and spiritual values. As rule of law is essential for democracy, The party recognises the role of Dharma. The manifesto declared that "religion is of vital concern to the state as it provides dynamic force for strengthening moral and spritual values which furnish the motive and the sanction for right conduct even more than any law or regulation of the state."<sup>12</sup>

g) MINORITIES AND BACKWARD CLASSES :

The party would carryout the provisions for minorities incorporated in the constitution effectively. Moreover, it would check the separatist tendencies.

h) MEDIA OF MASS COMMUNICATION :

The Swatantra Party manifesto of 1967 stated that means of communication such as broad casting, television, services should be entrusted to autonomous corporations. It would safeguard the freedom of press.

ii) SWATANTRA PARTY MANIFESTO-1971 :

The Swatantra Party faced several set back in Gujrat and Rejasthan during the 4 years and the Congress Government decided to abolish privy purses of the princes. The party decided to be the member of grand alliance that attempted to unseat the Congress Government at centre.

Examining the Swatantra Party manifesto of 1971 we find no fundamental change has been made between 1967 - manifesto and that issued in the mid-term poll. But one thing is noted down that Swatantra Party manifesto emphasised two problems --- unemployment and rising prices. Main the main features of the manifesto are noted down.

a) CONSTITUTIONAL :

The party followed the same stand that it took in 1967 with regard to constitution. It wanted to safeguard civil liberties because attempts are being made to curtail the civil liberties by amounting<sup>ending</sup> the provisions dealing with judiciary. These civil liberties would be safeguarded

by enforcement of law and order. The manifesto stated that " a stable democracy must be based on the sanctity of the constitution which should not be tempered with."<sup>13</sup>

b) ECONOMY :

The faulty planning resulted in the unemployment. The problem would be tackled by undertaking massive - programme of public work. Moreover, measures would be taken to curb the rising prices. Agriculture would be treated as a basic industry. No action would be levelled that would weaken the system ~~of~~ on which rural life was based. The party is ~~of~~ the view that there would be no expansion of economy unless incentives are provided by Government to agriculture, trade and industry. The manifesto clearly mentioned that "the expansion of the Indian economy, whether in agriculture, trade or industry, can only be achieved if Governmental policies provide incentives for hard work and enterprise which are at present lacking." <sup>14</sup>

c) FOREIGN POLICY :

The manifesto stated that the ~~cony~~<sup>gross</sup> Government are reducing India to position of a Soviet satellite and cited the example of failure of the Government to participate in the conference of South, South East and Asian countries called by the non-aligned Government of Indonesia to consider ways and means of preserving the independence and integrity of small and neutral country like Cumbodia. Moreover, it

declared that Government foreign policy has failed with respect to Pakistan and resulted in a massive and continuous influx of refugees from East Pakistan.

d) MINORITIES :

The party wanted to carry out the provisions for minorities incorporated in the constitution effectively. It was included in 1967 manifesto also. The manifesto declared that " a commission on civil rights should be set up which will look into and help correct discrimination against any section of the people in education, employment, economic activities and ensure effective assertion of equality of opportunity in economic and social life." 15

3) MAIN FEATURES OF ELECTION MANIFESTO  
OF CONGRESS (O) - 1971 :

The Congress split in 1969 gave birth to a new - rightist party called the Congress (O) that was strong in Gujrat, Karnataka, U.P., Bihar and Tamilnadu. After the split, the Congress (O) emerged as the main opposition in both houses of parliament and ultimately became a rallying point for all the right opposition parties to come together . In 1971 under the leadership of the party the grand alliance of four parties was formed and it was expected in these quarters that the alliance would do well at the husting.

The party's ideological position was right of centre therefore it is included on the rightist group.

After the split in 1969 in the Indian National Congress, the Congress (O) placed its manifesto before the electorate in the mid-term-poll which had the following features.

a) ECONOMY :

The manifesto made it clear that the nationalised industries should run efficiently in order to achieve real socialist character. "It should not degenerate into state capitalism. The party ensures that these will not serve as a field for political patronage."<sup>16</sup> It is of the view that incentives will be made available to backward region. The manifesto mentioned that it wanted to set up a commission to simplify the tax structure. So that it can find out drawbacks for tax evasion and minimise harassment to the tax payers. The manifesto dealt with the problems, development of agriculture, fair prices, imports of foodgrain, small farmers and agricultural labour. The party will take steps to promote cottage and small-scale industrial sector. - Similarly, it will ~~also~~ also encourage the expansion of the self employed sector, such as artisans, technicians and small traders.

b) FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOM :

The manifesto clearly mentioned that the "the party is firmly wedded to these rights and democratic freedoms."<sup>17</sup> The citizens of India are free to develop their talents and acquire property. It is of the view that the decentralised



economy will make possible of proper distribution of wealth and check concentration of economic power.

The party would give high priority to ensure the right to work and employment. So a massive rural works programme will be initiated to create job opportunities.

The manifesto claimed that the party wanted to take steps to re-invigorate the Panchayati Raj. The party wanted to reduce the voting age from 21 to 18 years to enable greater participation of the younger generation in the political life of the country.

d) BACKWARD CLASSES AND MINORITIES :

The manifesto promised that the greater opportunities in fields of education and economic growth and more adequate representation in services would be given to them. The party know the dangers of communalism and fights against them. There should be no discrimination against them.

e) EDUCATION :

The party wanted to link the right to work, and another fundamental rights to educational opportunity. The manifesto stated that "the party would endeavours to approuch the whole educational system in the light of this critical appraisal. The student community should be associated with the working of education system."<sup>18</sup>

4) COMPARATIVE STUDY :

i) COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MANIFESTOES  
OF JAN SANGH AND THE SWATANTRA :

Though the Jan Sangh, the Swatantra and Congress(O) are grouped under rightist alternative, there are differences in their manifestos. These differences can be marked out by comparing their manifestoes on the following issues.

a) POLITICAL :

As far as the political issues are concerned, both the parties are dissatisfied with the many amendments to the constitution, but the Jan Sangh wanted to rectify it by separating judiciary from executive along with adoption of policy of decentralization and declaring India as a unitary state by amending the constitution as the present constitution does not ensure contry's basic unity. Where as the Swatantra party wanted to restore the fundamental rights in original form that are curtailed by the frequent amendments and by abolishing state emergency that is misused in the interest of the ruling party. The Swatantra party manifesto of 1971 clearly mentioned that a stable democracy must be based on the sanctity of the constitution which should not be tempered with. Manifesto of these parties emphasised the importance of fundamental rights especially rights to property and safeguarding the basic principles of the constitution.

In 1967, the Jan Sangh wanted to establish unitary form of state but the Swatantra party stood for the federal form of state and urged rational distribution of central resources to the states. But in 1971, the Jan Sangh did not mention the establishment of unitary form of state in India.

b) SOCIAL ISSUES :

As far as the social issues are concerned the manifesto of the Jan Sangh emphasised national unity and sovereignty. It wanted to deal this problem by checking the anti-national elements that are threatening the integrity of the country and by adopting drastic measures against them. Moreover, it wanted to foster the feeling of Indianess in all sections of Society, and policy of Sarva-dharma Sama-bhava. The party wanted to build national integration through Indianisation whereas the manifesto of the Swatantra party of 1967 declared that religion is a dynamic force that can strengthen moral and spritual values. It clearly mentioned that as rule of law is essential for democracy, the party recognises the role of 'Dharma'. It may be made clear that the Swatantra party stands for secularism and does not approve of the concept of Indianisation of the Jan Sangh. The party does not support Hindu nationalism and promises to safeguard the legitimate rights of the minorities. The Jan Sangh wanted to bring the backward classes to the level of advanced sections by

adopting programme for them. Whereas the Swatantra party wanted to execute the provision meant for them in the constitution effectively.

c) ECONOMIC ISSUES :

The manifestos of both the parties <sup>dealt</sup> death with planning, private sector and public sector, in economic aspect. The Jan Sangh wanted to adopt the system of micro-~~economic~~ economic planning regionwise and projectwise. It means it wanted to outline a new plan. The present planning commission would be replaced by a small committee of experts. Where as the Swatantra party wanted to adopt ~~the~~ democratic planning practised in France, Britain and wanted to oppose co-ercive planning practiced in Soviet Union. Moreover, it wanted to dèssolve the planning commission which has become parallel body to the Government and would be replaced by expert advisory bodies with which Agriculture, Industry, Labour and other interests would also be associated. The Jan sangh believes in mixed economy but wanted to consolidate public sectors that has extended to a large extent during three plans. It is not in favour of nationalization and opposed both type of capitalism - private and Governmental. Where as the Swatantra party wanted that the public sector or state sector as it has called should provide infrastructure such as development of road, air communication, telephone and telegram services . It is stated that we must rely on private sector and there should

not be clear cut division between public sector and private sector. It wanted to take massive programme, of public works for the solution of unemployment problem that - resulted from faulty planning. It clearly stated no action would be taken that would weaken the system on which rural life was based. Moreover, Government should provide - incentives to the enterprise for the development of economy. Thus, as far as economic issues are concerned the Swatantra party has adopted more rightist stand whereas, the Jan Sangh wants to be pragmatic.

d) FOREIGN POLICY :

As far as foreign policy is concerned the Jan Sangh's manifesto of 1967 stated that "Non-alignment can neither be our creed nor a permanent basis of our foreign policy. As we are attacked, we must have allies. The 1971 manifesto took note of the Congress's tilt towards Russia and re-arming of Pakistan by America. Therefore, the Jan Sangh wanted to adopt the independent foreign policy and bilateral alliances with countries on the basis of equal interests.

The Swatantra party's manifesto of 1967 also stated that the concept of non-alignment has lost all meaning and our foreign policy needs to be reviewed. But the 1971 party manifesto clearly mentioned that the party would correct pro-communist bias in our foreign policy. Moreover it made clear that it would be a mistake to normalise relation with

China as China is the threat to India the correct policy towards her would be vigilance and strength. The major difference between the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra stand was that the former was the enemy of Pakistan but the latter wanted India to normalise relations with Pakistan.

**B1) COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CONGRESS (O) THE  
JAN SANGH AND THE SWATANTRA PARTY :**

The Congress (O) manifesto of 1971 clearly mentioned that the party was in close accord with at least two other partners of the National Democratic Front ---- the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party -- in the broad framework of its programme. Still, differences can be marked out by comparing their manifesto on the following issues .

a) POLITICAL ISSUES :

The Congress (O) manifesto of 1971 deplored damages done to the democratic framework to our <sup>country</sup> especially, attack on independence of judiciary and centre state relations. All these three parties emphasised the importance of citizens fundamental rights and democratic freedom especially the right to property. They are ~~many~~ deadly against removing of it from the list of the fundamental rights incorporated in the constitution.

c) SOCIAL ISSUES :

The Congress (O) manifesto stated that the party worked to protect variety of Indian culture and it would continue to protect it. There is tendency of exploiting minorities for narrow party ends. There should be no discrimination <sup>against</sup> them, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians in the matter of participation in various services of India. The Jan Sangh stood for Sarva-dharma Sam-bhav but the concept of Indianisation of Muslims is not accepted to others. The Swatantra also considers religion for strengthening the moral and spiritual values.

The Congress(O) and Swatantra Party wanted to carry out the constitutional provision meant for backward classes, whereas Jan Sangh wanted to bring the backward classes up to the level of advanced sections of society by adopting special development programme for them.

c) ECONOMIC ISSUES :

As far as economic issues are concerned the Congress (O) party's manifesto declared that the party would not allow nationalised units to degenerate into mere state capitalism. The party would promote cottage and small scale industrial sector and encourage the expansion of self-employed sector. It clearly mentioned that the party stands for a mixed economy ~~for~~ with its public, private and co-operative sectors subject to regulation and control in

the interest of society. The Jan Sangh believes in mixed economy but wanted to consolidate the public sector that has expanded during three plans. It declared war on poverty but upheld the right to property. The Swatantra party stated that economy has been damaged because of mistaken and faulty planning of the ruling party. Both the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh opposed national planning and wanted to substitute by advisory bodies or micro level planning. But the Congress (O) did not condemn planning and understood the importance of state intervention. Thus as far as - economic issues are concerned, these parties had divergent view points.

d) FOREIGN POLICY :

As far as foreign policy is concerned, all the three parties deployed the Indian tilt, towards Soviet Union and opposed the Congress perception of non-alignment. The Swatantra party wanted to renounce the policy of non-alignment and to develop closer relations with the Western Countries and Pakistan. The Jan Sangh wanted to strengthen the armed forces of the country in order to play an - important role in world politics. The Congress (O) wanted to correct the tilt towards U.S.S.R. by improving our relations with U.S.A.

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FOOTNOTES :

- 1) Pattabhiram M., <sup>(Ed)</sup> General Election in India 1967 .  
P. 204-205.
- 2) Ibid P. 205.
- 3) Ibid P. 206.
- 4) Ibid P. 208.
- 5) Ibid P. 210.
- 6) Shiv Lal., The Election Archives (Quarter ending  
June 1971) P. 109.
- 7) Ibid P. 113.
- 8) Ibid P. 115.
- 9) Pattabhiram, Op. Cit.  
P. 183.
- 10) Ibid P. 184.
- 11) Ibid P. 184.
- 12) Ibid P. 185.
- 13) Shiv Lal, Op. Cit.  
P. 127.

14) Ibid P. 129.

15) Ibid P. 130.

16) IBid P. 59.

17) Ibid P. 63.

18) Ibid P. 64.

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