Bharatiya Jana Sangh

Party Documents

1951-1972

Principles and Policies

Manifestos

Constitution

1971
FOREWORD

On October 21, 1972, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh completed twenty-one years of its existence and entered what may be regarded as its age of youth. In the life of a country as ancient as India a period of two decades hardly matters much but for the Jana Sangh this period is of great importance, concerning as it does the story of the party’s genesis, and of the formative years of its life.

At the time Jana Sangh was born, the country was enmeshed in problems arising out of partition. Congress hopes that the creation of a separate Pakistan would put an end to an agonising chapter of communal violence and animosity had been falsified. The Hindu-Muslim conflict had only become enlarged into an Indo-Pak confrontation. Pakistan’s aggression in Jammu and Kashmir State continued. In East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), Hindus were being decimated in a systematic manner. There was widespread discontent in the public mind regarding the Government’s Pak-policy which in effect was only an extension of Congress’ Muslim-appenemce policy. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji’s resignation from Government brought into the open the fact that even the Nehru Cabinet was divided on this issue.

It was but natural that a political party formed in these circumstances should lay maximum emphasis on warning and preparing the country against the Pak danger. For any nation—and particularly so, for a nation like India just emancipated, and partitioned—no issue can be of greater moment than the preservation of its independence and integrity. But the Jana Sangh leadership was fully alive to the fact that for national security, economic and industrial strength was as imper- tive as military strength. It was, therefore, that in its very first manifesto adopted on October 21, 1951 the Jana
Sanh laid as much stress on making the country ‘prosperous’ as it did on making it ‘powerful and united’. In its enunciation of the party's aim, the manifesto expressed a resolve to rebuild India as “a social and economic democracy,” guaranteeing equality of opportunity and liberty of expression to all individuals.

On economic issues, the Jana Sangh’s approach right from the outset has been based on pragmatic considerations and not on dogma. It rejected both complete nationalisation as well as free enterprise and favoured a middle course. It advocated nationalisation of defence industries but in respect of other industries suggested an approach which under overall state-regulation, “encouraged private enterprise to expand in the interests of consumers and producers alike.” The three-pronged approach—growth in production, equity in distribution and restraint in consumption—commended by the Jana Sangh in 1951 is as valid today as it was then.

The Jana Sangh has all along stood for abolition of Zamindari and the principle ‘land to the tiller’, for measures to prevent concentration of economic power in the hands of a few individuals, for the imposition of curbs on profiteering, and for the adoption of fiscal and taxation steps to remove the vast disparities in incomes of various sections. These attitudes of its have made it clear that it has not emerged on the political arena as a defender of the status quo, but as a champion of change, though it would like such change to be in conformity with Bharatiya values and brought about through democratic means.

Between 1951 and 1972, the Jana Sangh has traversed through many ups and downs. It has fought five General Elections. Taking victories and defeats of electoral battle in its stride, it has carved out a permanent place for itself in Indian politics. During these 25 years of independence, the introduction of adult franchise, spread of education, expansion of means of communication, and of radio and the press have brought about a new awakening in the common mind. The common man has become more conscious about his rights. Sections

oppressed and neglected since centuries have risen for the improvement of their social and economic conditions. The common man’s desire to become a co-sharer in national prosperity is extremely natural. A party dedicated to the public good has to be alive and responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people and identify itself with them. This is exactly what the Jana Sangh has done. The focal point of all its economic policies and programmes has been the ‘daridra’ (the poor) in whom it has seen the manifestation of ‘Narayana’ (divinity). Making him happy and contented is for the Jana Sangh the highest form of worship.

As a centrist party, the Jana Sangh has been subjected to attacks both from the extreme right as well as the extreme left. Protagonists of complete freedom in the economic sphere have assailed it being worse than communists. On the other hand in the eyes of the so-called progressives, the Jana Sangh has been a reactionary and a defender of vested interests.

There is a third category of critics which accuses the Jana Sangh of sailing with the wind and of having deviated from its original path. Jana Sangh’s decision at Ghaziabad about ceiling on urban property is cited as an example of such deviation. So also is the suggestion that the ratio between maximum and minimum incomes be limited.

The question of ceiling on urban property came up before the Jana Sangh even at its initial stages when the party decided in favour of agricultural ceilings. It was strongly argued then that there ought to be similar ceiling in the urban sector also. The suggestion was not rejected in principle but it was felt that the time for undertaking such a programme had not yet come. Generally speaking, however, a party resolved to rebuild Indian society on the basis of Bharatiya Sanskriti and Maryada as a modern and progressive nation cannot accept that an individual’s right to amass wealth, and spend on consumption should be absolute and untramelled.

In this context it must be mentioned that the Jana
Singh's rationale for supporting agricultural ceilings or urban ceilings is different from that which motivates other parties. We have never shared their illusion that imposition of agricultural ceilings is going to make available large areas of land for distribution to the landless and thus help solve the problem of rural unemployment. The experience of the last 25 years has borne this out. The Jana Sangh had its own reasons for supporting land ceilings, the most important one being that growth in agricultural production can be achieved only through intensive farming which in turn demands that the size of a land-holding be such that the farmer can bestow personal attention on it. The Jana Sangh has also been of the view that in the present circumstances mechanised farming is not suited to India.

Similarly, the Jana Sangh's advocacy of urban ceilings is prompted by a desire to ensure optimum use of urban land. In its Ghaziabad resolution, therefore, the Jana Sangh suggested that while fixing the ceiling, the price of land and the construction thereon should be assessed separately. This rational approach has been widely welcomed. In the present conditions, construction of palatial buildings adorned with spacious gardens and swimming pools, etc., is nothing but vulgar display of wealth. The Jana Sangh is of opinion that for residential houses in urban areas, no plot should be more than 1000 square yards in area.

When in its economic resolution at Ghaziabad, the Jana Sangh said that the ratio between the minimum and maximum expendable income of citizens should be 1:20, many people were surprised. They promptly pronounced the verdict: the Jana Sangh is turning left. Many newspapers made the same comment. Some comments were critical, while others praised the Jana Sangh for this 'new line'. In this din of jeers and cheers, both kinds of commentators seemed to forget that as long back as in 1952, party's central working committee had mooted this suggestion at its Delhi meeting and later on in 1954, the Jana Sangh's Pratinidhi Sabha at its Indore session had formally incorporated it in its manifesto thus:

“For reducing the inequality in the incomes of the different classes, Jana Sangh will take steps towards more equitable distribution of national wealth and guarantee to all nationals the minima of decent living. In the present circumstances, incomes may be limited to a maximum of Rs. 2000 p.m. and a minimum of Rs 100 p.m. with efforts to raise the minimum so that in the foreseeable future the highest and lowest incomes may bear a ratio of 10:1."

Two years later, that is, in 1956, at its Delhi session, this issue was again discussed and it was clarified that in this context income meant 'expendable income'. It was further stated that if an individual by dint of honest labour or his ability earns more than the permitted maximum, the excess income would be procured for ‘development needs through contribution, taxation, compulsory loans and investment.' All manifestos issued for various elections held since have reiterated the party's stand on limiting the disparity between maximum and minimum expendable income. The critics have either not read these or have read them too casually to be able to grasp their implication.

Even while adhering steadfastly to its fundamental credo and without compromising with any of its basic tenets, the Jana Sangh has lent a responsive ear to the demands of the changing times and adapted itself accordingly. As its very name signifies, the Jana Sangh is the Party of the People, an overwhelming majority of whom, even after 25 years of Freedom and four Plans are victims of scarcity, ignorance and disease. This situation has to be remedied. Every individual has to be enabled to procure his minimum requirements of food, clothing, shelter, education and medicine; the necessary expansion programme of materials and services has to be undertaken; and a technology evolved to suit Indian conditions—a technology which ensures not only mass production but also production by masses. These are tasks which deserve priority side by side with the demands of national...
security. It is precisely these objectives, priorities and strategies which are reflected in the Jana Sangh's Swadeshi Plan. Jana Sangh is perhaps the only party which has not merely urged a radical revision in our economic planning, but has also itself suggested the outlines of an alternative plan. Of course one may agree with Jana Sangh's economic thinking and even criticise it, but no serious student of Indian affairs can afford to ignore it.

In fact if today the Jana Sangh has become the prime target of attacks from our rulers and their communist and communitarian allies, this is essentially because these elements are increasingly becoming conscious of the fact that unlike other opposition parties the Jana Sangh is not a splinter party formed by any group of malcontents belonging to another party nor is it a lobby of any vested interests, but is a party which offers a powerful alternative to the Ruling Congress and seeks to inspire and consolidate the people on a three-plank credo of Nationalism, Democracy and Social Justice.

I am happy that documents pertaining to Jana Sangh's principles, policies and programmes are being compiled subjectwise and published. These documents will no doubt be very useful for all interested in Indian public affairs.

Makar Sankranti,
January 14, 1973

—Atal Behari Vajpayee

PREFACE

Bharatiya Jana Sangh was born on October 21, 1951. Over the period, the Jana Sangh contested almost all the general and mid-term elections. Its representatives had occasion to project the party's point of view in various legislatures as well as outside. Its resolutions, declarations and manifestos have naturally attracted wide public attention and frequently occasioned general debate. There is therefore an increasing desire to know and understand the party's mind. Need is being felt to make the documents of the party available for researchers and students of political affairs no less than for politicians and writers, not to mention the workers of the party. The present compilation of the party documents is the result of this necessity.

In addition to 'Principles and Policies', only All India manifestos and resolutions passed by the Central Working Committee, All India General Council and Plenary Sessions have been included. Obituary resolutions have been omitted.

The first volume contains the document 'Principles and Policies' which was adopted at the XII BJS plenary session in January 1965 at Vajjawada, all manifestos and party's constitution as amended by the A.I.G.C. in May 1972 at Bhagalpur. Resolutions on economic affairs divided into 4 chapters comprise the second volume. Further volumes are planned to contain rest of the resolutions pertaining to foreign affairs, defence, education, national affairs, party organisation, etc.

Different topics have been grouped according to the Ministries of the Central Government. Many resolutions embrace more topics than one. As such they could be divided or included in any of a number of chapters of different topics. Instead of resolutions being
split up, headings to important paragraphs have been
given and listed in the indices where cross-reference to
different chapters may be made. Some border-line topics
which could justifiably be assigned to one or the other
chapter have been placed where the relative importance of
each was assessed to be the highest. In translation work
preference has been given to simple expression of the
underlying idea than to writing word for word.

All resolutions have been numbered in a chrono-
logical order, the first digits indicating the year and the
next ones the serial number of the resolution. Thus
52.19 indicates the 19th resolution passed in 1952 and
72.06 means the sixth resolution of year 1972. At the end
of each resolution, have been given the date, place and
name of the body which passed it, wherein C.W.C.,
A.I.G.C. and A.I.S. mean respectively the Central
Working Committee, All India General Council and All
India Session.

A gist of resolutions in each chapter has been
given in the beginning.

It is hoped that this compilation will be of benefit
to those for whom it is intended.

— Compiler

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I

Situation

The primary duty of every free nation is to defend its freedom and consolidate it, and to give to the citizens a Government which, while guaranteeing to them all necessities of life, would enable them to live as a happy, prosperous and purposeful community. The advent of Indian independence had roused high hopes in the people. It was expected that the nation, freed after centuries from the shackles of foreign bondage, would come into its own and re-affirm itself with dignity and self-respect. It was hoped that decrepit institutions and structures would fade away, and healthy, buoyant, life-giving organisations would take their place; that the masses groaning under the burdens of economic inequality and social injustice would be able to breathe freely in an atmosphere of equity and contentment. But in spite of loud proclamations and pompous plans, the hopes of the people have remained unfulfilled. In fact, over the years, corruption and mal-administration, inequity and injustice, scarcity and insecurity have grown and become more widespread. In the first flush of freedom, no doubt, some significant steps were taken towards progress. The former Princely States were integrated, a democratic Constitution for the country was adopted, and foundations were laid for the industrialisation and modernisation of Indian economy. But this early enthusiasm did not last long. So much so that instead of boldly standing up to the problems of transition, and trying to solve them, we appear to have become overwhelmed by them.

Malady Diagnosed

The nation seems to be drifting without any sense of direction and purpose. Both the rulers and the ruled have been caught up in a cess-pool of inertia and helplessness. This mood of cynicism and diffidence is not only unbecoming of a great nation like ours, it can be positively dangerous for its very exis-
tence. The country needs to be pulled out of this morass immediately.

The main reason for the present state of affairs is the failure of the leadership to comprehend the fundamental springs of national vitality, and their attempt to impose on the people-foreign ideologies and life-values. In their impatience for economic progress, the leadership has been prone to ignore the nation’s real ‘self’, and to adopt recklessly foreign patterns. The nation has therefore been paralysed.

Jana Sangh—A Historic Necessity

We are heirs to the wisdom of all humanity, and must profit by the experience of entire mankind. Certainly science is not the monopoly of any nation. We shall avail of it for our advancement also. But at the same time we must not forget that the stage on which we are required to act is India, and the grand human drama that is to be enacted on this stage, the Indian masses are not only actors but the audience as well. We have to ensure that they play their part well and at the same time draw satisfaction and pleasure from the performance. Therefore, while on the one hand we must bear in mind the achievements of all the world, it must be fully realised that the nation’s future can be built up only on the basis of its own genius and tradition, and after taking due cognizance of its present circumstances. Political independence becomes meaningful only if it is accompanied by realisation of the National Self. And only this realisation of the National Self would help open up the mainsprings of people’s energies so that the nation could overcome the feeling of dependence and defeatism, and experience the glow of freedom. It is out of the hard labour and cooperative effort of our teeming millions that a strong, happy and prosperous national life will emerge. It is this joint endeavour of us all that will spell the end of ignorance and injustice and want. This great task calls for a new leadership in all walks of life. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh has come into being in response to this call.

Objective

The objective of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh is the rebuilding of Bharat on the basis of Bharatiya Sanskriti and Maryada.

PRINCES AND POLICIES

and as a political, social and economic democracy, guaranteeing equality of opportunity and liberty of person to all its citizens so as to build up a prosperous, powerful and united nation—progressive, modern and enlightened, able to withstand the aggressive designs of others and to exert herself in the comity of nations for the establishment of world peace.

Bharatiya Sanskriti—Only Sound Basis

Democracy, equality, national independence and world peace are interrelated concepts. But in the West these concepts have often clashed with one another. The ideas of socialism and one-world government have stemmed from efforts at resolving this conflict. However, they have not only failed to do so but have weakened these concepts and created new problems. Bharatiya Sanskriti offers the philosophical substratum on the basis of which these concepts can be harmonised and cherished objectives realised. In the absence of such a basis, human thought and development have been stultified. The basic truths propounded by Bharatiya Sanskriti have a validity beyond country and age. So knowledge of these truths will provide a direction not only for our own advancement, but for the world’s progress as well.

Integralism

The outlook of Bharatiya Sanskriti is integral. It accepts the seeming differences among various entities and aspects of life, but it seeks at the same time to discover the unity underlying them—and takes an integrated view of the whole scene. In the manifold activities of the world, Bharatiya Sanskriti sees inter-dependence, cooperation and concord rather than conflict contradiction and discord. Its perspective is all-comprehensive, not partial. It wishes and works for the well-being of all. Integralism is thus its key-note.

Individual And Society

Several ideologies of the west are based on the assumption that there is an inherent conflict between the individual and society. These ideologies then take up the cause either of the one or of the other. But the fact is that there is no such inherent conflict between the two entities. The visible entity—
the individual—is also the representative of the invisible society. It is through him that the society manifests itself. He is in fact the chief instrument of society, and the measure of its fulfilment. Destruction or constriction of his individuality would leave the society stunted. A flower is what it is because of its petals, and the worth of the petals lies in remaining with the flower and adding to its beauty. Development of the individual and social good are not contradictory interests.

All-round Progress Of The Individual

An individual is the aggregate of body, mind, intellect and soul. Any one desirous of all-round progress of the individual must keep in mind all these attributes of his. All of them need to be satisfied. Only then would an individual experience real happiness. This means that both, material as well as spiritual, progress are to be aimed at. The wherewithals for fulfilling these four-fold wants are material means, peace, enlightenment and a feeling of tadatmya (identification). It is the comprehensive nature of this aim which inspires the individual to exert for social good.

The Four Purusharthas

The four Purusharthas of Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha have been conceived as means for the achievement of this twin objective of individual advancement and social welfare. Dharma, Artha, and Kama sustain one another and are complementary. To accept any one of them as the sole inspirer of human activity, and to evaluate actions by that measure alone, would be to take a lop-sided view of things. However, Dharma being the means for realising Artha and Kama, it is of prime importance.

Nature Of Dharma

A lot of confusion is caused by equating Dharma with religion or creed. Dharma really means those eternal principles which sustain an entity—individual or corporate—and abiding by which, that entity can achieve material prosperity in this world and spiritual salvation in the next. The basic attributes of Dharma are eternal and immutable. But in the matter of a detailed spelling out of these principles, Dharma does vary in accordance with place and period. Nevertheless in this changing world, Dharma is the only factor that brings stability to society. According to Indian polity, therefore, absolute sovereignty vests in Dharma alone.

Nation And World Unity

Society is not just a conglomeration of individuals. It is a living entity by itself. A society which has filial devotion to its own land and a characteristic genius of its own, constitutes a nation. The genius is innate, and inborn and not the product merely of geography and history. The rise and fall of nations depends very much on how far their conduct has been in conformity with their own genius. But despite these variegated characteristics of theirs, different nations can play a complementary role in the building up of world unity. If any nation does not do so and impairs unity it should be considered a perversity. To seek to do away with nations in order to build up world unity would be like demolishing the individuality of the individual in the name of promoting corporate weal.

Genesis Of Institutions

In order to manifest itself, and to help the individual exercise these four Purusharthas, society gives birth to a variety of institutions such as marriage, family, property, caste, clan, community, guild, panchayat, state, etc. The State is important, but not supreme.

In the Krita-yuga, they say, all men were guided in their conduct towards one another by Dharma, so there was no State. That is our conception of the ideal state of society—stateless, and regulated entirely by Dharma. This is possible only when everyone becomes selfless and Dharma-nishtha. But ordinarily, the institution of state is necessary to maintain order and to assure to every individual all opportunity for following his Dharma.

Dharma Rajya—Our Ideal

The ideal of the Indian State has been Dharma Rajya. Tolerance of and respect for all faiths and creeds is an essential feature of the Indian State. Freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed to all and the state does not discriminate against
any one on grounds of religion either in the formulation of policy or in its implementation. It is a non-sectarian State and not a Theocracy.

Dharma Rajya does not recognise any individual or body as sovereign. Every individual is subject to certain obligations and regulations. Rights of the executive, of the legislature, as well as of the people, are determined and regulated by Dharma. Licentious conduct is not permitted. The nearest English equivalent of Dharma Rajya is Rule of Law. Dharma Rajya ensures on the one hand a curb on arbitrariness and totalitarianism, and on the other it prevents democracy from degenerating into mobocracy. While other concepts of state are right-oriented, the Indian concept of Dharma Rajya is duty-oriented. Naturally, therefore, there is no scope here for rights being trampled upon or for any hankering after unlimited rights. Also, there is no danger of dereliction of duty, of power-madness, or of any conflict of rights.

Duties And Rights

In a Dharma Rajya, people's rights are inviolable. It is the duty of the people to guard these rights of theirs zealously because it is through the exercise of these rights that they can fully use their Dharma. In fact, according to our concept, a right is an instrument which enables the individual to carry out his duties and experience a sense of being, and belonging. Duty and right are thus two sides of a triangle which has Dharma as its base. It is the right of a soldier to be equipped with arms, for without arms he cannot fulfil his duty of defending the people. But how these arms are to be provided, and used, is a matter governed entirely by Dharma.

Democracy

Democracy or people's rule (Loktantra) is a means for upholding Lokadikar (people's rights) and promoting Lokkartaanya (people's duty). Democracy has to be established not only in the political field but in the economic and social fields as well. In fact democracy is indivisible. It cannot be viewed in fragments. The absence of democracy in any one sphere is bound to affect the growth of democracy in the rest. Tolerance, dignity of the individual and a feeling of identification

with the demos, the people—these are the essentials of democracy. Without these, the mere paraphernalia of democracy would be purposeless. And if these essentials are there, the institutional form can vary from time to time and from country to country.

The main feature of political democracy is the right to elect representative rulers and to be elected as such. Freedom of occupation and free choice of goods are imperative for economic democracy. And social democracy arises from equality of status and opportunity. Efforts have to be made to ensure that all these rights complement one another and do not detract from the others' effect.

Freedom

For individuals as well as for nations, freedom is a natural urge. In bondage there is neither happiness nor peace. Along with political freedom economic and social emancipation is also necessary. Non-interference by the state in the natural interests of the individual and society constitutes political freedom. Economic freedom lies in Artha not proving an impediment positive or negative for man's progress. Lastly a condition in which society contributes to the individual's natural progress, rather than restricts it, is social freedom. These freedoms accrue to the individual only when the nation as such enjoys them.

Like democracy, freedom too is indivisible. Without political freedom, it is impossible to have the other two freedoms. Without economic freedom, a people cannot have social freedom, and to a great extent political freedom also. And without social freedom, economic as well as political freedom will also lose substance.

Regulation of Economy

As in the realm of politics, so in economic matters, laissez faire belong only to the Krita-yuga. It can have relevance only in such an ideal state. Ordinarily, therefore, to ensure proper production, distribution and consumption of wealth, regulation of economy (Arthayama) is necessary. For this purpose a variety of institutions has taken shape. On the State too a heavy responsibility rests in this regard.
But to vest the ownership and control of all means of production in the state would lead to the centralisation of economic as well as political power. This would be wrong. It must, however, be admitted that to set the process of economic development moving, to keep the economy on an even keel and for the attainment of the nation's basic objectives the state must undertake in general to plan, direct, regulate and control economic effort and in certain specific spheres and circumstances to accept the responsibility of ownership and management too.

Want of Artha And Affluence

For want of Artha, Dharma suffers. By its affluence also Dharma may suffer. In both circumstances, economic independence is curtailed. Non-availability of adequate livelihood or lack of capital necessary to maintain production or increase it constitutes want of Artha. This applies both to the individual as well as the society. Attachment to wealth forgetting the fact that wealth is but an instrument, lack of a Dharma-regulated desire, knowledge and capacity for enjoyment of wealth, undue influence of money and wealth, economic disparities in society, inflation and devaluation—all these are conditions which constitute an Artha-complex harmful to Dharma. Such excess undermines human energy and ultimately leads to the dissipation of wealth and prosperity.

Ownership Of Property

The issue of ownership of property is important. Some hold that an individual's right to property is absolute. There are others who consider ownership of property and particularly of means of production, as the root cause of all evil. There are thinkers who subscribe to the view that all property belongs to God and man is but a trustee for the same. As a philosophy, this concept of trusteeship is commendable. But in actual practice, the question would always remain as to what regulations and limitations should guide the trustee's conduct.

An individual or a group of individuals, with which the individual is inseparably related in regard to all his needs and activities, cannot live without property. With Karma (action) is associated the fruit thereof. From freedom to consume and use what one has earned stems the concept of property. Not to consume the entire earnings but to save therefrom is a natural tendency and a national virtue. Property gives to the individual a sense of dignity, security and satisfaction. So property cannot be done away with.

The right to property is subject to social sanction. This concept about property is a fairly complicated one and varies with time, place and object. Differences arise with the varying needs of society. Those who deny society's right to regulate property, simply wish that there should be no change in the concepts about property prevalent at a particular moment. Society has the authority, and often it becomes its duty, to alter property rights. There is no such thing as an absolute and immutable right of property.

The right of property however will have to be recognised subject to limitations. These limitations are determined in accordance with the needs and life-values of the society and the individual. When affluence of property renders some person indolent or parasitical and its lack deprives others of their independence, it becomes imperative to regulate property.

Primarily it is the responsibility of society to provide for the rehabilitation of persons affected by changes in the prevalent concepts of property. But the principle of compensation is essential in view of the definiteness and stability it imparts.

Touchstone Of A Sound Economic System

The main desideratum of a country's economic system, as of its polity, should be the all-round development of the individual. Production of wealth aims primarily at giving happiness to man. Human labour is the primary means of production. The objective of man's economic activity is to exploit natural resources in an endeavour to fulfill his requirements. That system, therefore, is the best which aids him to fulfill these requirements as also promotes his all-round welfare. A system which advances his economic good but impedes his progress in other directions cannot be considered beneficial. The focal point of interest for every economic system should be man.

The capitalist system of economy which accepts the 'economic man' as the central point of all its activities is inadequate. The selfish desire to acquire more and more profit
is the motivating force in this system, with competition as its regulator. This does not conform to the Bharatiya philosophy. Socialism originated in reaction to the problems created by Capitalism. Its objectives are commendable but in its end-result it has failed to profit mankind. The reason is that the analysis of society and individual by Karl Marx, the propounder of scientific socialism, is basically materialistic and so inadequate. The concept of class-conflict cannot give rise to a spirit of spontaneous and permanent cooperation.

Capitalism and socialism differ in their view of property. But both lead to its centralisation and monopolisation. So man is neglected under both. We need a system in which man’s own initiative remains unobstructed but in which, in his relation with the rest of society, human values do not suffer. This objective can be fulfilled by a decentralised economy.

Decentralised Economy
Concentration of power is repugnant to democracy and human freedom. Subject to considerations about national unity, economic power should be decentralised both horizontally as well as vertically. The process of industrialisation in the West has led to concentration of power. The institutions of public limited Company, Managing Agency, Holding Company, etc. have furthered this accumulation of wealth and power in a few hands. Most of the evils of capitalist economy owe to centralisation. Socialist system saw no evil in this centralisation. They simply sought to transfer the ownership of capital from private hands to the state. In fact under a socialist regime both economic and political powers are concentrated in the same hands and, therefore, evils due to concentration become even more accentuated. These ills can be remedied only through decentralisation. Accordingly social and economic institutions will have to be recognised. The latest inventions of science and technology favour decentralized industries. Decentralisation is highly congenial to the all-round development of human personality. Small scale mechanised industries, small trades and farms that can be run and managed under individual, family or cooperative ownership should be the basis of our economy. Large units should be exception to this rule.

Criteria of Progress
It is the responsibility of society to arrange for the upkeep of every child that is born, and to provide him with education which would enable him to develop his individuality even as he contributes to the well-being of society as a responsible member. It is the responsibility of society again to assure every able-bodied person employment and adequate leisure, and every person a living. Every civilised society fulfils these obligations in some form or the other. In fact, these have become the main criteria of progress. Therefore, right to a minimum living standard, education, employment and social security and welfare will have to be accepted as fundamental rights.

Integral Humanism
The individual occupies a pivotal position in our system. According to the principle of ‘Yat pinde tadrali mande’ (what is in microcosm is in macrocosm) individual is the representative and chief instrument of society. Material wealth is a means to man’s happiness, and not an end in itself. But a system which is based on the assumption of a mass man and fails to take into account the living man having an individuality characteristically his own is not adequate. Inadequate also is a system which looks just at one attribute of man and fails to take a comprehensive view of him as an organic being comprising of Shareer, Mana, Budhi and Atma having a number of urges requiring to be fulfilled by the Purusharthas. Our ideal is the integral man, who has the potential to share simultaneously innumerable individual and corporate entities. Integral Humanism is the corner-stone upon which our entire system needs to be built.

There have been a number of schools that have propounded humanism. But their thinking has been rooted in Western philosophies and so it is essentially materialistic. These thinkers have not been able to offer any philosophical explanation for the ethical nature or behaviour of man. If you deny spirituality, then human relations and behaviour and the relationship between man and the Universe cannot be explained.

The Call
Most of the political parties in India are inspired by
Western ideologies. They are linked with one or other political movement of the West and are mere replicas of the corresponding institutions there. They cannot fulfil the aspirations of Bharat. Nor can they provide any guidance for a world standing at the cross roads.

There are a few political parties which voice allegiance to Bharatiya Sanskriti. They miss the dynamism of Bharatiya Sanskriti, and the eternal and enduring nature of Bharatiya values appears to them as evidence of a static and inflexible character. So they try to defend decrepit instructions and practices of the past age and plead for the status quo. They fail to perceive the revolutionary element in Bharatiya Sanskriti. In fact very many mal-practices prevalent in society, such as untouchability, caste discrimination, dowry, death-feasts, neglect of women, etc. are symptoms of ill-health and degeneration. Many great men of India devoted to Bharatiya Sanskriti have in the past fought these evils. An analysis of very many social and economic arrangements of ours would reveal that they are either the outcome of society’s incapacity to change and adjust with the times, or they are institutions which at one time served as society’s shield against the foreigners or they have been thrust on us by foreigners or have been adopted by us from them in sheer imitation. Such institutions cannot be preserved in the name of Bharatiya Sanskriti.

Integral Humanism must necessarily make a balanced appraisal of both Bharatiya as well as Western ideologies. On the basis of this evaluation it seeks to show a way which would make man progress further from his present position of thought, experience and achievement.

The Western world has achieved great material progress but in the field of spiritual attainment it has not been able to make much headway. India on the other hand lags far behind in material advancement and so its spiritualism has become a hollow-sounding word. Nayamatma balheena labhyah (The soul cannot be realised by the weak). There can be no spiritual salvation without material prosperity. It is necessary, therefore, that we strive for strength, and material happiness, so that we may be able to build up national health and contribute to the progress of the world, instead of being a burden on it.

Integral Humanism is the name we have given to the sum total of various features of Bharatiya Sanskriti, abiding, dynamic, synthesising and sublime. This is the ideal which determines our direction. But our idealism does not mean any doctrinaire obtuseness. An ideal has to be translated into practice. Our programme therefore has to be grounded in realism. Indeed realism is the forte of our programme, the measure of our achievements and the touchstone of our ideal. Keeping in mind this background and the conditions prevailing in India today, the Jana Sangh lays down the following policies and programmes.

NATIONAL POLICY

One Country

From the Himalayas in the north to Kanya Kumari in the south, this entire land of Bharatvarsh has always been one and indivisible—geographically, culturally and historically. This vital unity and indivisibility of the country has been manifested in all fields—economic, political and social. Because of our sacred and unflinching love for every particle of this land, we have been worshipping it as Bharat Mata. On August 15, 1947, British rule in India ended, but along with it this unity too was shattered. The existence of Pakistan not only means a separate political entity on Indian soil, it also amounts to a refutation of the fact of one nationhood and one culture, and a bid to keep alive the theory of two nations and two cultures. This theory is the product of perverse thinking and so has given rise to numerous problems. It shall be an objective of Jana Sangh policies to end the separation of India and Pakistan and to bring the two together.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh holds that Jammu and Kashmir state is an integral part of India. The Constitution of India should be made applicable to this state exactly as it applies to the rest of the states.

The areas freed from Portuguese and French rule ought to be merged with the neighbouring states.
One People

The large mass of people dwelling in this land of Bharat and cherishing a filial attachment to it constitute one people. In spite of very many diversities its unity has endured. Diversities are index not of ill-health or disruption but actually of free growth and cultural plenitude. Efforts will have to be made to defend and strengthen this unity of the Indian people. A feeling of equality and fraternity is essential for unity. Customs and systems which undermine these sentiments will have to be ended. To eradicate untouchability and feelings of high and low, administrative and constitutional steps need to be supplemented by educational, reformist and agitational measures. A man’s social status too should not depend on his caste or community and there should be no discrimination against any one on these grounds. Everyone must have the right of entry into public places of worship.

Special facilities will have to be provided to sections which have remained down-trodden for centuries, backward in education and culture, and financially distressed. Without such assistance, these sections can never catch up with the rest. But care will have to be taken to ensure that people do not develop a vested interest in ‘backwardness’, so that caste distinctions instead of being abolished are only hardened further.

A special effort should be made to remove the social, educational and economic disabilities of women, so that they become able to fulfill their responsibilities to family, to society and to the nation. Women should enjoy equal opportunities in every sphere of public activity. Reformist programmes should be undertaken to do away with customs like purdah, dowry, child-marriage and ill-matched marriages.

Reverence for motherhood is an innate feature of Bharatiya Sanskriti. Programmes of maternity welfare must be made an essential part of social security plans. In the matter of pay-scales and emoluments, women should be treated on par with men.

There should be a uniform civil code to govern the laws of marriage, inheritance, adoption etc. of all Indian citizens.

One Culture

With this country as its home, the Indian people have developed and lived a culture which is one and the same from the Himalayas to the seas. For a vast land like ours it was but natural that somewhat different patterns of life should have grown in different areas and sections. But all of them stand integrally united in Bharatiya Sanskriti which has never been tied to the strings of any particular dogma or creed. All the creeds that form the commonwealth of Bharatiya Rashtra have their share in the stream of Bharatiya culture which has flown down since the Vedas in unbroken continuity, absorbing and assimilating contributions made by different peoples, creeds and cultures that came in contact with it in the course of history, in such a way as to make them indistinguishable part and parcel of the main current. The Bharatiya culture is thus, like Bharatvarsh, one and indivisible. Any talk of composite culture, therefore, is not only untrue but also dangerous, for it tends to weaken national unity and encourage fissiparous tendencies.

One Nation

India is an ancient nation. The advent of freedom has meant only unfolding of a new chapter in its history. It is not the birth of any new nation. Naturally the basis of Indian nationalism is loyalty to the whole of Bharat and its eternal and distinctive culture.

Jana Sangh considers the unity and security of India as of paramount importance.

Only by a conscious effort to strengthen national life-values can national unity be built up and fissiparous tendencies checkmated. Even while allowing full freedom of worship, Jana Sangh is opposed to religion getting mixed up with politics or demands being made for special privileges on grounds of religion. This tendency is repugnant to our concept of secular state and an impediment in the way of national integration. It should therefore be given no quarter.

It is an essential feature of nationalism and democracy that minorities be treated with tolerance and without discrimination. Bharatiya Jana Sangh guarantees such treatment to all kinds of minorities. But it is wrong to classify the Indian people into majority and minority sections on the basis of their religion and to formulate political, social or economic policies
on that basis. This approach is illogical and betrays ignorance of the nature of nationalism. There is no place in administration or in politics for any classification of this sort.

The people of Pakistan have been basically part of the Bharatiya nation. The two-nation theory proclaimed by the Muslim League and the declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic state have combined to reduce non-Muslims in Pakistan to the status of second-class citizens. Victims of oppression and injustice, they are being forced to flee to India. It is the duty of the Government of India to exert itself and either to secure for them equal rights and a guarantee of safe and honourable living or to arrange for their planned migration to India and their rehabilitation, and compensation.

So long as Pakistan subsists as a separate Islamic state, hostile to India, the position of Indian Muslims will remain delicate. The Government will have to make a conscious effort to change the historical thought-processes which have given birth to the Pakistani mentality, and to ensure that no reasons remain which Pakistan could possibly exploit to subvert the loyalty of Indian citizens.

Christian and other missionaries in India will have to be freed from foreign influence and control. They should not be allowed to act as agents of foreign powers.

Political Structure

Only a unitary form of government can effectively contribute to the invigoration of one nationhood based on One Country, One People and One Culture. The concept of a federal state hampers national integration.

Janapadas have played an important part in the evolution of Indian polity and development of the people. The present provinces should be divided into Janapadas based on considerations of history and popular tradition. The governance of the Janapada should be through an elected Janapad Sabha. The authority to make laws for the whole country should vest in the ‘Sansad’. The Janapada Sabhas should have power to frame bye-laws as per the requirements of the Janapadas, and also to recommend to the ‘Sansad’ any particular legislation. To co-ordinate the working of various Janapadas in the Pradesh, Governors should be appointed as administrators and not as mere constitutional heads.

Power and resources should be so distributed among these units that each one of them would become economically viable and able to exercise responsible autonomy.

Administration

Administration is so important an aspect of government that the common man identifies it completely with government. It is imperative that the administration should be alert, efficient, clean, sympathetic and sensitive to public sentiment and requirement, responsible, well trained, self-respecting and zealous in the performance of duty. The employees must enjoy a sense of security in the matter of their service and emoluments. They should feel assured that in regard to appointments and promotions, there will be no favouritism. There should be reward and encouragement for ability, and punishment for negligence.

Ordinarily, the pay-scales and emoluments of Central, Provincial and local government employees should be uniform.

For political, social as well as economic reasons, economy in administration is a national duty. A wide difference in the standards of living of the rulers and the common people creates dissatisfaction, corruption, inflation and social disparities. This difference has to be reduced. A sense of pride needs to be inculcated in the employees that they are participants in the great task of nation-building. It is this pride which should provide the basic incentive for their work.

We have hitherto accepted the tradition that government employees should have no political rights except the right of franchise. With the expansion of the public sector, the ranks of government employees are growing apace. In the interest of healthy growth of democracy it would be wrong to keep this ever widening sector of society indifferent to politics. So, except for officials, employees of the general administration, and sections like the armed forces and police, all others should have freedom to take part in politics.

Justice

Justice must be cheap, easily available to all and quick. The judicial system of India continues to follow the British tradition. This needs to be reformed.
The judiciary should be free and it should be separated from the executive at all levels. All factors which adversely influence the independence and integrity of the judiciary must be eliminated.

National Security
Keeping in mind the extent and nature of our national frontiers, the international situation, and also the policies and preparations of our neighbours, all wings of the armed forces must be adequately developed and equipped with the latest arms.

In the formulation of the country's economic and foreign policies, special stress must be laid on defence requirements. To prepare the nation for defence both psychologically and physically the Jana Sangh considers it essential that the following steps be taken:

(a) There should be conscription of the nation's young men for a period of two years.
(b) Both in regard to structure as well as inspiration, all the wings of the armed forces need to be completely nationalised.
(c) Defence industries should be adequately developed.
(d) Nuclear weapons should be manufactured.
(e) Large territorial army should be raised.

Development Of Border Regions
Special arrangements should be made for the development of border regions. The people of these regions should be so equipped as to enable them to form a strong line of defence which can effectively checkmate minor border intrusions. Special steps should be taken in areas on the Pak border so as to immunise them against Pakistan's infiltration tactics.

Language Policy
There are numerous languages and dialects in India. These have served as effective media for the manifestation of India's fundamental unity. Because of their basic association with Sanskrit, and as vehicles of the same philosophy, the same Dharma, and the same sciences, these languages have developed a vast common vocabulary and the same idiom. And as they are instruments of the same one society, their literatures possess a common soul. To enable the use of Indian languages for modern sciences of the West, there is need to evolve a common technical terminology for them. This task can be best accomplished if undertaken under the aegis of the Centre. Incidentally, a common technical terminology would bring Indian languages still closer to one another.

The use of Swabhāshā in all walks of life in administration, in education, in trade, in commerce, etc. is the natural culmination of our struggle for Swarajya. As a result of popular usage and people's movements in expression of the national mind, Indian languages have come to have a place of their own. This is a historic development. It is our duty to promote and accelerate this process. It is on this basis that our language policy in the fields of administration and education should be drawn up.

Sanskrit—National Language
Sanskrit has always been India's National Language. It should be recognised as such and should be used on ceremonial occasions.

Official Language
Among Indian languages Hindi is the most widely known and for quite some time past has been developing as India's lingua franca. The Constitution has only acknowledged this fact by accepting it at the Centre. Hindi in Devanagari script must be used as the Centre's Official Language.

In the various states, the respective state languages ought to be used for purposes of administration. In departments of the Central Government also, which have to deal direct with the people, regional languages must be used.

The Centre must take steps to frame a common scientific and technical terminology for all Indian languages.

The use of Indian languages for purposes of Government may create apprehensions in regard to employment, promotion, etc. among employees not yet acquainted with these languages. Interim steps need to be taken to allay these fears.

Scheduled Languages
All the Indian languages are national languages. There-
fore, there should be no restriction in making a petition to the
authorities in any of these languages in any part of the country.
Sindhi should be included in the Eighth Schedule.

Urdu is not a separate language. It is merely a style of
Hindi which has quite an important place in our literature. Its
proper progress demands that it should be written in Devanagari
script.

Besides the languages enumerated in the Constitution
there are numerous other local dialects and languages in our
country. Their development and co-ordination with the
language of the region will enrich the regional languages and
make our literature truly reflect the people's life.

Education

Right to education is one of the basic social rights of
man. It is education which gives to man a sense of identifi-
cation with society and helps him to develop his personality.
Education must enable an individual not only to earn his living
but also to become a responsible member of the society. Along
with literacy and book-knowledge education must also develop
character. This can be possible only when education is corre-
related with national culture and values of life. There is urgent
need of modernisation and Indianisation of our educational
system.

Education System

To see that the people do not become indifferent to edu-
cation and scholars, to promote educational institutions and to
look to the welfare of those engaged in the learned professions
is one of the traditional duties of the State. The education
policy of the Government should aim at:

(1) Provision of free and compulsory education to every
child up to the secondary stage. This education
should be of a standard not only to acquaint him
with various subjects but also to enable him to earn a
living.

(2) All necessary and adequate arrangements must be
available for students desirous of going in for higher
studies.

Autonomy Of Education

Even though the State must bear the expenditure on edu-
cation, education should not be state-controlled. There should
be autonomous bodies of teachers and educationists to run
educational institutions. It is not proper to run them as a
department of the State. The distinction between the State and
private educational institutions must go. Salaries and other
amenities for teachers should be such as may attract the right
type of people to education. It is not proper to allow educa-
tional institutions to become the personal property of
managers.

Education must inculcate unity and not disruption in
the society. The existence of a separate system of public schools
in India militates against this basic principle. There is need
for raising the standard of all educational institutions.

Medium Of Instruction

It is not possible to raise the intellectual standard of
common man without the use of local languages. It will not be
possible to make all people literate so long as Indian languages
are not made the medium of instruction. Creative thinking and
fundamental research is not possible through the medium of a
foreign language.

Janata Sangh is not opposed to English or other foreign
languages. In order to extend our contacts with other countries,
and to take advantage of the research made and literature
written in other languages, one will have to encourage study of
foreign languages like Japanese, English, German, Russian,
Spanish, Arabic and Swahili. The domination of English has
kept us isolated from other great languages of the world which
we have been seeing only through English eyes. Thus English
has become a cause of isolation of India from large and im-
portant parts of the world.

The language policy in the field of education should be as
follows:

(a) Elementary education through the mother tongue.
(b) Secondary and higher education through regional
language with Hindi as a compulsory subject.
(c) Those whose mother tongue is Hindi must learn at
least one other Indian language.
(d) Study of Rashtrabhasha Sanskrit should be compulsory.

Where there is a sizable number of students of a language group other than the regional language, arrangements should be made to impart them instructions through their language.

Educational institutions teaching through Hindi medium should be opened all over the country.

People's Education

Apart from the training imparted by schools etc., the various media of mass communication also play an important part in educating the nation. Cinema, theatre, radio, television, libraries, newspapers, clubs, etc. must be encouraged to play a purposeful role.

Radio and television should be run by an autonomous corporation and not as a department of the state.

Cinema is a very effective means of popular education. As such it must be developed further. But the State must see that it does not corrupt or lower public taste and values.

Foreign Policy

Protection of the enlightened self-interests of the nation constitutes the basis of a country's foreign policy. The temperament and tradition of the Indian people have been against imperialistic expansionism and have aspired for world unity based on human equality and goodwill. So long as imperialism and colonialism subsist in the world, so long as the tendency to look down upon others because of their colour, creed or beliefs exists, so long as there are wide economic disparities between nation and nation and the consequent exploitation by some of others, so long as some two or three big nations hold themselves as the arbiters of peace or war in the world, there can be no relaxation in world tension and we will always be on the brink of a precipice. It is necessary that subject nations are emancipated, human rights honoured everywhere, disparities among national standards reduced, the sphere of cooperation among them enlarged and as an international body, the United Nations Organisation developed on a stronger, more representative, and just basis. Also, an international forum needs to be evolved where instead of governmental delegates, non-official representatives from various countries can come together and strive to bridge the gulf between nation and nation.

Indian philosophy holds that diversity is inherent in the world. Jana Sangh, therefore, recognises the right of every nation to evolve its way of life according to its own genius. Jana Sangh is opposed to imposing the same pattern on all nations.

Basis of Foreign Relations

In regard to the formulation of India’s relations with other countries, no general hard and fast rules can be laid down. Even while seeking the friendship and goodwill of all, India’s policy must basically be informed by an attitude of reciprocity. Without strength the urge for peace can encourage evil intentions and so ultimately prove fatal for peace itself. India’s foreign policy, therefore, should be dynamic and strong. The ultimate objectives must always be kept in view; but the assessment of friends and enemies in the world ought to be made on a realistic basis, and policies formulated with due regard to the circumstances. It would be unwise to adopt rigid postures in this regard. The assumption that the world is divided into two power-blocks and that we have to be either aligned with one of these, or non-aligned, is now outdated and irrelevant to the needs of the time.

Liberation of Lost Territory

Both Communist China as well as Pakistan are India’s natural enemies. Both of them have violated Indian frontiers and forcibly seized large chunks of Indian territory. The main objective of both these countries in the international field is to injure India. India’s efforts should be directed towards the recovery of the lost territory and towards containment of the aggressive designs of these two countries.

Firmness Towards Pakistan

The people of Pakistan are basically part of the Indian nation. By falling prey to the machinations of separatist political forces, these people have now been cut off from the rest of India. The creation of Pakistan has however brought
them distress and misery. The heaven they had expected to see on earth is nowhere in sight. By continuously fomenting anti-India feeling the rulers of Pakistan seek only to strengthen their own political position. As such, India's policy of appeasement is their biggest prop. If India were to adopt an attitude of firmness towards Pakistan, Pakistan's worked-up hostility towards India would not last long.

**Menace Of Communist China**

Communist China poses a threat not only to India and South East Asia but to the whole world including Communist countries like Soviet Russia. So the cooperation of all countries which subscribe to peace and co-existence should be sought to counteract Red China's expansionist and militaristic policies. The liberation of Tibet, Sinkiang and both Mongolias, the recognition of the Formosa Government and neutralization of South East Asian countries from the influence of Communist China are necessary for this purpose.

**Revival Of Cultural Ties**

India has had historical and cultural links with South East Asian and other countries. Steps should be taken to revive these ties and strengthen them.

**Overseas Indians**

For various reasons Indians had gone abroad to different parts of the world and settled there. Their's has been an important contribution towards the building up of those countries. Following the independence of these countries, in some of them Indians are being discriminated against. This has made them panicky in regard to their future. It is India's responsibility to secure equal rights for them so that they may be able to play their due role in the progress of these countries.

**Relations With African Countries**

India has always taken keen interest in, and extended support to, freedom movement in African states. The Indian independence movement has been closely associated with them. It should be our policy to promote cooperation and friendship with these newly emancipated nations and strengthen our relations with them.

**Economic Policy**

The economy of India is under-developed and disorganised. It can neither fulfil the needs of the individual nor guarantee national defence. It needs to be reorganised and developed.

**Revival Of Swadeshi Spirit**

Prosperity is not possible without increased production. But we must also insure equitable distribution so that all people have the urge for and share the fruits of prosperity. Without better and proper distribution the living standard of the common man cannot be raised nor can he have the necessary will and capacity for economic development. Increased production can find a growing market only when the purchasing power of the common people continues to increase.

Capital formation is necessary for increasing production and making the economy dynamic. Capital requires savings and enterprise. The living standard of most of the people in India is so low that there is no scope for savings. Our consumption pattern is also fast changing due to demonstration effect. Consumption propensity has sharply increased both in quantity and quality. While in the traditional industries, products do not find a market and therefore there is de-capitalisation, disindustrialisation and disemployment, in the new ones there is scarcity all around. Demand is much ahead of production. In the name of modernisation, Westernisation is rampant. It has created problems not only in the economic field but in political and social fields as well. It is necessary to revive the spirit of 'Swadeshi'. This will save us from reckless imitation, from unnecessary and excessive dependence on foreign capital and create in us a tendency for restraint and avoidance of conspicuous consumption. This revival is necessary both for arresting inflation and increasing savings.

**Planning**

With a view to putting our national resources to maxi-
minimum use in the minimum period of time, planning is necessary. But a plan is a means and not an end. It has to be formulated within the framework of the nation's basic values. No economic plan that goes against the fundamental principles of political independence, democracy and the permanent values of Bharatiya culture can be acceptable to the nation. In fact these values are not obstacles in the way of the planners but are their greatest assets. If these sentiments can be properly utilised they can lend a great fillip to our collective efforts. Labour and sacrifice in the present for prosperity in the future are not motivated simply by economic considerations. The plan has to be idealistic in order to inspire the people to work for its realisation. But its targets should be fixed on a realistic basis taking into consideration the potential capacity of the people.

Planning is essential for development but its limits must be well kept in mind. We cannot adopt totalitarian methods like those of the USSR, Communist China or other communist countries. We should have a detailed plan for the public sector, but for the private sector we should simply fix approximate targets in a general way and then leave the people free to achieve them. The private sector is mainly guided and controlled by laws of market economy, but the public sector can be regulated by administrative decisions and decrees. When the whole economy is sought to be brought under administrative controls and orders, it gives rise to problems like black-market, etc., and the people feel their liberties curtailed. There should be micro-economic planning for the public sector and macro-economic planning for the whole economy. In fact the strategy of planning should be adoption of such fiscal, monetary and industrial policies under which individual enterprise gets maximum encouragement, and investment and distribution following the laws of market economy flows towards desirable ends. Planning, policy formulation, regulation, control and nationalisation should be preferred in that order.

Objectives

The following should be the objectives of the Plan:

1. Defence;
2. Full Employment;
3. Raising the living standard of the people while guaranteeing to every family basic necessities of life;
4. Reduction of disparities in income and wealth;
5. Making the nation self-sufficient in both basic production and consumption goods, even after taking due account of the growing international trade; and
6. Uniform development of all regions and sections of the people.

Priorities

Though balanced economy visualises a co-ordinated development of agriculture, industry, trade and services and all the four have to be activated, yet in order to create a self-generating economy we suggest the following priorities:

1. Establishment of defence industries.
2. Increase in agricultural production.
3. Expansion of labour-intensive industries to produce essential consumer goods, and
4. Establishment of public utilities and basic industries.

Price Policy

Price policy is an important instrument of planning. Prices do not simply regulate the consumption-capacity of different sections but also influence the flow of investment and distribution. In a growing economy a certain amount of price-rise is inevitable, but when prices rise and fall suddenly and when there are vast seasonal or regional fluctuations in prices, they inflict hardship on the common man and disturb planned development. The interests of both, the consumer and the producer, are adversely affected. Capital under these circumstances is not attracted towards agriculture and industry but turns into unproductive channels. Trade, business and speculative activities abound. Price stabilisation is a must for planned development.

Price policy should be guided by the needs of investment under the plan and with a view to maintain an equitable parity between and correlation among prices of agricultural products and industrial products, salaries and wages and interests and profits. Instead of fixing prices by administrative fiat it is always better and more desirable to regulate them through the play of economic forces.
Food And Agriculture

Out of man’s elementary needs food is vital for life. Dependence on foreign countries for food is a national disgrace and has harmful effects not only on the country’s economy but also on the political situation. Moreover, we have not much to export to those countries which have been supplying us food. Foreign loans and grants cannot sustain us for long. Self-sufficiency in food is as imperative as national independence.

Agricultural products, milk, meat, fish, eggs, etc. are included in food. Of these, agricultural products and milk are the most important. In India particularly they constitute the staple food. Any plan for food must take into consideration the food habits of the people, their sentiments and values of life. We must give prime importance to increasing production of food crops and milk.

In a society where a majority of the people are engaged in raising food and/or have a very low purchasing power, there exists little scope for development and diversification of the economy. In India 69.8 per cent of the people are dependent on agriculture, of whom a very large number constitute landless agriculturists or subsistence farmers. They have no marketable surplus. Food situation for the non-agriculturists eases only with increasing the marketable surplus of food. If this surplus not to be secured from the farmer by undesirable means e.g. compulsory procurement, levy, distress sale, etc., efforts should be made to increase food production per person engaged in agriculture, as also to generate in him the will and capacity to purchase the products and services of the people in the non-agricultural sector. Therefore we should aim at increased agricultural production, reduction in the number of people dependent on agriculture, good prices for agricultural products and a desire in the rural people to increase their standard of living.

As land in India is limited we must also take care to get maximum production per acre of land. Thus intensive farming, remunerative prices and industrialisation of the villages should be the corner-stone of our agricultural programme.

To develop agriculture, the present system of land tenure requires to be changed, farming techniques improved and new institutions established for marketing and other services.

Keeping in view also the development of village industries, an integrated plan should be formulated and implemented to this end.

Better Farming Methods

The Indian farmer has evolved methods of farming most suitable to his circumstances. These age-long systems should not be abandoned suddenly in favour of methods which have not been fully tested, particularly in conditions similar to those existing in India. The Indian farmer has been practising rotation of crops, using manures and night soil after curing. He knows the value of bunding and plantation for checking soil-erosion. He has maintained the fertility of the soil for ages. Of course, for some time past, it has not been possible for him to put his knowledge to full use. His capital resources need to be augmented and fixity of tenure assured. New knowledge and experimentation can inspire only if they have been successful among people in similar circumstances. It will be useful to encourage and help progressive farmers in the village. Their fields, rather than the departmental ones, should serve as demonstration farms in the villages.

Manures and fertilizers are necessary for increasing agricultural production. But the kind and quantity of fertilizer required depends upon a number of factors, e.g., the composition of the soil, irrigation facilities, crops, system of farming, etc. In every Community Development Block there should be one laboratory which should supply free information to the farmers in this regard.

Use of heavy tractors and machines for farming is unsuit-
ed to Indian conditions. They can be availed of, however, for bringing fallow lands under the plough.

Service cooperatives should be organised for marketing and supply of improved tools, bullocks, seeds, fertilizers and credit.

Irrigation

Tradition enjoins upon the Government to arrange for proper irrigation facilities so that agriculture can be freed from the vagaries of monsoon. Since independence though a number of big schemes have been undertaken, yet the area under irriga-
tion has not significantly increased. Minor irrigation schemes have been neglected. For want of repair many old wells, tanks, etc. have become unserviceable.

Taking all factors into consideration, small schemes are more suited to our conditions. Large dams are capital intensive. In many parts of the country, soil conditions and the level of sub-soil water lead to water-logging and salinity. It makes large tracts barren. Except for the existing schemes, only minor irrigation works should be constructed. In an anxiety for quick returns, the rates of irrigation charges and other taxes should not be kept so high that the farmer considers them beyond his capacity and refuses to take advantage of the available facilities.

Tube-wells and power-pumps are very useful and they have become popular.

**Land Tenure**

Fixity of tenure is necessary if the farmer is expected to invest in land for greater production. He must be assured of fair rent. If through crop-sharing or excessive rent the lion's share of his produce is appropriated by others, he loses the incentive, and the capacity as well, to produce more. Due to a number of historical factors, there have grown up a number of intermediaries. Of these systems, Zamindari, Jagirdari and the like have been abolished; but intermediaries of various types have cropped up in the Ryotwari tenure also. There are many land-holders who do not till their land but lease it out to tenants and, in return, share the crop. This has created a class of absentee land-holders. Legally they are agriculturists and whatever facilities are provided by the government to agriculturists are in most cases appropriated by these people. The result is that the actual tiller lives in a precarious condition, impoverished and famished. The tiller must become the owner of the land and get all the benefits due to an agriculturist. In states where such laws have been passed, there have been a large number of illegal evictions or voluntary surrenders. There are not a few loopholes in these laws, and their execution is without exception faulty and half-hearted. The land records should be corrected and the laws implemented in the real spirit in which they have been enacted.

**Definition Of The ‘Tiller’**

By ‘tiller’ we mean a person who bears the risk, invests his capital, contributes labour and supervises all operations. He can and he invariably has to engage labour, seasonal and/or permanent.

There can be conditions where a farmer is not able to till his land for some time. If he is not allowed to lease his land for this period it might go untilled. When national economy demands every square inch of land to be cultivated, leaving the land untilled or half-tilled is criminal. Exceptions will have to be made in such cases. Similarly land belonging to minors, widows, infirm and disabled persons or army personnel should be exempted from this rule.

There is also a case for the holders of uneconomic holdings leasing out their lands. Such lands should be allowed to be sublet to those who themselves have uneconomic holdings.

**Ceiling On Land-Holding**

As we have opted for intensive cultivation we must accept both ceiling on land-holdings and a ban on fragmentation below the economic holdings.

**Peasant Proprietorship**

Taking into consideration the land-population-ratio, the extent and gravity of unemployment, the need to maximise yield per acre of land, the difficulties in fixing standards for different agricultural operations, the farmer’s attachment to his land, the democratic and cultural values of the people, cooperative or collective farming has to be totally abjured and rejected in India. Peasant proprietorship should be the basis of our land system.

**Consolidation**

Fragmentation and sub-division of holdings is a grave problem in India. Consolidation of land-holdings has been going on. A master-plan of the village should be prepared before consolidation proceedings start and the whole process should be completed in such a way that the weaker sections of the rural populace are not discriminated against. On the contrary the allotment should be in such a way that the owners of
uneconomic holdings might get facilities for making their fields economic. Fragmentation and sub-division below the economic holding must be forbidden.

Agricultural Labour

Farm labour plays a vital role in agriculture. They should not only be paid adequate wages but all the facilities granted to land-holders and other villagers should be available to them. To eradicate under-employment, subsidiary industries should be established in the villages.

Ban on Cow Slaughter

Keeping in view the people's sentiments for the cow and its progeny, and considering also its vital role in India's economy, there should be a constitutional ban on its slaughter, and special efforts should be made for preservation and promotion of cattle wealth of the country. Mixed farming is most suited to India.

Marketing

Along with programmes for increase of production, agencies for marketing and credit will have to be established and strengthened. Till now the village money-lender has been performing both these functions to a great extent. The farmer cannot get a fair price for lack of organised markets. There is no parity between prices of agricultural produce and manufactures. The farmer has neither the capacity, nor the facilities, for stocking. This deprives him of highest price for his produce. Warehouses should be constructed in the rural areas, and the producer provided with credit against his produce. Crop insurance should be introduced.

Forest

Forests are valuable assets of the nation. They also influence our climate. There is need for a co-ordinated programme on scientific basis to prevent deforestation, to increase plantation and to ensure proper utilisation of existing forests. Both the forests and the Vanavasis living there, have been badly exploited all these years. The forest people must be given land to till. They should have privileges and facilities in the forests so that they can make their living.

Industrial Policy

The inevitable need of industrialisation is admitted by all. But differences exist as to the pace and form of industrialisation. Generally, the government and the people are anxious to follow the western pattern, considering it the only form of industrialisation. Foreign aid and foreign collaboration have also influenced this pattern. This industrialisation so far has not helped us much. Of course there has been an increase in national income. But there has also been disindustrialisation, decapitalisation, an increase in unemployment, greater dependence on foreign loans and imports, more concentration of power and disparities in income and wealth. Due to urbanisation at a very fast rate we witness large masses of people being uprooted from their homes, and living in the towns without any bonds or roots. This has led to a number of social, political and economic problems. We cannot dismiss these simply as natural consequences of industrialisation.

New Technology

The basic principles of science are not related to any clime or country. But their application for the evolution of a pattern of production depends upon the availability of different factors of production, potential demand, and the cultural, social, and geographical conditions of a particular area. We must determine the appropriate technology by taking into consideration: (1) available and exploitable natural resources; (2) potential and present power; (3) population, its number and quality; (4) the level of managerial and technical skill; (5) capital resources; (6) purchasing power of the people and possible markets; and (7) other inter-dependent economic factors. Instead of imitating western technology we must develop a technology best suited to us.

Industrial Decentralisation

In accordance with the principles of Integral Humanism, and taking into account both the economic factors and the latest researches in science, small-scale mechanised units should form the general basis of India's industrialisation. They can
be correlated to agriculture, and established in villages. This will save us from the evil consequences of rapid urbanisation and the villages too will share the nation’s prosperity. Unless educated people stay in villages there is no hope of improvement in rural conditions and the programmes of democratic decentralisation cannot succeed. Considerations of defence also make decentralised industries all the more imperative.

Small industry being labour-intensive it can help better in eradicating unemployment. It requires relatively less capital. In India the number of small-scale entrepreneurs can be large compared to big ones. Overall capital formation would be much greater if the small-scale technology is adopted. Also these industries can evolve out of the existing ones and thus save technological de-capitalisation and disemployment. The workers can own these industries and even if other workers are engaged the human element will not disappear from the relationship between the employer and the labourers. Cooperation too has a big scope here. These are quick-return industries. Capital is not locked up here for long.

Rules and regulations of banking, credit, transport and the government’s industrial policy, all these, favour big industries as against small ones. Consequently small industries suffer. Despite this, some small industries have made such headway that they can easily compete with the large-scale industries. However, in the initial stages they need protection in the same way as home industry demands protection against powerful foreign industries.

Demarcation Of Spheres

There should be a demarcation of spheres between small-scale and large-scale industries. Generally, consumer goods should be assigned to the former and producer and basic goods to the latter.

Village Industries

Most of the traditional village and cottage industries have ceased to be economic. By use of power and machine they should be rationalised and brought into the category of small industry. Unless their productivity is raised they cannot survive. Protection is useful and necessary in the early stages, but it should not become a permanent feature.

Village Artisans

Artisans have an important place in the village economy. With the advance of modernisation most of them are being displaced. Arrangements should be made to rehabilitate them.

National Sector

Ownership of large-scale industries has become a subject of controversy. Supporters of Socialism and Capitalism both take a doctrinaire stand. In India where a vast field lies under-developed and where the capacity of both the public and the private sectors falls short, there is no sense in the controversy. There is enough scope for both. Instead of dividing the sectors on a theoretical basis let us think of a national sector and every agency should be allowed to contribute to its development to the best of its capacities.

Mixed economy is necessary for India. Both the public and the private sectors can play an important role in it. There should be cooperation between the two. There can be mixed enterprises also, i.e., units in which both the state and the people have a share. In public enterprises the people should be allowed to contribute up to 49 percent of the share capital.

In this controversy between the private and the public sectors, the people’s enterprise, i.e., the small-scale sector, has suffered an almost total neglect. In fact it is this sector which should be dominant. It needs to be strengthened. Our policy should be state enterprise where it must, private enterprise where it should, but people’s enterprise wherever it would.

Public Sector

In an under-developed economy there can be spheres where the private sector would not like to enter, or where political and social objectives might enjoin upon the state to enter those fields. The public sector naturally has a responsibility in this regard which it must endeavour to discharge without any doctrinaire bias.

Basic industries and public utilities are heavily capital intensive and have a long fruition lag. Unless the public sector takes them up they would remain undeveloped.
Collaboration with foreign capital available on governmental level should be allowed only in the public sector.

The state might also be required to enter some fields to place a model before enterprise and/or to supplement its efforts. These would be spheres of partial public enterprise, e.g., Foodgrain trade, Banking, Insurance, Transport and Foreign trade.

If for any reason it is considered necessary to nationalise any private trade, business or industry, the matter should be referred to an independent judicial commission and steps taken in accordance with its recommendations.

The management of public enterprises should be entrusted to autonomous corporations. They should be subject to all laws and regulations applicable to the private sector.

Prevention Of Monopoly
It is the duty of the state to prevent growth of monopolies and concentration of economic power.

Full Employment
It should be the objective of economic planning and industrial policy to provide gainful employment to every able-bodied person. While new opportunities of work have to be created for the eradication of unemployment, the need of increasing productivity and income of the under-employed should not be ignored. In fact, addition in their purchasing power would provide work to others. Programmes with regard to employment should be framed keeping in mind the number, training, productivity, mobility and nature and extent of unemployment etc. of labour.

There should be provision for unemployment doles.

Rationalisation
Rationalisation is needed for ending under-employment and raising productivity. But rationalisation in India is mainly import-oriented. Moreover the rate of industrialisation being slow, those retrenched are not easily absorbed elsewhere. The new machines can activate the economy only when (1) the increased income is equitably distributed between labour and capital, (2) part of this income is used both for consumption and for capital formation, (3) the rate of capital formation in the country is so much that even after purchasing new machines, there will remain enough to start new industries to provide employment to the retrenched workers, other new entrants and the unemployed.

A phased programme should be made taking all these facts into consideration.

Labour Policy
The level of the common man in a country is gauged by the status of the labourer. Labour has a right to organise itself and to resort to collective bargaining. Jana Sangh recognises the labourer's right to strike; but this right should be used only as a last resort. The government should establish an adequate machinery of consultation, negotiation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication, so that such a contingency does not arise.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh does not feel that there is permanent conflict of interests between employer and employee. In fact the worker also contributes his labour as capital. Labour should have a share in management and profits.

Wage Board
Though labour has a right to secure settlement of wages and other emoluments by collective bargaining, yet in order to avoid industrial disputes, it is necessary that the government makes some arrangement for determining levels of emoluments from time to time. Jana Sangh proposes the creation of permanent Wage Board which should determine wages and other allowances in different industries taking into account prevalent prices, standards of living of the people, economic condition of the industry, and social objectives of the nation.

Wage Policy
Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers it essential to fix a National Minimum in wages. The emoluments in accordance with the cost of living index constitute the real wage. The nation's prosperity should be reflected in the wages of the labour. Only after this level is obtained, should bonus be considered a share in the profits of the industry.
Capital Formation

Capital formation is necessary for economic development. Special efforts will have to be made to promote savings and investment. A spirit of restraint and thrift need to be fostered. In order to discourage ostentatious and luxurious habits, a ceiling should be imposed on expendable income. The Government also must set an example in this regard.

An efficient and developed system of banking is helpful and necessary for capital formation. Adequate banking facilities must be made available in the rural areas. Cooperative banks can be useful in this case, but, as it is, they are proving unequal to the task. They do not seem particular in regard to the mobilisation of rural savings.

Nationalisation of banking is not consistent with economic objectives. It will hamper capital formation. Nationalisation does not increase capital. It simply transfers management and ownership. In stead of monopolising banking the Government can, and should, establish more banks wherever needed. Till now, banks have catered mainly to the needs of trade. Steps should be taken to see that they fulfill the capital needs of agriculture and industry—particularly the small ones—well. The Government and the Reserve Bank must be vigilant in regard to regulation of banks.

Foreign Capital

// Shortage of internal capital can to some extent be met by foreign capital. But it has only a limited scope and use. Experience of many other countries shows that the overall outflow in terms of remittance of earned profits, interest and principal repayments is always much more than the inflow of foreign capital. Due to technological reasons also, which have been referred to earlier, foreign capital will not serve much purpose. It can be of use only in fields where foreign technology is necessary and desirable. //</

Taxation

Fiscal and monetary policies are very important and delicate instruments of economic policy. Growth of taxation in India has been haphazard. There is no rational division of resources between different authorities. The financial system of India is unitary. Fiscal powers should be reorganised on this basis. Essentials of life should be free from any sort of tax. No direct tax should be levied on those with income below the national minimum.

Cooperation

Cooperation has been an important element of Indian society. Our economy should be reorganised on that basis. But it is necessary that cooperatives should grow in a voluntary manner and are not imposed from above. Control and interference by the administration is against the spirit of the cooperative movement. The joint family, if it can be renovated on a cooperative basis, should be made use of.

Housing

In the tally of a family's minimum needs, housing is an important item. Economic changes have increased mobility of labour and cities and towns are growing fast. This has created an acute scarcity of urban accommodation. The state and other agencies should take up a co-ordinated programme in this regard. It should be the responsibility of the state to help every family to own a house.

Social Security And Welfare

It should be the objective of every economy to assure every individual employment and an income adequate enough to maintain his family comfortably. Every citizen must be guaranteed a minimum living standard. To achieve this objective a two-fold effort is required. On the one hand social welfare programmes must be undertaken which could provide certain basic services free to every citizen; on the other, there should be social security provisions for those who are handicapped by any disability. Free education, free medical aid, national health service, unemployment and sickness insurance, old age pension schemes, orphanages, etc., these are some of the measures which should be adopted.

Health And Medical Aid

A man needs to keep fit not only for his own sake but for the sake of society also. It is the duty of the state to
undertake large-scale and effective public health programmes. There should be adequate safeguards against epidemics and spread of contagious diseases. Care must be taken to ensure that people get good food, pure water and fresh air. Stern measures must be resorted to prevent adulteration of foodstuffs.

The Ayurvedic system concerns itself with both health as well as medicine. During the past centuries various systems of medicine have flourished in the country. Various new discoveries have been made. Bharatiya Jana Sangh favours a policy of encouraging all these systems keeping in mind their efficacy and suitability to Indian conditions. It is necessary also that Ayurved enriched by modern knowledge and research be developed as National System of medicine.

The Measure Of Our Progress

The measure of economic progress and of the success of economic planning is provided not by the man at the higher rungs of society but by one who is at the bottom. There are crores in the country today who are denied the most elementary rights of man. These crores are not taken into account by the government's plans and policies, and the administration's attitudes and inclinations. In fact they are regarded as impediments in the path of progress. For us, however, these lowly, unlettered, ignorant masses are gods—worthy of worship. Their worship is our Dharma. We look forward to the day when we shall be able to give them decent pucca dwelling houses, when we can impart education and a higher culture to their children and womenfolk, when we can provide soothing balm for their sorrows, and when by instructing them in arts and crafts, we can help raise their standards of living. That will mark the fulfilment of our brotherly ties with these mute millions. The nation cannot be vitalised until we are able to carry a message of hope and faith to the countryside, where today time stands still, and parents are unable to give any direction to the future of their children. The focal point of our faith, the object of our dedication and worship, the instrument of our exertions and efforts, and the measure of our achievements is the individual who is literally aniketa (without home) and aparigrahi (without property). Only when we are able to bring prosperity to him by equipping him with the fourfold purusharthas, only when by giving him spiritual insight we enable him to become aniketa (unattached) and aparigrahi (selfless) in the service of the world, will our Integral Humanism have fructified.
1951

INTRODUCTORY

Situation

Bharatavarsha has become free after long centuries of struggle. But the glow of freedom is fast disappearing from the hearts of her people. She is beset with a horde of problems, internal and external, old and new, which instead of nearing solution after independence are daily getting aggravated. Her common people are being ground down under the weight of economic distress, social insecurity and political repression. Her production is falling, black-marketing and profiteering are rampant and charges of corruption and favouritism against the administration, which is top heavy, are being openly made. As a result of all this an atmosphere of general demoralisation and frustration has developed in every sphere. This state of affairs, if allowed to grow unchecked, would spell disaster for the country.

The mistaken policies and 'Abharatiya' and unrealistic approach to the national problems by the party in power is primarily responsible for this state of affairs in the country. In their anxiety to make Bharat a carbon-copy of the West, they have ignored and neglected the best in Bharatiya life and ideals. They have failed to harness the enthusiasm created by freedom to the task of realisation of the great potentialities of the country.

But the country is above party, and the destiny of Bharat cannot be allowed to be marred by the mistakes of a few. She has faced even worse situations in the past and would surely rise to the occasion even today if the great potential strength, energy and idealism of her people are properly roused and utilised in the service of the country. This demands a new lead covering all aspects of national life, cultural, political
and economic. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh aims at meeting this need.

FUNDAMENTALS

One Country

The whole of Bharatvarsha, from Himalayas to Kanya Kumari, is and has been, through the ages, a living organic whole—geographically, culturally and historically. She is the mother of all Bharatiyas who have equal rights. Its recent partition, instead of solving any problem, communal or otherwise, has given rise to many new ones. Culturally, economically, politically, as well as internationally, United India is essential. It is not a communal question at all. The party will work for it through all legitimate means.

One Nation

Bharat is an ancient nation. Its recently obtained freedom only marks the beginning of a new chapter in her long and chequered history and is not the birth of a new nation. Bharatiya nationalism, therefore, must naturally be based on undivided allegiance to Bharat as a whole and her great and ancient culture which distinguishes her from other lands.

One Culture

Unity in diversity has been the characteristic feature of Bharatiya culture which is a synthesis of different regional, local and tribal growths, natural in such a vast country. It has never been tied to the strings of any particular dogma or creed. All the creeds that form the commonwealth of the Bharatiya Rashtra have their share in the stream of Bharatiya culture which has flown down from the Vedas in an unbroken continuity absorbing and assimilating contributions made by different peoples, creeds and cultures that came in touch with it in the course of history, in such a way as to make them indistinguishable part and parcel of the main current.

The Bharatiya culture is thus one and indivisible. Any talk of composite culture, therefore, is unrealistic, illogical and dangerous for it tends to weaken national unity and encourage fissiparous tendencies.

Dharm Rajya Not Theocracy But Rule Of Law

The Bharatiya state drawing inspiration and sustenance from this ancient culture has always been a civil institution, apart from religion, giving equal protection and extending equal patronage to all the different creeds and sections that as to form the Bharatiya society. The very idea of a theocratic state is foreign to Bharat, which has never known anything like 'Khilafat'.

Secularism, as currently interpreted in this country, however, is only a euphemism for the policy of Muslim appeasement. The so-called secular composite nationalism is neither nationalism nor secularism but only a compromise with communalism of those who demand price even for their lip-loyalty to this country.

The party stands for the revival of Bharatiya culture and revivalisation of true Bharatiya nationalism on its basis, with such adjustments as may be necessary to make our country truly modern, progressive and strong. It will strive for the establishment of Dharmrajya, i.e., Rule of Law, wherein men and women of various faiths, speaking different languages and residing in different parts of the country will live in an atmosphere of unity, freedom and goodwill, pursuing and furthering a common culture and serving a common motherland to achieve the Bharatiya ideal of progress, spiritual and national.

Object

The object of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh is the rebuilding of Bharat on the basis of Bharatiya 'Sanskriti' and 'Maryada' and as a political, social, and economic democracy granting equality of opportunity and liberty of individual so as to make her a prosperous, powerful and united nation progressive, modern and enlightened, able to withstand the aggressive designs of others and to pull her weight in the council of nations for the establishment of the world peace.

Method

The Jana Sangh believes in democracy based on the freedom of the individual and the rule of law. It, therefore,
deprecates the use of violent methods advocated by those who believe in totalitarian politics. The Jana Sangh will adopt only peaceful and constitutional means to achieve its objects.

PROGRAMME

The village has been the centre of Bharatiya life in all times. The ideal of ‘Sarvodaya’ cannot be achieved until and unless the village is restored to its original position as the basic economic unit. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, stands for the establishment of ‘Gramatantra’ by bringing about economic and administrative decentralisation.

Most Pressing Economic Problem

The most pressing economic problem before the country today is that of food, clothing and shelter. Failure to solve this will shake the very foundations of our social and economic structure and bring about a revolution. The Party is not wedded to any isms, but it will not hesitate to take any action, however drastic, to provide for these. Sacrifices will have to be made by all in the interest of all. The living condition of the common man has to be improved, and the middle class, which is the worst hit, has to be saved to avoid a breakdown of the entire intellectual and cultural activity in the country.

Agricultural Policy

The shortage of food, cotton and jute which constitutes the crux of our economic problem can be permanently solved only by increase in production from cultivated land, of which there is a large scope, and by bringing more land under the plough.

To increase production from land under cultivation the Party will take among others, the following steps:

(1) A country-wide campaign to educate and enthuse the cultivator about the necessity of harder work for more production.
(2) Better storage facilities in the rural areas and use of scientific preservatives.
(3) Consolidation and checking of fragmentation of holdings.
(4) Provision and popularisation of better seeds and improved methods of agriculture.

(5) Provisions of irrigation facilities by:
   (a) Helping the cultivators to build small dams, construct ‘Kools’ and sink wells for their own use through joint efforts.
   (b) Taking steps to drill large number of tube-wells in the Punjab, U.P., Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and such other areas, where there is enough subsoil water.
   (c) Taking in hand small irrigation projects which can be completed and brought into productive use within a year or two. Out of 13 bigger projects under way, attention would be first concentrated on the most promising of them so that they might be completed within the shortest possible time.

(6) Encouragement of the use of mechanical appliances in agriculture.

These measures cannot be handled successfully as proved by experience, by the bureaucratic machinery alone. The Party will tackle them as a national programme through large bands of volunteer workers inspired by the spirit of service to the nation.

To further increase our food production it is essential to bring a part at least of about 100 million acres of cultivable waste land in the country under plough. The Party will strive at pooling private and state resources to break and develop such lands, which will then be let out to cultivating farmers on easy terms.

Land Reforms

In the interest of increase in production and the betterment of the lot of the actual cultivator the party would take all steps to introduce land reforms so as to make the cultivator ‘Kshetrapala’, i.e., virtual owner of land. In the interest of the economy of the country the Party would abolish Jagirdari and Zamindari as with compensation and distribute the land to tillers. Enough land, however, would be left with such Zamindars and Jagirdars as would settle down as cultivating farmers.
Improvement Of Rural Life
The Party will strive to improve and modernise our villages to make their life attractive and worth living. Steps will be taken to spread a network of schools and roads in rural areas in the shortest possible time to end the intellectual and physical isolation of the rural population. To provide subsidiary sources of income to the agricultural population, steps will be taken to popularise cottage-industries suited to village conditions.

Cow Protection
The party stands pledged to the prohibition of cow-slaughter. Special steps will be taken to improve the breeds of cow to make it an economic unit in our agricultural life.

Industrial Policy
The object of the industrial policy of the party is quick expansion of industry in all directions to make the country self-sufficient in capital and consumer goods as also in those needed for defence purposes.

Large-Scale Industries
The party stands for public ownership of industries especially catering to the essential defence needs of the country. As for other large industries, state ownership has generally not worked efficiently and economically in this country. Unlimited state-capitalism may also lead to totalitarianism. The party, therefore, instead of talking vaguely about nationalisation, will encourage private enterprise to expand in the interest of consumers and producers alike. Effective steps will be taken to put a check on profiteering and concentration of economic power in the hands of the big few through cartels and combines.

Decentralisation
The party stands for progressive rationalisation and decentralisation of industry. This will eliminate many of the ills of industrialism, help in creating regional self-sufficiency and will also be advisable from the viewpoint of defence.

Small-Scale And Cottage Industries
The party will strive for making the country self-sufficient in consumer goods through the widespread development of small-scale and cottage-industries on the model of Japan.

To achieve this end, steps will be taken for:
1. The speedy development of hydro-electric energy.
2. The establishment of rural polytechnics for training rural artisans in modern methods of production of machines specially designed for cottage industries.
3. The provision of marketing facilities for such cottage industries.
4. The encouragement to join in co-operative efforts for the establishment of such industries.

Encouragement Of Swadeshi
To give fillip to national industry the party will take steps to re-awaken the national conscience in favour of Swadeshi, give subsidies to deserving industries and provide tariff protection against unfair foreign competition.

Industrial Relations
The party stands for a fair deal to labour. In the interest of better relations between capital and labour and of improvement of the status and living conditions of labour, as also of increase in production the party will work for making labour a sharer in the profits of industry based on production. During the transition period till the country’s industrial production reaches the required level, all strikes and lock-outs, specially in respect of industries of national importance, would be discouraged. All disputes will be settled by industrial tribunals consisting of impartial judges whose decisions would be binding on both industrialists and labour.

Capital Formation
Absence or shyness of private capital and difficult financial position of the government are major obstacles in the way of rapid industrialisation of the country.

To meet this situation the party will take all necessary steps to promote formation of capital and its proper investment in productive undertakings. Steps will be taken to popularise banking and crop and life insurance in the rural areas to attract
to the money market that surplus money which lies dormant in the country.

Foreign capital would be welcomed particularly for starting capital goods industries. But care shall be taken that political strings are not attached to it and that foreign concerns provide adequate training facilities to the Indian workers.

Trade
Foreign trade will be regulated in the interest of self-sufficiency and Swadeshi. Imports of essential capital goods will be encouraged and those of consumer, particularly luxury, goods discouraged. In respect of internal trade all inter-state barriers will be removed. The whole country will be treated as one market for the purpose of internal trade and steps will be taken to bring about uniformity in the trade policies of all the provinces.

Controls
The party stands for a policy of progressive decontrol as it is convinced that controls are the root cause of much of the corruption, black-marketing and general moral degradation in the country.

Taxation
The taxation policy would be so directed that it lessens inequalities of income and brings enough revenue to the state for defence and nation-building activities.

Economy In Administration
The party would take steps to effect economy in the government expenditure and approximate the standard of living of the official hierarchy to the guiding ideals and general standard of the country. It is necessary to bridge the gulf that divides the government from the people.

Foreign Policy
The Party’s foreign policy will be guided primarily by the enlightened national self-interest, that is, considerations of welfare and progress of the country. True to traditions of Bharat it will work for the maintenance of world peace and mutual understanding. While standing for the democratic way of life it will retain friendly relations with all countries friendly to Bharat. It has no imperialist designs and will resist any such move, direct or indirect, on the part of others. It recognises the inherent right of every nation to determine its own pattern of life and outlook and does not regard it possible or desirable that all countries should be cast in one mould.

The Party will take all possible steps to liquidate foreign pockets in the country at the earliest.

Commonwealth
In view of the fact that Bharat has not in any way benefitted by remaining in the Commonwealth and because the United Kingdom, to the detriment of Bharat interests and honour, has been pursuing a policy of partiality towards Pakistan, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels that the whole question of Bharat’s remaining in the Commonwealth needs to be re-examined.

Pakistan
So long as Pakistan remains a separate entity, the party will stand for a strict policy of reciprocity and not one of appeasement, as hitherto pursued to the detriment of Bharat’s national interest and honour. In view of the fact that Pakistan Government has failed to accord reasonable security of life and property and honourable existence to its minorities which never wanted partition, this party deems it to be the sacred duty of Bharat to secure to them, through all means open to her, a civilised living with equality and honour. Recovery of thousands of abducted women still in Pakistan is and must remain the most painful duty of Bharat.

Kashmir
Since Kashmir is an integral part of India and having regard to developments at U.N.O. the reference made to the latter should be withdrawn and there should be no further question of plebiscite. To end the state of uncertainty about
Kashmir’s future it should be integrated with Bharat like other acceding states and not given any special position.

Defence
Looking to the trends of power block conflicts and the strategic position which India occupies, it is essential that top priority is given to the immediate building up of military strength commensurate with the great needs and resources of the nation. To this end the party will strive to prepare the nation both morally and physically by:

1. Providing military training to both youngmen and women on a nation-wide scale.
2. Full nationalisation of all wings of the defence forces in personnel as well as inspiration.
3. Creation of a large territorial army.
4. Building up of defence industries as fast as possible.

Home Policy
The party will strive for the establishment of Janapadas enjoying as much decentralised administrative powers as possible within the provincial framework, to afford opportunity of advanced local self-government, to the common people and a strong stable and representative government, capable of effectively co-ordinating and directing nation-wide policies, at the centre.

Backward Classes
It believes in the equal rights of all citizens of India irrespective of caste, creed or community. Minorities and majorities based on religion will not be recognised by this party. Equality of opportunity to all and special aid to the backward sections of the people will be its basic approach to the solution of the country’s problems. Special steps will be taken to promote their educational and economic advancement.

Civil Liberty
The party stands for the preservation of civil liberties as understood in democratic countries. It shall therefore work for freedom for all persons and parties except such as believe in violence. The party is opposed to the amendment of the Constitution and the enactment of laws made possible thereby, limiting the fundamental freedom of the press and the platform.

Rehabilitation
The problem of rehabilitation of displaced persons shall be given top priority. The party believes that rehabilitation of those who have suffered from partition and come over to Bharat is legally as well as morally the responsibility of Bharat which must not be side-tracked. To discharge this responsibility effectively the party will strive to obtain full compensation for property left by displaced persons in Pakistan.

National Medical System
While giving recognition to allopathy and other recognised systems the party will take steps to develop Ayurveda on modern scientific lines so that with necessary adjustments, adaptations and assimilation of all that is best in other systems of medicine, it may become the National System of medicine in the country.

Purity Of Administration
The party will strive its utmost to fight corruption, nepotism and profiteering and to create a healthy public opinion for raising the standard of honesty and efficiency in the administration.

Eradication Of Unemployment
Special attention will be paid to the eradication of unemployment particularly in the educated middle class. The education and industrial policy of the party will aim at meeting the growing demand for technical training and employment.

Hindu Code Bill
The party holds that social reform should not come as imposition from above. It should work from within the society. Any far-reaching changes as envisaged in the Hindu Code Bill, therefore, should not be made unless there is a strong
popular demand for them and a clear verdict about them is obtained from the electorate.

National Language
The party will work for early adoption of Hindi as All-India Language together with full encouragement to other Indian Languages. It believes that the adoption of Deva Nagari script and a common technical terminology derived mainly from Sanskrit by all Indian languages will create an atmosphere of harmony, cultural unity and national solidarity in the country.

Sanskrit, being the repository of Bharatiya culture and the source and mainstay of all Indian languages, the party will take special steps for the promotion of its study.

Education
In the field of education the party will strive for the reorganisation of educational system on the basis of Bharatiya culture both in spirit and content so as to make it an effective national instrument for character and body-building. Its educational policy will aim at:

1. The provision of facilities for the highest scientific education and research.
2. Providing free instructions to all in primary stage; and to promising but needy students in higher stages as well.
3. Imparting vocational and technical training, specially in rural areas, where it should be linked up with the development of cottage industries.
4. Providing military training to all adults.

The party stands for so democratising our system of education as to make the highest education available to the talented poor and rich alike; so that education becomes a force for the true integration of society instead of creating a gulf between the educated few and general masses.

GOAL
The ultimate aim of the policies of the party is to build up modern and progressive society in this ancient land on its ancient roots and ideals which have stood the test of time, in which co-operation between individuals and their social, professional and religious groups for the common good of the whole nation and all the elements that go to make it, shall take the place of riotous individualism on the one side and disruptive forces on the other, both of which being foreign to the Bharatiya genius are playing havoc with our national life today in all aspects.

[Oct. 21, 1951; Delhi, Inaugural A.I.S.]
INTRODUCTORY

A New Lead

Bharat stands today on the threshold of a glorious future. Today is our opportunity to stabilise and consolidate the freedom that we have regained after long centuries of struggle, and to attain and promote the welfare, social as well as material, of the mass of humanity belabouring under the twin hardships of social subjugation and economic malformation. This task of national regeneration, this Yajna—as mighty as it is noble—calls for vast human resources which though we possess have to be roused from their quiescence. For this it is essential that we realise the true identity of the National-Self, the nature and genius of the nation and outline the progressive development of the future in harmony with its traditions and suiting its environments. The liquidation of all ignorance, want and injustice and the evolution of a strong, prosperous refined and happy national life instead, demands the ungrudging co-operation and collective toil from all. This calls for a new lead in all spheres of national life. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is the answer to this very call.

FUNDAMENTALS

One Country

From Himalayas in the north to Kanya Kumari in the south, all Bharat has always been one and indivisible, an organic whole, geographically, historically and culturally. The living unity has manifested itself in economic, political and all other spheres. In expression of our great love and adoration for every particle of this land we have visualised and worshipped it as Bharat Mata.
what leads to the attainment of both Abhyudaya and Nishreyas and needs to be contradistinguished from 'religion' or form of worship. Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers the establishment of Dharma Rajya indispensable for all-round material and moral progress.

Bharatiya concept of a State has always been a Dharma Rajya. But it is certainly not a theocratic State. The Bharatiya State, free from religious dogma, has always been a secular institution affording equal protection to all the different creeds and sections. The very idea of a theocratic state like Khilafat is foreign to Bharatiya tradition and culture and it has never existed here. What passes as secularism today, however, is only a euphemism for the policy of Muslim appeasement. It is neither nationalism nor secularism but only a compromise with communalism which demands a high price even for its lip loyalty to this country.

Jana Sangh stands for the building up of Bharat as a modern, progressive and strong state on the basis of Bharatiya culture and true Bharatiya nationalism with such adjustments as necessary wherein men and women of various faiths, speaking different languages and residing in different parts of the country will live in an atmosphere of unity, freedom and goodwill pursuing and furthering a common culture and serving a common motherland to achieve the Bharatiya ideal of progress, spiritual and material.

Objective

The object of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh is the rebuilding of Bharat on the basis of Bharatiya ‘Sanskriti’ and ‘Maryada’ as a political, social and economic democracy granting equality of opportunity and liberty of individual so as to make her a prosperous, powerful and united nation progressive, modern and enlightened, able to withstand the aggressive designs of others and to pull her weight in the council of nations for the establishment of world peace.

Policy

In the realisation of its objectives the Jana Sangh will resort to all peaceful, and democratic methods. Jana Sangh believes in democracy based on individual freedom and the rule of law. Jana Sangh is, therefore, opposed to the totalitarian and violent means and methods.

PROGRAMME

Unitary Form Of Government

Jana Sangh desires that while strengthening the Centre, political and economic power should be decentralised at lower levels. For maintaining the unity and integrity of the country, Jana Sangh considers a Unitary form of government more appropriate than the Federal one.

Decentralisation Of Political Power

Since Bharat is predominantly a land of villages which are the real source and basis of her political power and economic vitality, Jana Sangh will take all necessary steps to decentralise power to the village level.

Economic

In its pursuit of food, clothing and shelter for all and the attainment of economic self-sufficiency, Jana Sangh is not wedded to any doctrine or dogma. Our economic problem can be solved by maximisation of production, equitable distribution and self-restrained consumption. It is therefore the considered opinion of Jana Sangh that neither complete nationalisation nor universal free enterprise can solve it. Whereas the concentration of the economic power in a few private hands in a country gives rise to capitalism, total nationalisation will lead to state capitalism which can only end up in totalitarianism. Jana Sangh, therefore, will develop an economic system which, by holding private and state enterprises in their proper places, will leave ample scope for individual initiative.

Right To Employment

Jana Sangh recognises everyman’s right to earn a living. This right should be incorporated in the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Limits Of Incomes

For reducing the inequality in the incomes of the different
classes Jana Sangh will take steps towards more equitable distribution of national wealth and guarantee to all nationals the minima of decent living. In the present circumstances, incomes may be limited to a maximum of Rs. 2000 p.m. and a minimum of Rs. 100 p.m. with efforts to raise the minimum so that in the foreseeable future the highest and lowest incomes may bear a ratio of 10:1.

Revival Of The Spirit Of Swadeshi

For encouraging national industries, Jana Sangh will revive the spirit of Swadeshi, will discourage the use of foreign goods and protect national industries from improper foreign competition.

Jana Sangh will take steps to improve the quality of products of national industry so that they can face foreign competition. To this end it will secure co-operation of labour, capital and the consumer.

Industrial Development

Jana Sangh wants rapid industrialisation so that the country may become self-sufficient for purposes of defence and capital and consumer goods.

Village And Small-Scale Industries

Cottage, village and small-scale industry is the key of the arch of Jana Sangh's economic policy. For providing work to all able-bodied persons and making the country self-sufficient in consumer goods, we will have to establish a net-work of small-scale and cottage industries. The State must clearly demarcate the respective spheres of small and big industries. The general principle should be that the entire consumer goods sphere be allotted to small industry and big industry be left to manufacture mainly producer goods.

Following steps will be taken to promote cottage industry:

1. Early and extensive generation of hydro-electric power will be proceeded with.
2. Industrial schools will be started to train village artisans in the use of modern machinery suitable to village industry.
3. Facilities will be afforded for co-operative marketing of the products of village industries.

4. Special encouragement will be given to joint and cooperative enterprises.

Big Industries

It is the policy of Jana Sangh to nationalise defence and basic industries. The rest of the industry should be allowed to flourish freely, subject to state regulation and the protection of the interests of consumers and industrial labour. Jana Sangh will take all necessary steps to effectively check monopolistic and profiteering tendencies.

Capital And Labour Relations

Jana Sangh regards the ideas of class war and class hatred as incorrect and injurious. Labour and capital are not antagonistic but rather complementary to each other. Jana Sangh will endeavour to make labour a partner in the management and profits of industry.

Jana Sangh recognises labour's right to strike but it is of the opinion that it must not be taken recourse to except as a last resort. Ordinarily for maintaining industrial production, Jana Sangh will have industrial disputes settled by industrial tribunals, consisting of impartial judges whose decisions will be binding on both parties. Jana Sangh is opposed to industrial lock-outs. Wherever a lock-out takes place, it is the duty of the State to take over the factory and run it.

Capital Formation

The greatest obstacles to the industrialisation of the country are paucity of capital and the government's tight finances. To improve this state of affairs, Jana Sangh will take steps to encourage capital formation in the country and its investment in productive undertakings. Steps will be taken to draw out the idle funds lying dormant in the country through opening of rural banks and cattle, crops and life insurance schemes will be started and popularised among the village folk.

Foreign Aid

For improving the economic condition of the country Jana Sangh will lay emphasis on national self-reliance. For establish-
ing capital goods industry, foreign aid may be accepted but care would be taken that the same is free from all political strings, and that after a definite period, the country ceases to be dependent on foreign aid and can stand on its own legs.

With respect to foreign industries in India, it will be the Jana Sangh policy to progressively Indianise them in their capital, ownership and personnel. With this end in view, it will be required that at least two-thirds of their capital should be Bharatiya. Not only their officers but also their experts would be expected to be Bharatis.

Trade And Commerce

Import and export will be regulated always keeping in view the objects of Swadeshi and self-sufficiency. The import of necessary capital goods will be encouraged. The import of consumer goods, particularly luxury goods and toilets, will be controlled.

For the purpose of internal trade the whole country shall be treated as a single economic unit, and uniform trade policy will be applied throughout. Inter-state sales tax will be abolished.

Land Reforms

For increasing production and reconstructing rural society, Jana Sangh will radically reform the land system. All land belongs to Society. Therefore Jagirdari and Zamindari will be abolished and land distributed among tillers and landless labour.

People who lose all means of livelihood as a consequence of Zamindari abolition will be given rehabilitation facilities. But such Zamindars or Jagirdars as have other means of livelihood will not be paid any sort of compensation. Land will be redistributed with a view to prevent concentration of landownership and giving land to the landless. The minimum and maximum holding shall be an equivalent of 5 and 30 acres of well irrigated land.

Increasing Production

For increasing the production Jana Sangh will intensify cultivation in land already under the plough and extend cultivation by reclaiming waste areas. It will take following steps towards this end:

1. By means of country-wide campaign, peasants will be encouraged and enthused to work harder for increased yield.
2. Consolidation of small scattered holdings and a check on further fragmentation.
3. Better seeds and modern methods will be introduced.
4. Food fertilisers will be arranged on a collective basis. Also steps will be taken not to use cow dung as fuel but rather to use it for preparing organic manure.
5. In villages, warehouses and barns will be built to store grains and insecticides will be arranged.
6. Tractors will be used only to break virgin soil. Their use for normal ploughing purposes will be discouraged.
7. Model villages with maximum self-sufficiency shall be established. Each house will be provided with a kitchen garden in such villages.
8. Farmers will be encouraged to grow vegetables and fruits along with cereals and they will be given the necessary facilities for the purpose.
9. Dairies will be set up in villages to make pure milk and milk products available to villages and supply the surplus to urban areas.
10. For keeping the rural population engaged during its idle periods, and using the same to augment their incomes, suitable cottage industries will be set up to supplement agriculture. Small and cottage industries will be improved to secure them a big turn-over on small investments and organise their sales.
11. Following steps would be taken to improve irrigation facilities.
   a. For sinking wells and building bunds and channels, peasantry will be encouraged and helped to undertake joint work.
   b. In Punjab, U.P., Orissa and Bengal and else-
where, where subsoil water can be easily tapped, tubewells will be bored.
(c) From among the big irrigation projects now under construction, some few should be given high priority and completed to extend the area under irrigation in the shortest possible time.

The government cannot by itself execute these reforms with success. For their success public cooperation is absolutely necessary. Jana Sangh will rouse the innate instinct of national service to execute them as a national programme.

Cow

Cow is our point of honour, and the eternal symbol of our culture. Since immemorial times it has been protected and worshipped. Our economy too, is based on the cow. Cow protection, therefore, is not only a pious duty but an indispensable need. It is impossible to protect and improve cattle so long as its slaughter continues. The only way to stay the rapid decline of cattle is to ban its slaughter forthwith. Jana Sangh will impose a complete ban on cow slaughter and with the cooperation of public and administration improve its quality.

Home Policy

For giving people the opportunity of a more localised government, Janapadas will be established. Jana Sangh will endeavour to establish a strong and representative central administration capable of effectively co-ordinating and directing nationwide policies.

Jana Sangh believes in equal rights of all citizens whatever their caste, creed, colour or sex. Jana Sangh does not recognise majorities or minorities based on religion. Equality of opportunity to all and special economic and educational facilities to the backward classes will be its basic approach. For unifying the nation such elements of our citizenry as have been denationalised or otherwise influenced in favour of foreign ideas and idolums, will be restored to national life current. Such elements and sections as owe extra-territorial loyalties out of selfish motives will be dealt with a firm hand.

MANIFESTO—1954

Gram Panchayat

Jana Sangh will make Panchayats the pivot of village life and the foundation of administration. Panchayats will have a definite share in land revenue wherewith they may discharge their functions properly. For getting over the present partisanship of Panchayats and restoring them to their pristine purity, steps will be taken to have the panches elected unanimously. Jana Sangh will equip village life with modern facilities. A network of schools and roads will be spread in the countryside so that the present estrangement of town and village may go.

If Any Part Of Pakistan Wants Peaceful, Progressive And Free Life.....

The acceptance of partition was a most unfortunate thing. What followed partition proved conclusively that far from it being a solution of our old problems, partition is creating ever new and complicated problems of an appalling gravity.

"Akhand Bharat" is an article of faith with Jana Sangh. But so long as Pakistan exists, instead of the policy of appeasement hitherto followed which is inconsistent with our national interest and our national honour, Jana Sangh would adopt a policy of reciprocity. It will press for the establishment of a modern democratic state in Pakistan, in which the life, property and honour of the minorities are secured and they enjoy equal rights so that Bharat is saved of the consequences of the explosive situation in Pakistan caused by its suppression of even basic human rights. If any part of Pakistan, disgusted with the autocratic system of its government and distressed with the sufferings caused by partition and drawn to our peaceful, progressive and free life, wants to establish relations with Bharatvarsh, Jana Sangh would welcome the move.

Kashmir

As a result of the great and powerful movement launched by the Praja Parishad and Jana Sangh for the full and final accession of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and the martyrdom of Jana Sangh's, Founder President, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, in the cause, the state Assembly's decision on the finality of accession has almost ended the uncertainty about the future of the state. Now, therefore, all talk of plebiscite, which was always
contrary to the principles of national unity and was altogether unCalled for and which has borne poisonous fruits, must stop once and for all. Simultaneously steps must be taken to liberate the one-third of the state now under foreign occupation.

For making the accession of Jammu and Kashmir state to Bharat permanent and irrevocable, Jana Sangh will bring the state entirely within the framework of the Constitution of Bharatvarsh, so that there be no constitutional difference between it and any other state and its people may enjoy equal rights, facilities and opportunities with all other citizens of the country.

The Problem Of Displaced Persons

The problem of displaced persons has two chief aspects: rehabilitation and compensation. Jana Sangh is of the definite opinion that it is the moral and legal responsibility of the government to rehabilitate displaced persons and compensate them in full for losses suffered as a consequence of partition.

Purity of Administration

For stopping profiteering, nepotism and corruption, Jana Sangh will take stern measures. For raising the standard of efficiency and integrity of the administration, it will mobilise public opinion. Jana Sangh will take steps to reduce the cost of administration. For removing the present gulf between the ruling classes and the general public Jana Sangh will limit salaries to a maximum of Rs. 2000 p.m. and will strive to approximate the standard of living of the official hierarchy to the guiding ideals and general standard of the country.

Defence

In view of the fact that powerful nations are divided in two groups and there exists a state of cold war between them and considering the vital strategic position of Bharat in the event of a war, we must give the highest priority to the earliest increase of our military potential to the extent of our needs and productive capacities. To this end, Jana Sangh will take the following steps to prepare the country physically and psychologically for the same:

1. Arrange to give military training to all boys and girls in the country.
2. Nationalise all wings of the defence services in form as well as spirit.
3. Organise vast territorial army.
4. Set up defence and allied industries with utmost speed.

Justice

Jana Sangh will try to alter the present un-Indian judicial system on Bharatiya lines in conformity with modern conditions.

The independence of the judiciary is essential to the success of democracy. Jana Sangh will therefore separate the judiciary from the executive at all levels and immunize it against any influence of the Executive. It will halt the present tendency towards the expansion of the powers of Police and the Executive at the jurisdiction of the courts. Jana Sangh will make justice easy, quick and cheap.

Civil Liberties

Jana Sangh stands for the preservation of civil liberties as understood in democratic countries. It shall, therefore, work for freedom for all persons and parties except such as belive in violence. To this end it will take steps to repeal the amendment to the Constitution limiting freedom of press and platform, the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Bill and the Preventive Detention Act which are absolutely in contravention of the principles of individual liberty.

Foreign Affairs

The party’s foreign policy will be guided primarily by the enlightened self-interest, that is, consideration of welfare and progress of the country. True to traditions of Bharat it will work for the maintenance of world peace and mutual understanding. While standing for the democratic way of life it will retain friendly relations with all countries friendly to Bharat. It has no imperialist designs and will resist any such move, direct or indirect, on the part of others whether it emanates from Colonialism or Communist expansionism. It recognises the
inherent right of every nation to determine its own pattern of life and outlook and is opposed to the concept that all countries should be cast in one mould.

Jana Sangh will keep out of the two power blocs and judge every international issue in the light of national good and world peace. As far as possible it will steer clear of international involvements and develop friendly relations with all countries.

Bharat has had ancient cultural relations with the countries of South East Asia. Jana Sangh will revive these relations and further strengthen them. It will endeavour to keep the Asian countries out of power blocs and encourage them to exert in favour of freedom and peace.

Foreign Pockets

The existence of foreign pockets in Indian territory is a menace to the sovereignty and security of Bharatvarsh. Jana Sangh will take all necessary steps to liberate these miserable relics of Imperialism in Bharat and give their inhabitants equal rights with other Bharatiya citizens.

Overseas Indians

Overseas Indians are our cultural and business ambassadors abroad. It is the duty of Bharat to protect their rights. Jana Sangh will see to it that they enjoy full rights in the country of their residence, and do their duty by that state.

National Language

Jana Sangh will introduce Hindi as the common national language without undue delay and at the same time take steps to develop regional languages. Jana Sangh is of the opinion that the adoption of Devanagari as a script and the acceptance of a common vocabulary of scientific and technical terms based on Sanskrit and other current languages, by all the languages of the country, will help the growth of national solidarity and goodwill.

Such undeveloped languages as have no script of their own will be encouraged to adopt Devanagari, and such others as had

Roman script imposed upon them during foreign rule will also be given a chance to change over to Devanagari. Hindi will be secured its rightful place in the Jammu and Kashmir state.

Regarding medium of instruction Jana Sangh policy will be as follows:

1. Primary education will be imparted through mother language.
2. Middle, Secondary and University education will be imparted in the state language, with Hindi as a compulsory subject of study.
3. Jana Sangh is not prepared to recognise English or Urdu as Indian languages. It will take steps to remove Urdu from the list of languages recognised in the Constitution. Sanskrit is the foundation of our national culture and the mother of our languages. Jana Sangh will, therefore, take special steps to encourage its study.

Education

In the field of education Jana Sangh will strive for the reorganisation of educational system on the basis of Bharatiya Culture in spirit, form and content so as to make it an effective national instrument for character and body building. Its main plans shall be:

1. Free and compulsory Primary and Secondary education.
2. Free higher education for deserving but indigent students.
3. Priority to scientific, vocational and technical training.
4. Facilities for the highest scientific education and research within the country.
5. In accordance with the special needs of girls, preparation of a separate syllabus with a view to making them ideal housewives and mothers and developing national character and self-reliance in them.
6. Proper arrangements for teaching the fine arts of music, dance, drama, painting and architecture.

Health

Jana Sangh considers it its duty to arrange free medical
aid for all. While giving recognition to allopathy, homeopathy,
and Unani systems of medicines, Jana Sangh will take steps to
develop Ayurveda in the light of modern science so that it may
absorb all that is valid and acceptable in these systems and
develop into the national medical system of Bharat.

Backward Classes

Jana Sangh will make special efforts for the welfare of the
backward classes by removing their disabilities and social in-
equality resulting from caste system and untouchability so that
they may occupy their rightful place of complete equality and
help in the consolidation of the society. All public places parti-
cularly temples and village wells, will be opened to all Hindus
and untouchability will be declared a cognizable offence.

With the above end in view Jana Sangh will reawaken the
latent unity of Hindu society and, not depending on law alone,
will rouse public opinion to the realisation of basic oneness
among its various sections.

[August 19, 1954; Indore, A.I.G.C.]

INTRODUCTORY

Standing Threat

Although it is ten years since Bharat became free, the
country has not been able to get rid of the evil consequences of
the circumstances in which independence came, even to this day.
The partition of Bharat has proved a grievous blunder. The
establishment of a separate theocratic State has not only en-
couraged other fissiparous tendencies but has created a standing
threat to the freedom and security of Bharat.

Pak-Portuguese Alliance

The good intentions of the Congress leaders and the
appeasement policies of the Congress government have failed
to bring about a change in the aggressive attitude of Pakistan
towards Bharat. Pakistan holds Bharat to be her ‘only enemy’,
and it is making military preparations on a vast scale to deal
with this ‘enemy’. It is in forcible occupation of one-third of
Jammu and Kashmir State, and is bent upon capturing the
rest of it by any means, fair or foul. The well-planned and
calculated campaign of squeezing out of the Hindus from East
Bengal, which began before partition, continues unabated to-
date. Spies and fifth columnists are being utilised for sabotag-
ing and disturbing the internal peace of Bharat.

The extent to which Pakistani leaders are prepared to go
to harm Bharat, is clear from their increasing intimacy with
Portugal, the most imperialist country of the world. Pakistan
has exhibited her enmity for Bharat by opposing the justified
liberation demand of Portuguese colonies like Goa, and by
actively endeavouring to foil the economic sanctions imposed
by Bharat even while unduly exploiting her generosity. While
the very existence of vestiges of Portuguese imperialism on the
soil of Bharat is a danger to Bharat's security and integrity, this detestable Pak-Portuguese alliance has increased the danger manifold, and it may become a serious menace to our South-Western frontier.

Chinese Threat
Nor is the Northern frontier of Bharat completely secure. Notwithstanding her declarations of peaceful co-existence, Communist China has made short work of Tibet's independence and is keeping the country in bondage. Even in her treaty with Nepal, China has not honoured Bharat's special position in Nepal. Inclusion of Bhutan territory in Chinese maps (which was later sought to be explained away as a slip), entry of Chinese forces in Burma (which was described as due to a misconception), and the activities of people of Chinese origin in the strategic countries of South-East Asia, are pointers to the need of watchfulness on the part of Bharat.

National Integrity
Congress government has failed to maintain and promote national integrity. The armed Naga rebellion on the North-Eastern Frontier, which has not been completely quelled even after long drawn military operations, the agitation for a separate Dravidastan, whose protagonists are not prepared to tolerate a person from any other province even as a Governor, the unfortunate happenings in various parts of the country on the question of states' reorganisation—at the bottom of which lie the narrow and sectarian tendencies of linguistic, parochialism and communalism for which the policies of the Congress Government itself are to blame—are the symptoms of the serious malady the Nation's body-politic is suffering from. Instead of taking steps to root out the trouble after a proper diagnosis, the Congress Government is following a policy because of which the malady would, after being suppressed for a short time, reappear with increased vehemence. Refusal to control the anti-national activities of foreign missionaries, encouragement of the efforts to keep alive and encourage Muslim communalism, and bargaining with the Akali Dal, are instances of the Nation being sacrificed at the altar of party gains.

Plan Failure
The hopes of a free, happy and prosperous life which the Bharatiya people held at the dawn of independence, have turned into despair during these ten years of Congress rule. Congress has failed to fulfil its assurances in every sphere of the people's life.

The Congress Government has failed to meet even the requirements concerning food, clothing, housing, education, and medical needs of the citizens. Food prices have gone ever higher despite highly expensive and much publicised 'Grow More Food' plans, and official claims of increased production. Cloth has the same story to tell. Housing shortage continues unabated. Primary education has not been made compulsory throughout the country. The burden of secondary and higher education has become unmanageable for the common people. Rural Bharat, where 83% of our people live, is almost devoid of health and medical facilities.

Some progress has no doubt been achieved in the construction of big dams and heavy industries under the First Five-Year Plan, but people have had to pay a heavy price for it. Even the Second Plan, on which the whole future of Bharat is being risked, and which everybody has declared to be over-ambitious, will not be able to solve the questions of food, clothing and employment. It has not given due consideration to the conditions of Bharat, and our resources and capacities. As a consequence the people are hard pressed between the twin burdens of crushing taxation and inflationary high prices. Instead of funds being allocated for the development of cottage and small-scale industries as the basis of Bharat's industrialisation, long and wordy speeches abound.

Farm Produce
Cultivators, labourers, employees, teachers, shopkeepers and traders—all are depressed and suffering. The cultivator puts in his hardest labour, his produce also increases but with it increases not his happiness but his misery. So long as the grain is in the hands of the grower price keeps falling and as soon as it gets out of his hands and reaches the godowns, its price rises. Due to disparity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products, the farmer is compelled to sell his produce-
cheap and buy his necessities dear. The rent he has to pay continues to be the same as before abolition of landlordism, and new taxes are proving the last straw on his back. No progress has been made in the direction of giving land to the landless labourers. Instead of any rise in the wages and allowances of labour, retrenchment and unemployment stare them in the face.

**Price Rise**

The condition of urban middle classes is even more deplorable. With their limited sources of income, they are suffering serious economic hardship because of rising prices of essentials of life.

Petty shopkeepers, traders and industrialists are also oppressed by the policies of the Government. Sales Tax is a curse for everybody. Small traders and industrialists are subjected to discrimination in the matter of Government subsidies, protection, transport facilities and export-import licences due to group interests and corruption rampant in the administration.

**Increasing Unemployment**

Unemployment problems is growing from bad to worse. Millions upon millions are roaming about in search of work. And, those in power are trying to engage them playfully with empty and attractive slogans of 'Aram Haram Hai', instead of providing them with work. Unemployment has increased during the course of the First Five-Year Plan. The Second Plan aims at providing 8 million additional jobs. Even if the plan accomplishes the target—which is doubtful in view of the shortage of resources, and trained staff and of public enthusiasm—the volume of unemployment will be 50% bigger at the end of the Plan because a bigger lot of fresh unemployed—larger than those given jobs—will have grown by then.

The unemployment of the educated is not only heart-rending, it is a potential danger to the whole Nation. A government which cannot inspire feeling of confidence and security among its educated youth, will not be able to maintain its democratic nature for long. Instead of sympathetically and properly understanding the feelings of youngmen, and instituting planned

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**Repression**

The way in which the Congress Government has taken hesitating resort to tear-gassing, lathi-charging and firing, for suppressing the voice of the people and imposing its undemocratic decisions, has eclipsed the hundred and fifty years of British repression. The rulers have no courage left to accept the demand for judicial enquiries of police firings. Attempts are being made to make up for loss of popularity by assumption of more powers. The tendency is gaining ground to equip the police with more powers at the cost of judiciary and to misuse Preventive Detention Acts, Security Acts and other reprehensible laws for limiting freedom of expression and restricting the progressively increasing strength and influence of opposition parties.

**The Police**

If police administration has improved, it has done so only on the wrong side. The wide gulf between the people and the police ought to have been bridged, and the police force should have developed as the servant, helper and protector of the public. But even today the police continues as a symbol of terror and harassment. Third degree methods are used for the investigation of crimes. Notwithstanding that, however, crimes do not show any tendency to decline. It appears as if there is a race between police budget and crime figures, crimes increasing parallel to the budget. The villagers feel themselves to be totally unprotected. Even city life is far from thoroughly safe.

The C.I. Deptt. is quite efficient in keeping watch over the activities of opposition parties and shadowing their leaders and workers; but its ability and efficiency vanish into thin air when it has to investigate the anti-Bharatiya activities and conspiracies of foreign spies and fifth columnists.

**Corruption**

The administration is steeped in corruption. Even minis-
underscoring, totalitarian, corrupt and inefficient Congress rulers— are seeking a new path, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has come forward with a positive and constructive programme for the all-sided progress of Bharat.

This programme is not wedded to any particular ‘ism’. In its formulation full consideration has been given to the Bharatiya genius and tradition as well the present state of our national being—both the strength and weakness thereof. Through this we shall not only solve our food, clothing and housing problems, and attain self-sufficiency in their regard, we shall succeed in building Bharat into a political, social and economic democracy—providing equality of opportunity and freedom to the individual.

This programme, by making Bharat strong and prosperous, will transform it into a modern, progressive and enlightened Nation, capable of facing and frustrating all external aggression, and of contributing its helpful influence to the comity of nations for the establishment of world peace.

National Security

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will give top priority to national defence. The armed forces will be expanded to be compatible with the extent and population of the country, and will be equipped with the most modern arms. Jana Sangh will undertake following programmes to prepare the country physically and psychologically for self-defence:

(a) Compulsory military training for all young men;
(b) Nationalisation of all the wings of the armed forces in their inspiration as well as form;
(c) Immediate establishment of defence industries;
(d) Organisation of a vast Territorial Army.

The guarding of the borders will be the Centre’s responsibility, for which a Border Police Establishment will be constituted. Strong steps will be taken to check infiltration and smuggling. The Intelligence Department will be made more active and efficient so that strict watch is kept on the activities of foreign spies and fifth columnists, and their nefarious designs are foiled even before they take shape.

National Unity

For the preservation of national unity, without which
neither the hard-won freedom can be preserved nor the big Plans for economic development and social reconstruction executed, Jana Sangh will take the following steps:

1. Creating a feeling of equality and oneness in the Hindu Society by liquidating untouchability and casteism.
2. Nationalising all non-Hindus by inculcating in them the ideal of Bharatiya culture.

The recommendations of the Niyogi Committee and Rege Committee will be implemented to free the Bharatiya Christians from the anti-national influence of foreign missionaries.

The present Constitution, in as much as it has established a federal structure and while naming the provinces as 'States' and Bharat as their 'Union', it has distributed powers between them in a way as to create a feeling among provinces of rivalry with the Centre, is an obstacle in the way of national solidarity. Jana Sangh will, therefore, amend the Constitution and declare Bharat to be a Unitary State.

**Political Decentralisation**

But the establishment of a Unitary State would not mean centralisation of power. Jana Sangh has faith in democracy. To make all people partners in the governance of the country, Jana Sangh will decentralise power to the lowest levels.

Village panchayats, municipalities, corporations and other local bodies which provide opportunities for decentralised administration will be given a recognition in the Constitution and will derive their strength from it. Their resources will be assured and augmented so that they can discharge their responsibilities properly.

Village panchayats will not be imposed from above, but will be evolved from below with public cooperation. Casteism and factionalism today are the greatest curses of the panchayats. To check their growth Jana Sangh will try to encourage the system of unanimous elections of panchayats. Till then elections will be held by secret ballot. A part of land revenue will be allotted to the panchayats so that they may not be dependent on discretionary grants.

**Abolition of Legislative Councils**

The present legislative councils have failed in achieving their objectives; Jana Sangh will abolish them.

**Protection of Fundamental Rights**

Jana Sangh will protect the fundamental rights of speech, writing, association and expression of the Bharatiya people. It will repeal the Preventive Detention Act, the Public Safety Acts, which have been enacted by the present Government to limit and restrict civil liberties, and will make suitable amendments in sections 107, 108, 109 and 144 Cr. P.C. and Sec. 124 A and 153 of I.P.C. so that powers conferred by them may not be misused by the authorities to deprive people of their liberties.

**Reform in Administration**

Jana Sangh will completely overhaul the administration so that it is freed of bureaucratic ways of red-tapism, inefficiency and corruption.

Jana Sangh will remove the present inequality in the services, which creates a sense of inferiority complex in the lower grades, and that of vanity in the officers. It will try to inculcate in them a feeling of partnership in the great task of reconstruction of the country. The employees working in the temporary departments of the Government will be confirmed, and in the event of those departments being wound-up, the Government would have the responsibility of providing them with alternative jobs.

To root out corruption, the Anti-Corruption Department will be given greater powers, and deterrent punishment will be meted out to the guilty.

In accordance with the recommendations of the S.R.C., Jana Sangh will establish All-India Services in judiciary, health, forests and engineering.

**Economy in Administration**

Jana Sangh will take strong measures to reduce Government expenditure which in recent years has risen manifold. Every pie of the poor Bharatiya people shall be spent on their betterment and not on any pomp or fanfare. In all offices, from the Rashtrapati Bhawan to the lowest rank within the country, and abroad in our embassies, simplicity and thrift, the ideals of Bharatiya culture, will be observed.
In this context, ministers will have to set an example before the people. They will not draw a salary of more than Rs. 500 p.m. Jana Sangh believes that if the people are to be inspired to practise simplicity and economy, ministers must not draw salaries bigger than Rs. 500, and their number should also be reduced to the minimum.

With a view to reducing the difference in the standards of living of the officials and the common man, Jana Sangh will fix the maximum salary at Rs. 2000 p.m. and the lowest at Rs. 100 p.m.

Cheap and Easily Available Justice

Justice will be cheap, speedy and within the reach of everybody. From this point of view, the proposal for abolition of High Court benches is undesirable. Court fees will be substantially reduced and mobile courts to take justice to the common man will be established. The Judiciary will be completely free and separate from the Executive at all levels. Jana Sangh is opposed to the limitation of the jurisdiction of courts and will make efforts to check this growing tendency. The system of honorary Magistrates will be abolished.

Establishment of an Economic Democracy

The aim of Jana Sangh is the establishment of an economic democracy with equal opportunities for development to all and with no chances for any exploitation. To this end it will introduce revolutionary changes in the present economic order. The changes will be in keeping with Bharatiya values of life and will take full account of the present situation. The condition of Bharat is different from both U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.; it has more men than land, and it is industrially backward. The market for ready goods is limited. Therefore, imitation of Russia or of America cannot be in our interest.

New Economic System

Jana Sangh will develop a new economic order suitting the circumstances and needs of Bharat, in which there will be full freedom for individual enterprise, but economic power shall not be allowed to be centralized in a few hands. Neither shall the State be given unlimited powers. This is the way to avoid individualistic capitalism as well as State capitalism and to establish a real democracy.

The immediate aims of Jana Sangh’s economic programme will be two-fold:

1. To solve the problem of food, clothing, housing, unemployment and inequality.
2. To make the country self-sufficient in defence, consumer and producer goods.

Right to Work and Unemployment Allowance

Man power is our greatest asset. It will be the basis of our economic reconstruction. To reawaken it, Jana Sangh will provide work to all. Work is man’s birth-right. Jana Sangh will include right to work in the list of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The State will give unemployment allowance, if it fails to provide gainful employment to all able-bodied citizens.

Change in the System of Production

Need for increased agricultural and industrial production is conceded by all. Until and unless production rises emphasis on distribution is of little avail, and in the absence of proper distribution poverty and disparity cannot be abolished. But the present ways of production are not suited to the conditions of Bharat. Under this system although production increases, there is a reduction in the masses that work, resulting reduced purchasing power and consequently lack of market in the country. Unemployment is growing with production. This partially explains the increasing unemployment during the five-year Plans.

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

Small Industries

To provide work for all and to free the society of the evils of concentration of labour and capital, Jana Sangh would take steps to decentralize economic power. Net-work of cottage and small-scale industries will be established. To put
an end to the competition between the small-scale and large-

scale sectors, their spheres of production will be clearly
demarcated.

Small industries will be the basis of all industrial planning,
so the large industries will have to adjust according to them.

The following steps will be taken for the development of
small-scale industries:

(1) Making of machines for cottage and village indus-
tries so that their scale of production and the income
of the producers may be increased.

(2) Establishment of industrial schools to train workers
in modern technology.

(3) Reservation of markets for small, cottage and village
industries.

(4) Encouragement and establishment of co-operative
industries.

Jana Sangh will give full protection to handloom industry.
At the present time introduction of power-looms in place of
hand-loom is unwise. Co-operative spinning mills will be
established to provide cheap yarn to the handloom weavers.

Nationalisation of Basic and Defence Industries

Jana Sangh stands for nationalisation of basic and defence
industries. All other industries should be given full oppor-
tunity to develop freely subject to state supervision, and
regulation.

The present tendency to take over more and more
industries in State ownership and control is not only harmful for
democracy, it is undesirable even from the point of view of
economic development. The experience of nationalised
industries is bitter and disappointing. Wastage of public funds
and an attitude of indifference to the general public—these two
have become the cardinal features of nationalised industries.
Jana Sangh is not opposed to controlling the inflation of
exploitation in private industries or to equipping the govern-
ment with powers for raising the resources needed for economic
reconstruction, but it considers all-round nationalisation as
unnecessary. Jana Sangh is opposed to the policy of State
ownership of road transport, insurance and banking.

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Indianisation of Foreign Industries

Jana Sangh policy as regards mining, tea-plantations,
coffee, rubber and other such industries as are in the hands
mainly of foreigners is to Indianise them. Immediate steps
will be taken in this direction in respect of the soap and match
industries, whose production is today controlled mainly by
foreign concerns. As regards other foreign industries two-
thirds of the total investment in any concern ought to be
Indian. Not only the labourers but the experts and the officers
in such concerns should mainly be nationals of Bharat.

Jana Sangh will fix a maximum limit for the foreign com-
panies in the matter of remitting profits outside.

Labour, a Co-sharer in Management and Profits

Jana Sangh proposes to make labour a co-sharer in the
management and profit of industry. With this end in view,
it will arrange for their due representation on the Corporations
and Boards of Directors in both nationalised and private
industries.

Encouragement to Labour Unions

In order that labour be conscious of its duties and vigilant
in respect of its rights, it is essential that it be well organised.
Jana Sangh would encourage every labourer to join some
or the other trade union and defend the rights of the labour
unions. Rules regarding the recognition of trade unions will
be altered. The registration of a trade union ought, ipso facto,
to mean its recognition by the Government and the management.

Appointment of a Permanent Wage Board

A permanent Wage Board will be appointed to draw up
a pay scale for work in the various industries and revise it
from time to time after taking into consideration the standard
of living as also the national minima. Under the conditions of
today the minimum wages of any labourer should be Rs. 100
p.m.

Social Security of Labour

The State shall be responsible for the social security of the
labour. There shall not be any retrenchment unless alternative
employment is provided. Special allowances will be given to labour engaged in hazardous duties. Contribution from the employees to the State Employees Insurance Scheme will be abolished. Provision for old age and sickness will be made.

There will be equal pay for equal work. Women will not be discriminated against in this respect. Two months' maternity leave with pay will be allowed to them.

Work for Educated Unemployed

Jana Sangh will take special steps to liquidate unemployment amongst educated. Reorganisation of the system of education and greater provision for technical and scientific education will reduce the number of such unemployed. Work for the educated unemployed will be provided through expansion of primary education and establishment of cottage and small-scale industries.

Economic Equality and Capital Formation

Jana Sangh guarantees a minimum standard of living to all citizens. With a view to removing economic disparity and raising finances for development, Jana Sangh will fix a maximum of Rs. 2,000 as expendable monthly income, according to present prices. The minimum income under present conditions will be Rs. 100 per month and efforts will be made to make it continuously rising so that in the near future the ratio between the minimum and maximum is brought to 1:10.

Income in excess of the maximum limit will be procured through contribution, taxation, compulsory loans and investment for development needs.

Revival of Swadeshi Spirit

With a view to the development of industries and for saving foreign exchange, Jana Sangh will take steps to revive the spirit of Swadeshi. There will be restrictions on the import of consumer goods, especially of toiletry and luxury goods. Protection will be given to indigenous industries against foreign competition. Swadeshi goods alone will be used for Government purposes.

Reform in the System of Taxation

Jana Sangh will make revolutionary reforms in the system of taxation. It will discourage indirect taxes, the incidence of which falls mainly on the common man. There will be no indirect tax on the people at the minimum level of income.

Jana Sangh considers sales tax to be a regressive measure and will, therefore, try to abolish it. As a first step towards this end it will:

(i) Abolish Sales Tax on the necessaries of life;
(ii) Exempt cottage and small-scale products from the levy of sales tax;
(iii) Introduce uniform rates in all states;
(iv) Make it a single point tax;
(v) Abolish inter-State Sales Tax; and
(vi) As far as possible, collect it at the production stage.

Jana Sangh is against the levy of excise duty on the necessaries of life. The increased duty on coarse cloth will therefore be abolished. Jana Sangh will deal strictly with tax evaders.

Emphasis on Self-Reliance

Although Jana Sangh is not opposed to foreign aid if it comes without any political strings, foreign aid will not prove of much use in the economic picture that Jana Sangh has kept before it. Foreign influence comes naturally with foreign aid. Jana Sangh will, therefore, place emphasis on self-reliance for the country's economic development and will plan according to our own means and resources.

Land Reforms

In order to make the country self-sufficient in food and for the rejuvenation of village life Jana Sangh will make revolutionary changes in the land tenure. Land shall belong to the tiller of the soil and there will be no intermediary between the Kisan and the State. Persons displaced by abolition of Zamindari and Jagirdari will be rehabilitated.

The problem of the peasants and the landless has not been solved under the Congress rule even after the much publicised land reforms. Jana Sangh will stop the eviction of tillers, restore the land of those already ejected, reduce the land revenue and other taxes and redistribute land to provide holdings to the landless. The minimum and maximum holding shall be 5 and
30 acres of well irrigated land or its equivalent respectively. A minimum wage for agricultural labour also will be fixed.

Jana Sangh will lay greater emphasis on the reclamation of land and on raising the yield of land already under the plough in the interest of increased production. It considers collective agriculture unsuited to Bharat.

Co-ordinated Development of Agriculture and Industry

Jana Sangh aims at co-ordinated development of agriculture and industry. It will try to establish parity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products so that no section of the society suffers due to changes in the price level of commodities.

Jana Sangh will establish cottage and village industries to provide subsidiary employment to the agriculturists and also to reduce the burden on land.

Jana Sangh will strive to improve the conditions of villages and take the following steps to that end:

(1) By means of country-wide campaigns, peasants will be encouraged and enthused to work harder for increased yield.

(2) Steps will be taken to supply better seeds and manure to the agriculturists and to discourage the use of cow dung as fuel, and to prepare from it instead, organic manure. Use of chemical fertilizers will be discouraged.

(3) Use of tractors for normal ploughing purposes will be discouraged.

(4) Farmers will be encouraged to grow vegetables and fruits along with cereals and they will be given necessary facilities for the purpose.

(5) Dairies will be set up in villages to make pure milk and milk products available to villagers and to supply them to urban areas.

(6) Co-operative banks will be established in the rural areas and schemes for insurance of the villagers, as well as cattle and crop insurance will be introduced.

Transport

Jana Sangh will pay special attention to the expansion and development of road, rail, water and air transport.

Jana Sangh will run more Janta trains in place of the III Class Air-conditioned trains being run mainly for propaganda purposes. It will provide sleeping accommodation to long journey III Class passengers without any extra payment. Efforts will also be made to procure more good wagons. Hitherto neglected areas will be connected by rail.

Railway employees will be represented on the Railway Board. Special efforts shall be made to improve the working conditions of lower grade and running staff. Arrangements for the education of their children and for medical aid will be made. Recommendations of the Kripalani Committee for removing corruption will be implemented.

In order to reduce the burden on the Railways, Jana Sangh will take steps for the development of road and water transport. Rates of motor vehicle taxation will be reduced and made uniform throughout the country. Efforts will be made to connect every village by road and every big city by air. The Ganga will be made navigable from Patna to Calcutta. The contract system of Ghats will be abolished and their management will be conducted with the help of the boatmen.

Policy of Reciprocity Towards Pakistan

Partition of Bharat was a great blunder and it has benefited neither the Hindus nor the Muslims. The number of people who are beginning to realise that annulment of partition is essential for the well-being of the country and for maintenance of world peace is daily increasing both in Bharat and Pakistan. In fact, most of the Indo-Pak problems, such as Kashmir, rehabilitation of displaced persons, economic instability, increase in defence expenditure, can all be permanently solved only by the establishment of Akhand Bharat in which Hindus and Muslims and people of other faiths will live as loyal citizens of one great nation. Evidently this unity cannot be achieved by any use of force. It will need a psychological change. The programme of cultural unification of Bharatiya Jana Sangh aims at such a change.

But so long as Pakistan continues to be a separate entity, Jana Sangh will adopt a policy of reciprocity in dealing with that State. The policy of appeasement that has so long been
followed has not changed the mentality of the leaders of Pakistan; on the contrary it has strengthened it. Jana Sangh is against giving any concessions to Pakistan on the question of evacuee-property, recovery of India's loan and canal water dues. The leaders of Pakistan having declared Bharat to be their only enemy should be prepared for such a treatment. It is for people of Pakistan to get rid of such leaders who, in order to satiate their feelings of hatred for this country, are prepared to push Pakistan into a catastrophe.

Liberation of Pak-held Kashmir

Jana Sangh welcomes the ratification by the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir of the accession of the state with Bharat. Jammu and Kashmir is an indivisible part of Bharat and its unification with it is permanent and irrevocable. Any talk of plebiscite in Kashmir is illogical and unnecessary. It is the considered opinion of Jana Sangh that Pakistan has no locus standi in Kashmir. She is an aggressor and should be treated as such. The proposal to divide that state along the cease-fire line is cowardly and antinational. Jana Sangh will make efforts to get Pakistan declared aggressor by U.N.O. and will take all possible steps for the liberation of Pak-held Kashmir. Jana Sangh is opposed to a separate constitution for Jammu and Kashmir because it will encourage secessionist tendencies by keeping alive a feeling of separation and duality between Bharat and Kashmir. The growing influence of communists in the Government of Jammu and Kashmir is a matter of anxiety. It can again create a situation which may be dangerous to both Kashmir and Bharat. For the future safety and security of Jammu and Kashmir with which the safety and security of Bharat is linked, it is essential that it should be brought fully under the Constitution of India by repealing article 370 of the Constitution.

Rehabilitation

The Congress Government has so far failed to rehabilitate the people who have been displaced by partition. Even after ten years of freedom they find themselves helpless and their future insecure. Jana Sangh will give top priority to their rehabilitation and will give full compensation for their properties left in Pakistan. For this purpose Jana Sangh will take the following steps:

1. Immediate payment to small claim holders.
2. Re-evaluation of houses and shops constructed for them and their sale to them on no-profit basis.
3. Rent realised till date to be credited towards price payment.
4. Realisation of the value of these properties in easy instalments over a period of 50 years from those who are not in a position to pay it at present.
5. No interest to be charged on loans advanced to D.P.s after acceptance of claims.
6. Recovery of amounts up to Rs. 2,000 given as help to be stopped.
7. No discrimination to be made between urban and rural D.P.s.
8. Taking full responsibility of rehabilitation of those displaced persons who either have no claims or have claims of nominal value.

Exodus of Hindus from East Bengal

The Congress Government which was pledged to protect the life and property of Hindus in East Bengal has failed to redeem its promise. No Hindu can live there with honour today. Jana Sangh will mobilise world public opinion against the forcible squeezing out of Hindus from East Bengal and it will demand land from Pakistan for resettling them (Hindus). Under the present circumstances it will take away all facilities afforded to Pakistani citizens of employment and earning their livelihood in India, to facilitate the resettlement of Bengali Hindus. No restrictions direct or indirect will be placed on granting visas to those Hindus in East Bengal who are desirous of migrating to India. Full facilities will be afforded to those who have anyhow crossed the border and come to Bharat.

Bharatiya Languages in Place of English

The Jana Sangh is opposed to any extension in the limit of fifteen years' period laid down by the Constitution for the replacement of English by Hindi and the Regional languages. Language has a vital role to play in national reconstruction. A
foreign language can hardly serve this end.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make a five-year plan for the development of Hindi and other Bharatiya languages under which technical and scientific terms based on Sanskrit and other Bharatiya languages, will be prepared by a committee of linguists. Books from other languages, especially text-books for higher classes, will be translated and published in Hindi and other Bharatiya languages.

Encouragement will be given to the various dialects. Sindhi will be included in the list of Bharatiya languages recognised by the Constitution. Hindi will be got its rightful place in the Jammu and Kashmir State. The policy of Jana Sangh with regard to medium of instruction will be the following:

1. Primary education through the mother tongue.
2. Secondary and higher education through the regional language and Hindi to be a compulsory subject.
4. A compulsory course of Sanskrit studies.
5. Graduates of Hindi and other recognised Indian languages will be treated at par with the graduates who have passed with English medium.

Revolutionary Changes in the System Of Education

Jana Sangh will make revolutionary changes in the present system of education. The aim of education is an integrated development of the individual and the promotion of moral and spiritual values of life so that education may become a powerful and effective means of the real progress of the nation and the individual. Education, like Judiciary, will be free from interference of and control by the Government. Autonomy of educational institutions and Universities will be respected and protected.

In order to attract talented people towards teaching and to give the assurance of a happy and satisfied life to the teachers, their wage level will be raised and they will be secured a place of dignity in the society.

The following will be the programme of Jana Sangh in the field of education:

1. Provision of free and compulsory education at the primary and secondary stages.
2. Free education to poor but deserving students (boys and girls) at the higher stages.
3. Establishment of technical, scientific, and multipurpose institutions.
4. Facilities for research and instruction in scientific education.
5. Arrangements for adult education and encouragement to the study of fine arts.

Free Medical Aid to All

Jana Sangh will provide free medical aid to all. Giving due recognition to Allopathy, Homoeopathy, Naturopathy and Unani systems of medicine, Jana Sangh will develop Ayurveda as the national system of medicine and will make it a vehicle for improvement of national health.

Jana Sangh will aim at establishment of a dispensary in every village, and till this objective is achieved mobile dispensaries and hospitals will be provided to make medical aid available even in remote villages. Research laboratories will be established in various parts of the country for research and manufacture of Ayurvedic medicines. The country will be sought to be made self-sufficient in respect of manufacture of medicines, and drugs of various types. A committee of experts will be appointed to go into the question of advisability of B.C.G. vaccine. Conditions of government hospitals and dispensaries will be improved. In the interest of public health Jana Sangh will endeavour that all eatables and other essential goods are made available in pure and unadulterated form. Jana Sangh will provide deterrent punishment to those guilty of adulteration.

Special Facilities for Backward Classes

Jana Sangh will make special efforts to get equal and honourable treatment to the socially depressed and economically backward sections of society. It will strive to eradicate untouchability and casteism. There will be no restrictions on the entry of any section of the Hindus into the temples.

In order to improve their economic condition, priority will be given to the depressed castes and tribes in the matter of
redistribution of land. Their traditional trades and crafts will be developed. Arrangements for providing houses and drinking water to them will be made. Special facilities for their education will be provided. Necessary steps will be taken to link the tribal areas with the cities.

Repeal of Anti-Hindu Laws

Joint family and indissoluble marriage have been the basis of Hindu Society. Laws that alter this basis will ultimately lead to the disintegration of the society. Jana Sangh will therefore repeal the Hindu Marriage and Hindu Succession Acts.

Full Opportunities to Women

Jana Sangh will take special steps to remove social, educational and economic disabilities of women, so that they may fully discharge their responsibilities to the family, society and nation. Equal opportunities in every field will be afforded to women.

Without in any way altering the scientific principles of social organisation Jana Sangh will try to increase the rights of women. Taking woman to be a member of the joint family, steps will be taken to secure for her a share alongside her husband in the property of her father-in-law.

Ban on Cow Slaughter

Respecting the sentiments of the people of Bharat, and taking into consideration the economic importance of the cow, Jana Sangh will impose a total ban on cow-slaughter. As a result of movements launched by the Gohatyas, Nikrodh Samiti, with which Bharatiya Jana Sangh fully co-operated, legal ban on cow-slaughter has been imposed in U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Assam. But still there is no such law in West Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra and Assam. It is resulting in rapid deterioration of, and loss of, the cattle wealth of the country. Jana Sangh will try to get Central legislation enacted to ban cow-slaughter throughout the country. It will induce both, the Government and the people, to strive for the development of cattle.

Jana Sangh will establish Gosadans in every district and will pay special attention to bettering the condition of

Goshalas. Cooperatives will be formed for the distribution of milk in the cities. Pasture lands will be provided in all villages. Restrictions on grazing in forests will be removed. Jana Sangh will ban hydrogenated vegetable oil.

National Interest—the Basis of Foreign Policy

The aim of Jana Sangh shall be the enlightened self-interest of Bharat. It will look upon all problems of war and peace with a view to the interest of the Nation. It has no aggressive designs against any country, but will stake its all for the protection of National interests if and when they are threatened.

It is the considered view of Jana Sangh that permanent peace is not possible so long as there exist political slavery, economic exploitation, social discrimination and selfish lust for power. The incidents of Egypt and Hungary have once again demonstrated that weakness is a curse and that if one wants to live freely and honourably, it is essential to have military and economic strength. The foreign policy of Jana Sangh will help in an early realisation of this objective. With this end in view Jana Sangh will:

1. Follow a policy of non-alignment with the two power blocs, as also of non-involvement in international affairs not directly affecting Bharat;
2. Try for goodwill and friendship with all nations;
3. Fully cooperate with the UNO in the preservation of world peace based on liberty and equality of all nations and will try to get the UN Charter so amended that the UNO becomes a real representative of the people of the world and serves as an effective instrument of world peace and cooperation;
4. Try to get a permanent seat for Bharat in the Security Council;
5. Give full moral support to the struggle for independ-ence of other people under the grip of Western colonialism or Communist imperialism and will try to induce them to adopt an independent foreign policy;
6. Encourage the Afro-Asian countries to exert their influence in favour of world peace and freedom.
keeping them away from both the power blocs, and
will cooperate in joint efforts for economic develop-
ment of these countries:
(7) Take all steps, including police action, for the liber-
ation of Portuguese possessions in India.
(8) Try to secure for Overseas Indians equal citizenship
rights in their respective countries.

THE CALL

Jana Sangh calls upon the 36 crores of Bharatiyas for the
fulfilment of this programme.
Today we stand on the threshold of a great oppor-
tunity. We have to decide whether we desire to see Bharat live and
develop in accordance with its prestige and glory or to make it
a carbon copy of other countries. We have to decide whether
we want to reduce the individual to the position of a mere
automaton in the vast machine of the State or to cater to
his mental and spiritual hunger also in addition to the physical
one.

‘From darkness on to light’—this has been the Bharatiya
ideal of progress. Jana Sangh has come forward with this
programme to establish this ideal in every sphere of life and to
rebuild Bharat in accordance with it.

Through this programme the country will be saved from
external aggression and internal disruption and a happy, pros-
erous and refined national existence will dawn for the common
people now suffering between the mill-stones of economic
distress and social injustice.

Jana Sangh is entering the election arena with this pro-
gramme. Our representatives will get this implemented by the
government in the Parliament and Assemblies. Outside, we
will awaken and educate public opinion and create a powerful
mass mind in its favour.

Last five years’ work of the Jana Sangh is testimony to
the fact that we have struggled continuously for the ful-

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themselves, one which derives its sustenance from the welfare of
the people.

We believe that the people of the land—men and women—
will not miss the great opportunity for rebuilding their destiny,
which has presented itself in the auspicious year 1957. People
are divinity incarnate. Jana Sangh will respectfully bow before
their verdict.

[Dec. 31, 1956; Delhi, V A.I.S.]
1958

INTRODUCTORY

Bharat stands today on the threshold of a glorious future. Today is our opportunity to stabilise and consolidate the freedom that we have regained after long centuries of struggle, and to attain and promote the welfare—social as well as material—of the mass of humanity labouring under the twin hardships of social subjugation and economic mal-adjustments. This task of national regeneration, this Yajna—as mighty as it is noble—calls for vast human resources which have to be roused from their quiescence. For this it is essential that we realise the true identity of the National-self, the nature and genius of the Nation and outline the progressive development of the future in harmony with its traditions and suiting its environments. The liquidation of all ignorance, want and injustice and the evolution of a strong, prosperous, refined and happy national life demands the ungrudging cooperation and collective toil from all. This calls for a new lead in all spheres of national life. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is the answer to this very call.

FUNDAMENTALS

One Country

From Himalayas in the north to Kanya Kumari in the south, all Bharat has always been one and indivisible, an organic whole geographically and historically. This living unity has manifested itself in economic, political and all other spheres. In expression of our great love and adoration for every particle of this land we have visualised and worshipped it as Bharat Mata.

One People

The vast humanity living in, and devoted to, Bharatvarsha constitutes one people. With all its diversities, its fundamental unity has always endured unimpaired. Our diversities are signs neither of disintegration nor of perversity; they are on the contrary an evidence of natural growth and enrichment of our cultural heritage.

One Culture

With this one country as its home, this one people has developed and lived a culture which is one and the same from the Himalayas to the seas. For a vast land as ours it was but natural that somewhat different patterns of life should have grown in different areas and sections. But all of them stand integrally united in Bharatiya Sanskriti which has never been tied to the strings of any particular dogma or creed. All the creeds that form the commonwealth of Bharatiya Rashtra have their share in the stream of Bharatiya culture which has flown down from the Vedas in unbroken continuity absorbing and assimilating contributions made by different peoples, creeds and cultures that came in contact with it in the course of history, in such a way as to make them indistinguishable part and parcel of the main current. The Bharatiya culture is thus, like Bharatvarsh, one and indivisible. Any talk of composite culture, therefore, is not only illogical but also dangerous for it tends to weaken national unity and encourage fissiparous tendencies.

One Nation

Bharat is an ancient nation. Its recently obtained freedom marks the beginning of only a new chapter in its long and chequered history and not the birth of a new nation. Bharatiya nationalism, therefore, must naturally be based on undivided allegiance to Bharat as a whole and on its eternal culture which distinguishes her from other lands.

One Ideal

Material progress side by side with spiritual advancement has been the joint goal of our national life. Pursuit of one to the neglect of other is neither practicable nor desirable. Dharma is what leads to the attainment of both (Abhyudaya and Nishreyas) and needs to be distinguished from ‘religion’ or form of worship. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers the establish-
ment of *Dharma Rajya* indispensable for all-round material and moral progress.

Bharatiya concept of a State has always been a *Dharma Rajya*. But that is not a Theocratic State. The Bharatiya State, free from religious dogma, has always been a secular institution affording equal protection to all the different creeds and sections. The very idea of a theocratic state like Khilafat is foreign to Bharatiya tradition and culture and it has never existed here. What passes as secularism today, however, is only an euphemism for the policy of Muslim appeasement. It is neither nationalism nor secularism but only a compromise with communalism which demands a high price even for its lip-loyalty to this country.

_Jana Sangh_ stands for the building up of Bharat as a modern, progressive and strong State on the basis of Bharatiya culture and true Bharatiya nationalism with such adjustments as necessary, wherein men and women of various faiths, speaking different languages and residing in different parts of the country will live in an atmosphere of unity, freedom and good-will, pursuing and furthering a common culture and serving a common motherland to achieve the Bharatiya ideal of progress, spiritual and material.

Objective

The objective of Bharatiya Jana Sangh is the rebuilding of Bharat on the basis of Bharatiya Sanskriti and Maryada and as a political, social and economic democracy granting equality of opportunity and liberty of individual so as to make her a prosperous, powerful, and united nation, progressive, modern and enlightened, able to withstand the aggressive designs of others and to pull her weight in the Council of Nations for the establishment of world peace.

Policy

In realisation of its objectives _Jana Sangh_ will resort to all peaceful, and democratic methods. _Jana Sangh_ believes in democracy based on individual freedom and the rule of law. _Jana Sangh_ is, therefore, opposed to totalitarian and violent means and methods.

**PROGRAMME**

_Bharatiya Jana Sangh_ has come forward with a positive and constructive programme for the all-sided progress of Bharat. This programme is not wedded to any particular ‘ism’. In its formulation full consideration has been given to the Bharatiya genius and tradition as well as present state of our national being—both the strength and weakness thereof. Through this we shall not only solve our food, clothing and housing problems, and attain self-sufficiency in their regard, we shall succeed in building Bharat into a political, social and economic democracy—providing equality of opportunity and freedom to the individual.

**National Security**

_Bharatiya Jana Sangh_ will give top priority to national defence. The armed forces will be expanded to match the extent and population of the country, and will be equipped with the most modern arms. _Jana Sangh_ will undertake following programmes to prepare the country physically and psychologically for self-defence:

1. Compulsory military training for all young men;
2. Nationalisation of all the wings of the armed forces in their inspiration as well as form;
3. Immediate establishment of defence industries;
4. Organisation of a vast Territorial Army.

The guarding of the borders will be the Centre’s responsibility, for which a Border Police Establishment will be constituted. Strong steps will be taken to check infiltration and smuggling. The Intelligence Department will be made more active and efficient so that strict watch is kept on the activities of foreign spies and fifth columnists, and their nefarious designs are foiled even before they take shape.

**National Unity**

_Jana Sangh_ believes in equal rights for all citizens whatever their caste, creed, colour or sex. It does not recognise majorities or minorities based on religion. Equality of opportunity to all and special economic and educational facilities to the backward classes will be its basic approach. For unifying,
the nation, such elements of our citizenry as have been
denationalised or otherwise influenced in favour of foreign ideas
and, idiom, will be restored to national life current. Such
elements and sections as owe extra-territorial loyalties out of
selfish motives will be dealt with a firm hand.

For the preservation of national unity, without which
neither hard-won freedom can be preserved nor big plans for
economic development and social reconstruction executed, Jana
Sangh will take the following steps:

1. Creating a feeling of equality and oneness in the
   Hindu Society by liquidating untouchability and
   casteism.

2. Nationalising all non-Hindus by inculcating in them
   the ideal of Bharatiya Culture.

The recommendations of the Neyogi Committee and Rege
Committee will be implemented to free the Bharatiya Christians
from the anti-national influence of foreign missionaries.

The federal structure of the present Constitution, by
naming provinces as 'States' and 'Bharat' as their Union and by
distributing powers between them in a way so as to create a
feeling of rivalry with the Centre, is an obstacle in the way of
national solidarity. Jana Sangh will, therefore, amend the
Constitution and declare Bharat to be a Unitary State.

Political Decentralisation

But the establishment of a Unitary State would not mean
centralisation of power. Jana Sangh has faith in democracy.
In order to give people an opportunity of participation in
government, political power will be decentralised and
Janapadas will be established, while at the Centre the Jana
Sangh will seek to establish a strong representative administra-
tion capable of effectively co-ordinating and directing national
policies.

Village panchayats, municipalities, corporations and other
local bodies which are primary units of a decentralised adminis-
tration will be given recognition in the Constitution and will
derive their strength from it. Their resources will be assured
and augmented so that they can discharge their responsibilities
properly.

Village panchayats will not be imposed from above, but
will be evolved from below with public cooperation. Casteism
and factionalism today are the greatest curses of the panchayats.
To check their growth Jana Sangh will try to encourage the
traditional system of unanimous election of panchayats. Till
then elections will be by secret ballot. A part of land revenue
will be allotted to the panchayats so that they may not be
dependent on discretionary grants.

Abolition of Legislative Councils

The present legislative councils have failed in achieving
their objectives; Jana Sangh will abolish them.

Protection of Fundamental Rights

Jana Sangh will protect the fundamental rights of
speech, writing, association and expression of the Bharatiya
people.

It will repeal the Preventive Detention Act, the Public
Safety Acts, which have been enacted by the present Govern-
ment of limit and restrict civil liberties, and will make suitable
amendments in Sections 107, 108, 109 & 144 Cr. P.C. and
Sections 124A and 153 of I.P.C. so that powers conferred by
them may not be misused by the authorities to deprive people of
their liberties.

Reform in Administration

Jana Sangh will completely overhaul the administration
so that it is freed of bureaucratic ways, red-tapism, inefficiency
and corruption.

Jana Sangh will remove the present inequality in the
services, which creates a sense of inferiority complex in the
lower grades, and that of vanity in the officers. It will try to
inculcate in them a feeling of partnership in the great task of
reconstruction of the country. The employees working in the
temporary departments of the Government will be confirmed,
and in the event of those departments being wound-up, the
Government would have the responsibility of providing them
with alternative jobs.

To root out corruption, the Anti-Corruption Department
will be given greater powers, and deterrent punishment will be
meted out to the guilty.
In accordance with the recommendations of the S.R.C., Jana Sangh will establish All-India Services in Judiciary, Health, Forests and Engineering.

Economy in Administration

Jana Sangh will take strong measures to reduce Government expenditure which in recent years has risen manifold. Every pie of the poor Bharatiya people shall be spent on their betterment and not on any pomp or fanfare. In all offices, from the Rashtrapati Bhawan down to the lowest rank within the country and abroad in our embassies, simplicity and thrift, the ideals of Bharatiya culture, will be observed.

In this context, ministers will have to set an example before the people. Jana Sangh believes that if the people are to be inspired to practise simplicity and economy, ministers must not draw salaries bigger than Rs. 500 p.m. and their number should also be reduced to the minimum.

With a view to reducing the difference in the standard of living of the officials and the common man, Jana Sangh will fix the minimum salary at Rs. 2,000 p.m. and the lowest at Rs. 100 p.m.

Cheap and Easily Available Justice

Justice will be cheap, speedy and within the reach of everybody. From this point of view the proposal for abolition of High Court benches is undesirable. Court fees will be substantially reduced and mobile courts to take justice to the common man will be established. The Judiciary will be completely free and separate from the Executive at all levels. Jana Sangh is opposed to the limitation of the jurisdiction of courts and will make efforts to check this growing tendency. The system of honorary magistrates will be abolished.

Establishment of an Economic Democracy

The aim of Jana Sangh is the establishment of an economic democracy with equal opportunities for development to all and with no chances for any exploitation. To this end it will introduce revolutionary changes in the present economic order. The changes will be in keeping with Bharatiya values of life and will take full account of the present situation. The condition of Bharat is different from both USSR and the USA; it has more men than land, and it is industrially backward. The market for ready goods is limited. Therefore, imitation of Russia or of America cannot be in our interest.

New Economic System

Jana Sangh will develop a new economic order suiting the circumstances and needs of Bharat, in which there will be full freedom for individual enterprise, but economic power shall not be allowed to be centralised in a few hands. Neither shall the State be given unlimited powers. This is the way to avoid individualistic capitalism as well as state capitalism, and to establish a real democracy.

The immediate aims of Jana Sangh's economic programme will be two-fold:

1. To solve the problem of food, clothing, housing, unemployment and inequality.
2. To make the country self-sufficient in defence, producer and consumer goods.

Right to Work: Unemployment Allowance

Manpower is our greatest asset. It will be the basis of our economic reconstruction. Jana Sangh will provide work to ALL. Work is man's birth-right. Jana Sangh will include right to work in the list of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The State will give unemployment allowance, if it fails to provide gainful employment to all able-bodied citizens.

Change in the System of Production

Need for increased agricultural and industrial production is conceded by all. Until and unless production rises, emphasis on distribution is of little avail, and in the absence of proper distribution poverty and disparity cannot be abolished. But the present ways of production are not suited to the conditions of Bharat. Under this system, at times even when production increases, there is a reduction in employment, resulting in reduced purchasing power and consequently lack of market in the country. It leads to closure of mills and further unemployment.
This partially explains the increasing unemployment during the
Five-Year Plans.

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

Small-Scale Industries

To provide work for all and to free the society of the evils
of concentration of labour and capital, Jana Sangh would take
steps to decentralise economic power. A net-work of cottage
and small-scale industries will be established. To put an end
to the competition between the small-scale and large-scale
sectors, their spheres of production will be clearly demarcated.

Small industries will be the basis of all industrial planning,
so the large industries will have to adjust themselves accord-
ingly.

The following steps will be taken for the development of
small-scale industries:

(1) Making of machines for cottage and village industries,
so that their quality and capacity of production and
the income of the producers may be increased.

(2) Establishment of industrial schools to train workers
in modern technology.

(3) Reservation of markets for small, cottage, and village
industries.

(4) Encouragement and establishment of cooperative
industries.

Jana Sangh will give full protection to handloom industry.

At the present time introduction of power-looms in place of
handlooms is unwise. Cooperative spinning mills will be
established to provide cheap yarn to handloom weavers.

Nationalisation of Basic and Defence Industries

Jana Sangh stands for nationalisation of basic and
defence industries. All other industries should be given full
opportunity to develop freely, subject to state supervision and
regulation.

The present tendency to take over more and more industries
in State ownership and management is not only destructive
of democracy, it is undesirable even from the point of view of
economic development. The experience of nationalised indu-
tries is very bitter and disappointing. Wastage of public funds
and an attitude of indifference to the general public—these two
have become the cardinal features of nationalised industries.
Jana Sangh is not opposed to equipping the government with
powers of curbing the tendency for exploitation in private
industries, or for raising the resources needed for economic
reconstruction, but it considers all-round nationalisation as
unnecessary. Jana Sangh is opposed to the policy of State
ownership of road-transport, insurance and banking.

Indianisation of Foreign Industries

Jana Sangh's policy as regards mining, tea, coffee, rubber-
plantations and such other industries as are in the hands mainly
of foreigners is to Indianise them. Immediate steps will be
taken in this direction in respect of the soap and match indu-

dustries, whose production, too, is today controlled mainly by
foreign concerns. As regards other foreign industries 2/3 of
the total investment in any concern ought to be Indian. Not only
the labourers but the experts and the officers in such concerns
should mainly be nationals of Bharat.

Jana Sangh will fix a maximum limit for the foreign
companies in the matter of remitting profits outside.

Labour, a Co-sharer in Management and Profits

Jana Sangh regards the ideas of class war and class hatred
as incorrect and injurious. Labour and Capital are not anta-
gonistic but complementary to each other. Jana Sangh pro-
poses to make labour a co-sharer in the management and
profits of industry. With this end in view, it will arrange for
their due representation on the Corporations and Boards of
Directors in both nationalised and private industries.

Jana Sangh recognises labour's right to strike, but it is
of the opinion that it must not be taken recourse to except as
a last resort. Ordinarily for maintaining industrial production
Jana Sangh will have industrial disputes settled by industrial
tribunals, consisting of impartial judges, whose decisions will
be binding on both parties. Jana Sangh is opposed to industrial
lock-outs. Whenever a lock-out takes place, it is the duty of the
State to take over the factory and run it.

Encouragement to Labour Unions
In order that labour be conscious of its duties and vigilant in respect of its rights, it is essential that it should be well organised. Jana Sangh would encourage every labourer to join some or the other trade union and defend the rights of the labour unions. Rules regarding recognition of trade unions will be altered. The registration of a trade union ought to mean *ipso facto* its recognition by the Government and the management.

Appointment of a Permanent Wage Board
A permanent Wage Board will be appointed to draw up a pay scale for work in various industries and revise it from time to time after taking into consideration the standard of living as also the national minima. Under present day conditions the minimum wages of any labourer should be Rs. 100 p.m.

Social Security of Labour
The State shall be responsible for the social security of labour. There shall not be any retrenchment unless alternative employment is provided. Special allowances will be given to labour engaged in hazardous duties. Contribution from the employees to the State Employees Insurance Scheme will be abolished. Provision for old age and sickness will be made. There will be *equal pay for equal work*. Women will not be discriminated against in this respect. Two months' maternity leave with pay will be allowed to them.

Work for Educated Unemployed
Jana Sangh will take special steps to liquidate unemployment amongst the educated. Reorganisation of the system of education and greater provision for technical and scientific education will reduce the number of such unemployed. Work to the educated unemployed will be provided through expansion of primary education and establishment of cottage and small-scale industries.

Economic Equality and Capital Formation
Jana Sangh guarantees a minimum standard of living to all citizens. With a view to reducing economic disparity and raising finances for development Jana Sangh will fix a maximum of Rs. 2,000 as expendable monthly income according to present prices. The minimum income under present conditions will be made to make it continuously rising so that in the near future the ratio between the minimum and the maximum is brought to 1 : 10.

Income in excess of the maximum limit will be procured through contribution, taxation, compulsory loans and investment for development needs.

Revival of Swadeshi Spirit
With a view to the development of industries and for saving foreign exchange, Jana Sangh will take steps to revive the spirit of *Swadeshi*. There will be restrictions on the import of consumer goods, especially of toilet and luxury goods. Protection will be given to indigenous industries against foreign competition. *Swadeshi* goods alone will be used for Government purposes.

Reform in the System of Taxation
Jana Sangh will make revolutionary reforms in the system of taxation. It will discourage indirect taxes, the incidence of which falls mainly on the common man. There will be no direct tax on the people at the minimum level of income.

Jana Sangh considers sales tax to be a regressive measure and will, therefore, try to abolish it. As a first step towards this end, it will

(i) Abolish sales tax on the necessaries of life,
(ii) Exempt cottage and small-scale products from the levy of sales tax,
(iii) Introduce uniform rates in all states,
(iv) Make it a single point tax,
(v) Abolish inter-state sales tax, and
(vi) As far as possible, collect it at the production stage.

Jana Sangh is against the levy of excise duty on the necessaries of life. The increased duty on coarse cloth will
therefore be abolished. Jana Sangh will deal strictly with tax evaders.

Emphasis on Self-Reliance

Although Jana Sangh is not opposed to foreign aid if it comes without any political strings, foreign aid will not prove of much use in the economic picture that Jana Sangh has kept before it. Foreign influence comes naturally with foreign aid. Jana Sangh will, therefore, place emphasis on self-reliance for the country’s economic development and will plan according to our own means and resources.

Land Reforms

In order to make the country self-sufficient in food and for the rejuvenation of village life Jana Sangh will make revolutionary changes in land tenure. Land shall belong to the tiller of the soil and there will be no intermediary between the Kisan and the State. Persons displaced by abolition of zamindari and Jagirdari will be rehabilitated.

The problem of the peasants and the landless has not been solved under the Congress rule even after the much publicised land reforms. Jana Sangh will stop the ejection of tillers, restore the land of those already ejected, reduce the land revenue and other taxes and redistribute land to provide holdings to the landless. The minimum and maximum holding shall be 5 and 30 acres of well irrigated land or its equivalent, respectively. A minimum wage for agricultural labour will also be fixed.

Jana Sangh will lay greater emphasis on the reclamation of land and on raising the yield of land already under the plough in the interest of increased production. It considers collectivisation of agriculture unsuited to Bharat.

Co-ordinated Development of Agriculture and Industry

Jana Sangh aims at co-ordinated development of agriculture and industry. It will try to establish parity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products so that no section of the society suffers due to changes in the price level of commodities.

Jana Sangh will establish cottage and village industries to provide subsidiary employment to the agriculturists and also to reduce the burden on land.

Jana Sangh will strive to improve the condition of villages and take the following steps to that end:

1. By means of country-wide campaigns, peasants will be encouraged and enthused to work harder for increased yield.

2. Steps will be taken to supply better seeds and manure to the agriculturists and to discourage the use of cow dung as fuel, and to prepare from it, instead, organic manure. Use of chemical fertilisers will be discouraged.

3. Use of tractors for normal ploughing purposes will be discouraged.

4. Farmers will be encouraged to grow vegetables and fruits along with cereals and they will be given necessary facilities for the purpose.

5. Dairies will be set up in the villages to make pure milk and milk-products available to villagers and to supply them to urban areas.

6. Cooperative banks will be established in the rural areas and schemes for insurance for the villagers, as well as cattle and crop insurance will be introduced.

Transport

Jana Sangh will pay special attention to the expansion and development of road, rail, water and air transport.

Jana Sangh will run more Janata trains in place of the III Class Air-conditioned trains being run mainly for propaganda purposes. It will provide sleeping accommodation to long journey III Class passengers without any extra payment. Efforts will also be made to procure more goods wagons. Hitherto neglected areas will be connected by rail.

Railway employees will be represented on the Railway Board. Special efforts shall be made to improve the working conditions of lower grade and running staff. Arrangements for the education of their children and for medical aid will be made. Recommendations of the Kripalani Committee for removing corruption will be implemented.

In order to reduce the burden on the Railways, Jana Sangh will take steps for the development of road and water
transport. Rates of motor vehicle taxation will be reduced and made uniform throughout the country. Efforts will be made to connect every village by road and every big city by air. The Ganga will be made navigable from Patna to Calcutta. The contract system of Ghats will be abolished and their management will be organised with the help of the boatmen.

Policy of Reciprocity Towards Pakistan

Partition of Bharat was a great blunder and it has benefited neither the Hindus nor the Muslims. The number of people who are beginning to realise that annulment of partition is essential for the well-being of the country and for maintenance of world peace is daily increasing in both Bharat and Pakistan. In fact, most of the Indo-Pak problems, such as Kashmir, rehabilitation of displaced persons, economic instability, increase in defence expenditure can all be permanently solved only by the establishment of Akhand Bharat in which people of all faiths will live as loyal citizens of one great nation. Evidently this unity cannot be achieved by any use of force. It will need a psychological change. The programme of cultural unification of the people of Bharat aims at such a change.

But so long as Pakistan continues to be a separate entity Jana Sangh will adopt a policy of reciprocity in dealing with that State. The policy of appeasement that has so long been followed has not changed the mentality of the leaders of Pakistan; on the contrary it has strengthened it. Jana Sangh is against giving any concessions to Pakistan on the question of evacuee-property, recovery of India’s loans and canal water dues. The leaders of Pakistan having declared Bharat to be their only enemy should be prepared for such a treatment. It is for the people of Pakistan to get rid of such leaders, who, in order to satiate their feelings of hatred for this country, are prepared to push Pakistan into a catastrophe.

Liberation of Pak-held Kashmir

Jana Sangh welcomes the ratification by the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir of the accession of the state with Bharat. Jammu and Kashmir is an indivisible part of Bharat and its unification with it is permanent and irrevo-

cable. Any talk of plebiscite in Kashmir is illogical and unnecessary.

It is considered opinion of Jana Sangh that Pakistan has no locus standi in Kashmir. She is an aggressor and should be treated as such. The proposal to divide the State along the ceasefire line is cowardly and anti-national. Jana Sangh will make efforts to get Pakistan declared aggressor by UNO and will take all possible steps for the liberation of Pak-held Kashmir. Jana Sangh is opposed to a separate constitution for Jammu and Kashmir because it will encourage fissiparous tendencies by keeping alive a feeling of separatism and duality between Bharat and Kashmir. For the future safety and security of Jammu and Kashmir with which the safety and security of Bharat is linked, it is essential that it should be brought fully under the Constitution of India by repealing Article 370 of the Constitution.

Rehabilitation

The Congress Government has so far failed to rehabilitate the people who have been displaced by partition. Even after ten years of freedom they find themselves helpless, and their future insecure. Jana Sangh will give top priority to their rehabilitation and will give full compensation for their properties left in Pakistan. For this purpose Jana Sangh will take the following steps.

1. Immediate payment to small claim holders.
2. Re-evaluation of houses and shops constructed for them, and their sale to them on no-profit basis.
3. Rent realised to-date to be credited towards price payment.
4. Realisation of the value of these properties in easy instalments over a period of 30 years from those who are not in a position to pay it at present.
5. No interest to be charged on loans advanced to D.Ps after acceptance of claims.
6. Recovery of amounts up to Rs. 2,000 given as help to be stopped.
7. No discrimination to be made between urban and rural D.Ps.
8. Taking full responsibility for rehabilitation of those
displaced persons who either have no claims or have claims of nominal value.

(9) With a view to trace hidden evacuee property, law pertaining thereto will be suitably amended.

Exodus of Hindus from East Bengal

The Congress Government which was pledged to protect the life and property of Hindus in East Bengal has failed to redeem its promise. No Hindu can live there with honour today. Jana Sangh will mobilise world public opinion against the forcible squeezing out of Hindus from East Bengal and it will demand land from Pakistan for resettling them (Hindus). Under the present circumstances it will take away all facilities afforded to Pakistani citizens, of employment and earning their livelihood in India to facilitate the resettlement of Bengal Hindus. No restrictions, direct or indirect, will be placed on granting visas to those Hindus in East Bengal who are desirous of migrating to India. Full facilities will be afforded to those who have anyhow crossed the border and come to Bharat.

Bharatiya Languages in Place of English

Jana Sangh is opposed to any extension in the limit of 15 years' period laid down by the Constitution for the replacement of English by Hindi and the Regional languages. Language has a vital role to play in national reconstruction. A foreign language can never serve this end.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make a five-year Plan for the development of Hindi and other Bharatiya languages under which technical and scientific terms based on Sanskrit and other Bharatiya languages will be prepared by a committee of linguists. Books from other languages, especially text-books for higher classes, will be translated and published in Hindi and other Bharatiya languages.

Encouragement will be given to the various dialects. Sindhi will be included in the list of Bharatiya languages recognised by the Constitution. Hindi will be secured its rightful place in the Jammu and Kashmir state. The policy of Jana Sangh with regard to the medium of instruction will be the following.

(1) Primary education through the mother tongue,

(2) Secondary and higher education through the regional language, and Hindi to be a compulsory subject,

(3) Knowledge of any one regional language compulsory for Hindi-speaking students,

(4) A compulsory course of Sanskrit studies, and

(5) Graduates of Hindi and other recognised Indian languages will be treated on par with graduates who have passed with English medium.

Revolutionary Changes in the System of Education

Jana Sangh will make revolutionary changes in the present system of education. The aim of education is an integrated development of the individual and the promotion of moral and spiritual values of life so that education may become a powerful and effective means for the real progress of the nation and of the individual. Education, like Judiciary, will be free from interference of, and control by, the Government. Autonomy of educational institutions and Universities will be respected and protected.

In order to attract talented people to teaching, and to assure a happy and satisfied life to the teachers, their wages will be raised and they will be secured a place of dignity in the society.

The following will be the programme of Jana Sangh in the field of education:

(1) Provision of free and compulsory education at the primary and secondary stages,

(2) Free education to poor but deserving students (boys and girls) at the higher stages,

(3) Establishment of technical, scientific, and multi-purpose institutions,

(4) Facilities for research and instruction in scientific education, and

(5) Arrangements for adult education and encouragement to the study of fine arts.

Free Medical Aid to All

Jana Sangh will provide free medical aid to all. Giving due recognition to Allopathy, Homoeopathy, Naturopathy and Unani systems of medicine, Jana Sangh will develop Ayurveda
as the National System of medicine and will make it a vehicle for improvement of national health.

Jana Sangh will aim at establishment of a dispensary in every village, and till this objective is achieved mobile dispensaries and hospitals will be provided to make medical aid available even in remote villages. Research laboratories will be established in various parts of the country for research and manufacture of Ayurvedic medicines. The country will be sought to be made self-sufficient in respect of manufacture of medicines and drugs of various types. A committee of experts will be appointed to go into the question of advisability of B.C.G. vaccine. Conditions of government hospitals and dispensaries will be improved. In the interest of public health Jana Sangh will see to it that all eatables and other essential goods are made available in pure and unadulterated form. Jana Sangh will provide deterrent punishment to those guilty of adulteration.

Special Facilities for Backward Classes

Jana Sangh will make special efforts to get equal and honourable treatment to the socially depressed and economically backward sections of society. It will strive to eradicate untouchability and casteism. There will be no restrictions on the entry of any section of Hindus into temples.

In order to improve their economic condition, priority will be given to the depressed classes and tribes in the matter of redistribution of land. Their traditional trades and crafts will be developed. Arrangements for providing houses and drinking water to them will be made. Special facilities for their education will be provided. Necessary steps will be taken to link the tribal areas with the cities.

Repeal of Anti-Hindu Laws

Joint-family and indissoluble marriage have been the basis of Hindu Society. Laws that alter this basis will ultimately lead to the disintegration of society. Jana Sangh will therefore repeal the Hindu Marriage and Hindu Succession Acts.

Full Opportunities to Women

Jana Sangh will take special steps to remove social, educational and economic disabilities of women, so that they may fully discharge their responsibilities to the family, society and nation. Equal opportunities in every field will be afforded to women.

Without in any way altering the scientific principles of social organisation, Jana Sangh will try to increase the rights of women. Taking woman to be a member of the joint family, steps will be taken to secure for her a share along with her husband in the property of her father-in-law.

Ban on Cow-Slaughter

Respecting the sentiments of the people of Bharat, and taking into consideration the economic importance of the cow, Jana Sangh will try to get Central legislation enacted to ban cow-slaughter throughout the country. It will induce both the Government and the people, to strive for the development of cattle wealth.

Jana Sangh will establish Gosadans in every district and will pay special attention to bettering the conditions of Goshalas. Cooperatives will be formed for the distribution of milk in the cities. Pasture lands will be provided in all villages. Restrictions on grazing in the forests will be removed. Jana Sangh will ban hydrogenated vegetable oils.

National Interest—Basis of Foreign Policy

The party's foreign policy will be guided primarily by the enlightened self-interest, that is, consideration of welfare and progress of the country. It will look upon all problems of war and peace with a view to the interest of the Nation. It has no aggressive designs against any country, but will make its all for the protection of national interests, if and when they are threatened.

It is considered view of Jana Sangh that permanent peace is not possible so long as there exist political slavery, economic exploitation, social discrimination and selfish lust for power. History has demonstrated time and again that weakness is a curse and that if one wants to live freely and honourably, it is essential to have military and economic strength. The foreign
policy of Jana Sangh will help in an early realisation of this objective. With this end in view Jana Sangh will:

1. Follow a policy of non-alignment with the two power blocs, as also of non-involvement in international affairs not directly affecting Bharat;
2. Try for good-will and friendship with all nations;
3. Fully cooperate with the UNO in the preservation of world peace based on liberty and equality of all nations, and will try to get the UN Charter so amended that the UNO becomes a real representative of the people of the world and serves as an effective instrument of world peace and cooperation;
4. Try to get a permanent seat for Bharat in the Security Council;
5. Give full moral support to the struggle for independence of the people under the grip of Western colonialism or Communist imperialism, and will try to induce them to adopt an independent foreign policy;
6. Encourage the Afro-Asian countries to exert their influence in favour of world peace and freedom, keeping them away from both the power blocs, and cooperate in joint efforts for economic development of these countries;
7. Take all steps, including police action, for the liberation of Portuguese possessions in India;
8. Try to secure for Overseas Indians equal citizenship rights in their respective countries.

THE CALL

Jana Sangh calls upon the Nation for the fulfilment of this programme.

Today we stand on the threshold of a great opportunity. We have to decide whether we desire to see Bharat live and develop in honour and glory or to make it a carbon copy of other countries. We have to decide whether we want to reduce the individual to the position of a mere automaton in the vast machine of the State or to cater to his mental and spiritual hunger also, in addition to the physical one.

‘From darkness on to light’—this has been the Bharatiya ideal of progress. Jana Sangh has come forward with this programme to establish this ideal in every sphere of life and to rebuild Bharat in accordance with it.

Through this programme the country will be saved from external aggression and internal disruption and a happy, prosperous and refined national existence will dawn for the common people now crushed between the mill-stones of economic distress and social injustice.
1962

INTRODUCTORY

The Jana Sangh Pledge

Once again 1962 affords an opportunity to the people of Bharat to change democratically the present government and bring forward a new leadership to pilot the nation to a safe haven.

The government which has failed in its primary duty of protecting the country from external aggression and internal subversion, as also of providing to the people their basic necessities of food, clothing and housing, has forfeited its right to be in office.

The party which has fallen from its high idealism and has become the resort of selfish, opportunist and unscrupulous politicians, engaged in internecine war in their hunger for power and which has entered into an alliance with separatist, communal and anti-national elements only to maintain itself in power cannot inspire the people with idealism or impel them to take bold and revolutionary steps to combat impending dangers and lay the foundations for a glorious future.

The situation demands a dedicated leadership, a well-disciplined party, and a realistic programme rooted in the cultural traditions of the people.

To reinforce the ideals of Bharatiya Sanskriti and Maryada which alone can form the basis of steady development of the nation and of a permanent solution of its problems, and to strengthen democracy, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been exerting itself by mobilising and organising public opinion through constructive, and when necessary, agitational means. Besides local and provincial questions, Jana Sangh has effectively given expression to people's feelings on national questions, e.g., integration of Jammu and Kashmir state with the rest of Bharat, liberation of Goa, resistance to Chinese aggression, change in the appeasement policy towards Pakistan, checking price inflation, rise in unemployment and increase in taxation, opposition to cooperative farming and state trading in food grains, etc. While different political parties were busy encouraging communalism, casteism and regionalism just to gain petty political advantages, the Jana Sangh attached supreme importance to national welfare and constantly and unrelentingly waged a war against these perverse and fissiparous tendencies.

The critical times ahead and the growing confidence reposed in us by the people, have impelled and encouraged us to make an all-out effort to fulfil their expectations. We hope that the people too, on their part, will realise the gravity of the situation and will assert their democratic rights, undaunted and untempted, without fear or favour. The present situation demands that immediate attention be paid to the solution of the following problems without which neither the defence of our country nor the economic development of the people is possible. These are:

1. The defence of our frontiers, and national unity;
2. Efficiency and purity of administration;
3. Stabilisation of prices and eradication of unemployment; and
4. Reorientation of education.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh pledges itself to the solution of these problems.

Defence of Frontiers

The borders of India have been violated. Pakistan on the one side and Communist China on the other have forcibly occupied large tracts of our land. Portuguese imperialism continues still in Goa, Daman and Diu. Despite the country's capacity to combat aggression successfully, the policy of appeasement and vacillation followed by the Congress Government has only demoralised the people and allowed time to the enemies to consolidate their positions. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will use all means to meet this challenge to our freedom and sovereignty and liberate every inch of Indian territory.
With a view to achieving the above objective in participation

Recruitment of Education

None of a citizen or acquire an education.

Right to Employment

The Government shall ensure that every citizen has the right to work,

National Defense

In the event of a national emergency, the Government shall have the power to requisition or otherwise acquire such materials or services as may be necessary for the defense of the country.

Programme

The programme will be formulated to implement the following measures:

1. Expansion of educational facilities
2. Improvement of agricultural productivity
3. Development of industry
4. Promotion of scientific research

Corruption in Administration

In this respect, the Government is committed to taking all necessary measures to ensure a transparent and corruption-free administration.

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provisions. Steps will be taken to expel illegal immigrants from
Pakistan, especially in Assam and Kashmir.

In case of border violations, the policy of the Jana Sangh will be one of retaliation rather than of issuing protest notes.

National Unity

The rerudescence of separatist and fissiparous forces shows that serious constructive efforts have not been made to strengthen national loyalties. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh guarantees full freedom of faith and worship to all but it is opposed to the tendency, so contrary to our ideals of a secular State, of exploiting religion for politics, and of demanding special privileges on that basis. The Jana Sangh will give no quarter to such elements.

It is wrong to divide the people of Bharat into majority and minorities on the basis of religion. It only shows a lack of conception of the true nature of Bharatiya Nationalism. There shall be no room for such wrong notions, and the classifications based on them.

Special measures will be taken to strengthen national unity by inculcating in all Bharatiya citizens an abiding faith in Bharatiya culture.

Educational and economic help to backward classes will be given to bring them in line with the whole society, with a view to obliterating all vexatious distinctions of high and low or touchable and untouchable.

An enquiry into the conduct and activities of every foreign missionary will be instituted, and those found engaged in proselytisation through objectionable methods or in political activities will be exterminted from Bharat. Recommendations of the Neogi and Rege Committees will be implemented. Ordinarily foreign missionaries will not be allowed to enter tribal and frontier areas.

Unitary Form of Government

The present Constitution which, by calling the Centre as 'Union' and provinces as 'States', has recognised a separate and somewhat sovereign status of the constituents is also a hindrance to national unity. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will amend the Constitution and declare India a Unitary State, with provi-

sion for decentralisation of power to the lowest levels.

Decentralisation of Political Power

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will restore to local bodies, such as the village Panchayats and municipalities, which are the primary units of a democratic system, their pride of place in the Constitution of the country. They will derive all authority from it. District Councils and Janapada Sabhas will be established and they will be assured of financial resources so that they may discharge their responsibilities fully without looking to the state government for grants. No right to supersede or dissolve a duly-elected local body, or to suspend or remove any of its members, will be allowed to a state government. This right will be given to an independent judicial body.

The village Panchayats will get a share of the land revenue.

Kashmir

Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers the whole of Jammu and Kashmir State an integral part of Bharat. To bring it in line with other States, the Jana Sangh will take steps to delete Art. 370 and thus apply the whole of the Indian Constitution to that State. All provisions that discriminate against citizens of India residing in the State or in the rest of the country, will be done away with. The citizens of the state will be given the franchise for direct election to the Lok Sabha.

Displaced persons living in the state who have no vote now, will be given the right to vote.

Refugees from Pak-held Kashmir will be granted all facilities regarding rehabilitation and compensation available to other displaced persons.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh looks upon any attack on Kashmir as an attack on India, and will take all measures to liberate Indian territory illegally occupied by Pakistan and China.

Administration

The Jana Sangh will completely overhaul the administration so that it is freed of the evils of bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption.
The Jana Sangh will remove the present feeling of inequality in the services, which creates a sense of inferiority in the lower grades and that of vanity in the officers. It will try to inculcate in them spirit of service to the people and a feeling of partnership in the great task of reconstruction of the country. The employees working in the temporary departments of the government will be confirmed, and in the event of these departments being wound up, the government would have the responsibility of providing them with alternative jobs. The right of government servants to form associations and to have collective bargaining will not be abridged. Suitable negotiating machinery will be devised to consider their complaints and demands. Uniform pay scales will be prescribed for all government employees—Central, provincial, and local. These will be based on Central government scales. Dearness Allowance will be linked to price index. The government will provide residential accommodation to every government employee.

To root out corruption, in addition to arming the Anti-corruption Department with more powers, a high-powered commission will be appointed to enquire into the causes of corruption at higher levels. Deterrent punishment will be meted out to those found guilty.

All-India Services for Judicial, Health, Engineering, Education, Agriculture and Public Enterprise Management will be created.

Economy in Administration

The Jana Sangh will take strong measures to reduce government expenditure which in recent years has risen enormously. Unnecessary departments and posts will be abolished. The number of Governors will be reduced by appointing one Governor for each zone. Legislative Councils are unnecessary and shall be abolished. No minister or official shall receive emoluments more than the national maximum, i.e., Rs. 2,000 p.m.

Justice

Justice will be cheap, speedy and within the reach of every citizen. Court fees will be substantially reduced and will be uniform in all states. There shall be no court fee on writ petitions. The State will provide for the legal defence of the poor. Mobile courts will be established for petty offences.

The Judiciary will be completely freed and separated from the Executive at all levels. The practice of limiting the jurisdiction of the courts by administrative action will be discontinued. The practice of appointing honorary magistrates will be stopped.

Civil Liberties

The Jana Sangh will repeal the Preventive Detention Act and the various Public Safety Acts which have been enacted by the present government to limit and restrict civil liberties, and will make suitable amendments to Sections 107, 108, 109 and 144 of Cr. P. C. and Sec. 124A and 153A of I. P. C. so that power conferred by them may not be misused by the authorities to deprive people of their liberties. Government policy in respect of advertisements will be impartial and will be formulated strictly on the basis of the circulation of papers.

Rehabilitation

Payment of pending claims of displaced persons will be expedited. Full compensation will be given for properties lost in Pakistan.

Displaced persons from East Pakistan will be rehabilitated in areas congenial to them. They shall have a right to full compensation. The Dandakaranya project will be completed quickly with the cooperation of displaced persons and local people.

Language

Jana Sangh will take steps to introduce Hindi and the regional languages as official languages in their respective spheres, within the period prescribed in the Constitution. Care would however be taken to see that those who have failed to acquire the necessary proficiency in these languages are not handicapped in the matter of recruitment and promotions.

With a view to settling the controversy about the official languages in different states, a high-powered Commission will be appointed. Its recommendations will be binding on all.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will formulate a five-year plan for
the development of Hindi and other languages under which technical and scientific terms based on Sanskrit and other Bharatiya languages will be prepared by a committee of linguists. Books from other languages will be translated and published in Hindi and other Bharatiya languages. In due recognition of its universality special steps will be taken for the promotion and development of Sanskrit. Encouragement will be given to the various dialects. Sindhi will be included in the list of Bharatiya languages recognised in the Constitution. The policy of the Jana Sangh with regard to the medium of instruction will be as follows:

1. Primary education through the mother tongue;
2. Secondary and higher education through the regional languages, and Hindi to be a compulsory subject;
3. Knowledge of one of the regional languages will be compulsory for Hindi-speaking students;
4. A compulsory course of Sanskrit studies.

Education

The Congress Government has failed to realise the importance of education in national reconstruction. The present educational system, gifted to us by the Britishers, who had framed it for the achievement of their imperialistic designs, cannot fulfil the needs of a free nation. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will evolve a new educational pattern which would blend our ancient Gurukul modes with modern methods with their technical, vocational and scientific bias.

The Jana Sangh will provide for free and compulsory education up to the secondary standard for every child. No restrictions will be imposed on admissions to the Universities or alternative education made available for every student at that stage. Promising and diligent students will be given free education even at the University stage. Research scholars will be given special encouragement. The present examination system will be improved. A country-wide campaign for adult literacy will be undertaken.

The Jana Sangh will make special efforts to ameliorate the lot of teachers. Pay-scales and other facilities available to teachers in private educational institutions will be brought on a par with those of government institutions. Particular attention will be devoted to better the lot of the much-neglected primary school teachers.

Economic Policy

Despite its all-out stress on the economic development of the country, the policies and programmes followed by the Congress Government during the last few years have only disturbed and strained the economy. It can neither fulfill the basic necessities of the people nor guarantee the defence of the country. In the course of two plans there has been an overall increase in investment and production but it has neither reduced unemployment nor raised the standard of living of the common man. Growing inequalities: the centralisation, shortage and high prices, taxation and loans, deficit financing and inflation, dependence and limitation are the characteristics of the present economic condition of our country. The liberty of the individual has been further restricted by the extension of control and ownership by the State. Today farmers, labourers, employees, teachers and traders are all in distress. Revolutionary steps are needed to change this state of affairs.

Planning

The Jana Sangh recognises the need of planning for utilising the scarce resources of the nation at a maximum return during a minimum of time. But planning is a means and not an end. It has to be formulated on a realistic appraisal of the needs and capacities of the people and related to the permanent values of National Life. There are grave apprehensions of danger to the unity, independence and democratic structure of the nation in the method of formulation, and in the manner of implementation, of the present plans. Besides, it has thrown on the people burdens too heavy for them to bear, but ignored their capacities by a proper utilisation of which they can be helped to achieve a great increase in national income, and successfully implement a programme even bigger than is conceived by the Third Plan.

The Jana Sangh will basically change the plan. In addition to the fulfilment of the economic programmes given here the priorities of the plan will be particularly changed as follows:
(1) First priority will be given to agriculture so that the country becomes self-sufficient in food and agricultural raw material.

(2) Small-scale industries and consumer goods industries will be established on a vast scale.

(3) Stress in the public sector will be on consolidation rather than further extension on doctrinaire grounds. The projects taken up in hand during the last Plan period will be completed quickly, and in future only those industries will be started by the government which are of a basic nature and are necessary for the development of agriculture and other industries.

(4) The doctrinaire distinction between public and private sectors will be abolished. Instead, the concept of a national sector will be put forward and every individual and authority will be expected to contribute his best towards the establishment, ownership, and management of industry.

(5) The objectives of the Plan will be: (a) maximum production; (b) equitable distribution; (c) guarantee of a minimum living standard to all; (d) maximisation of employment opportunities; and (e) balanced and coordinated development of all regions and sections of the society.

(6) As part of the general plan, a Defence Plan will be separately prepared.

Planning Commission
The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reconstitute the Planning Commission and the National Development Council. The Commission will be made an expert body, freed of political elements.

The N.D.C. will include, besides members of the Central Cabinet and State Chief Ministers, members from Parliament and state legislatures on a proportional basis.

Agricultural Policy
Maximum agricultural production in India is possible only through intensive cultivation. The Jana Sangh will make adequate arrangements for the necessary capital and equipment for this purpose. Facilities for cheap, sufficient and timely availability to the farmer of better seeds, manures and fertilisers, agricultural equipment and bullocks, and credit will be made. The provision of these facilities will be tagged on to increase in production. Necessary steps will be taken to ameliorate the condition of agricultural labour. A crop insurance scheme will be introduced.

Irrigation
All possible steps will be taken to free agriculture from its dependence on the vagaries of the monsoon. Projects in hand will be soon completed and the farmers will be in a position to enjoy their benefits without paying betterment levy or cess.

Small irrigation works, dams, tanks, tube-wells, field-channels, etc. will be given priority. Together with new plans attention will also be paid to the repair of old and existing projects.

Today even the existing irrigation facilities are not properly and fully utilised. Canals do not provide sufficient water when it is needed. Irrigation rates are high and uneconomic. Facilities for wet farming are not available in many areas. Field channels have not been laid out even where new canals have been duly constructed. The Jana Sangh will remove all these deficiencies and make the irrigation department more efficient. Irrigation rates will be prescribed keeping in view the needs of agriculture. The Irrigation Department will not be run with a profit motive.

A country-wide survey of the drainage system has not been made. Consequently, on the one hand such water as could be stored in small pools and tanks and utilised for irrigation goes to waste, and on the other, vast areas are devastated by occasional floods.

The Jana Sangh will pay attention to the scientific management of the available water resources of the country.

Land Reforms
The Jana Sangh will make the farmer master of his land. After removing all lacunae the existing laws will be effectively implemented.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will stop evictions and restore to the tenant all lands from which he had been illegally or
improperly ejected.
The right of leasing the land will be granted to owners of
land up to 5 acres and without limit to widows, orphans,
disabled persons, military personnel and charitable trusts and
institutions.

Redistribution of Land
Legislation fixing a ceiling on land holdings has been
enacted in almost all the states. However, the laws suffer from
a number of defects and their implementation is purposely
delayed by the present Ministries. Consequently, there is un-
certainty in the minds of the peasants thus affecting agricul-
tural production. The Jana Sangh, after removing their defects,
will implement them within a year. Surplus land and other cul-
tivable land will be distributed to the landless and to farmers
with uneconomic holdings, on the ownership basis. While
fixing ceilings, rights of members of a joint Hindu family will
also be duly recognised.

Economic Holdings
The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will try to convert uneconomic
holdings into economic ones by providing them with additional
land, or by introducing methods of intensive cultivation.
Fragmentation and division, making a holding uneconomic, will
be prohibited. Necessary amendment in this regard will also be
made in the Hindu Succession Act.

Consolidation of Holdings
The Jana Sangh will take effective steps to remove
corruption, favouritism and irregularities in the Consolidation
Department.
The Jana Sangh will arrange a soil survey, and preparation
of a Master-Plan for every village where consolidation work is
needed. Corruption in the department will be ruthlessly rooted
out.

Service Co-operatives
Services co-operatives to provide credit, seed and equipment
to the farmers, and for marketing their produce, will be organis-
ed. They will be made viable, and strengthened, so that they
may be in a position to meet all the requirements of the farmers.
They shall be freed from government control and interference
and will be allowed to develop on a voluntary basis. Necessary
help and advice will continue to be given.

Joint Co-operative Farming
The Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers joint co-operative
farming detrimental to democracy and unsuited to the needs of
increasing production per acre of land. All those provisions
that force the farmer to give up his right on land will be
repealed. Facilities provided by the government will be given
to all farmers without any discrimination.

Land to the landless will be given on ownership basis and
not in the name of a joint co-operative farming society.

Marketing
The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will see to it that the agricultur-
ist gets proper returns for his produce. Warehouses will be
constructed on a vast scale. Arrangements will be made by
government to purchase agricultural commodities at a minimum
price announced in advance of the sowing season. While fixing
the minimum price, a certain amount of profit to the farmer, in
addition to his cost, will also be included.

Cow-Protection and Animal Husbandry
Cattle breeding and animal husbandry have been grossly
neglected. Tractors being unsuited to Indian agriculture, there
is an increasing need of good bullocks, both for farming and
transport purposes. There is good scope for mixed farming in
Bharat. Besides being complementary to agriculture, cattle-
breeding can also add to the farmer's income.

Production of milk and ghee needs to be increased in the
country. It will make up for the deficiency, qualitative and
quantitative, in our food. It is necessary that cow-protection and
development are taken as an integral part of the agricultural
plan. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will establish goshalas
and _goshadans_. Pasture-land will be left in every village and it
will be developed on scientific lines. Those who are dependent
solely on cattle-breeding will be exempted from the ceiling
provisions of land legislation. Special facilities will be provided
to those people in Rajasthan and hill regions where large-scale cattle breeding is possible. Steps will be taken to insulate them against famine and epidemics. Arrangements for establishing dairies and marketing of dairy products will be made.

Steps will be taken to preserve and develop the special breeds of Hariyana, GIR, Ongole, etc. cattle in regional farms.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will amend the Constitution to prohibit the slaughter of the bovine species and enact necessary legislation.

Forests
For the preservation and promotion of forests, the Jana Sangh will change the existing forest policy. Forests are needed not only for their products but also to check soil erosion and prevent floods. The present policy has been formulated merely to exploit the forests with a view to maximise the income without caring for the conservation and development of forests or for those who had been traditionally dependent for their livelihood on forests produce. The basis of Jana Sangh policy will be to utilise the forest with due regard to the rights and welfare of the farmers and other forest people. Jungle contracts will be given to co-operatives of labourers and the Vanavasis.

Vanavasis will be allotted farm land in the forests on tongoja system. They will be free to collect minor forest produce, and arrangements will be made to get them a proper price for it. They will be protected against exploitation by contractors and money-lenders. Debt redemption acts will be specially extended and effectively implemented in the tribal areas.

Nistar rights of the villagers in the forest will be secured. Villagers will be encouraged to plant more trees.

Forest villages will be transferred to the revenue department and proprietary rights will be given to the farmers in these villages.

Industrial Development
The Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes in a balanced and integrated development of agriculture, industry, trade and service. To reduce the burden on land and to fulfills the various needs of the people, the country should be specially industrialised.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the view that, for a proper and quick industrialisation, instead of copying Western patterns, we should develop our own technique. The optimum combination of available factors of production differs from country to country. Also, our cultural traditions, social values, and the needs of our material well-being are so different that by imitating and imposing foreign techniques we can neither solve our economic problems nor create a self-sufficient and self-generating economy.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will develop a new technique through which every family will become a productive unit on the basis of a decentralised system of economy. It will also maximise production together with an automatic and more equitable distribution of wealth and income.

Small-scale Industry
Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make small-scale and cottage industries the basis of its programme of industrialisation. Most of the consumer goods will be manufactured by them. Big industries will be confined to producer goods for small-scale industries, to assembling the products of similar plants, or to production for export purposes. To increase the productivity of small-scale industries and to make them stand on their own feet, they will be rationalised. In spite of heavy subventions, the Khadi industry has not yet become economic. The Jana Sangh will set a time limit within which the industry will be required to become self-reliant. Handlooms will be converted into power-looms. Care will however be taken to ensure that no weaver is thrown out of work.

The following steps will be taken for the development of small-scale industry:

1. Making of machines for cottage and village industries, so that their scale of production and income may be increased. Priority in respect of distribution of electrical power will be given to these industries.

2. Establishment of industrial schools for training workers in modern technology.

3. Reservation of markets for small-scale cottage and village industries.

4. Encouragement to co-operative industries.
Decentralisation of Industries
Subject to the above, large-scale industries will be given full scope for growth. But they shall not be allowed to be concentrated in a few hands or localities. Steps will be taken to decentralise industries now concentrated in such cities as Bombay and Calcutta.

Basic Industries
The Jana Sangh stands for nationalising defence and basic industries. However, it feels that in the near future the State should mainly concern itself with establishment and development of defence industries. As for basic industries the State will utilise its resources for adequate development of Railways, mineral oils, hydro-electric and atomic power. Private enterprise will be associated in the establishment and development of other industries.

Public Enterprises
Autonomous corporations will be constituted to run the different public enterprises. They shall be kept free of political interference and control. Prices of their products will be fixed in the context of the general price policy. Their profits should arise from efficient management and not by manipulating excise and other kinds of imposts inseparable from monopolist control. Rules and regulations applicable to other industries will be equally applicable to them. Their employees will have a right to take part in politics.

Revival of Swadeshi Spirit
With a view to the development of industries, and for saving foreign exchange, the Jana Sangh will take steps to revive the spirit of Swadeshi. There will be restrictions on the import of consumer goods, especially of toiletry and luxury goods. Protection will be given to indigenous industries against foreign competition. Swadeshi goods alone will be used for government purposes.

Foreign Capital
Bharatiya Jana Sangh attaches importance to self-reliance. There will be very much less need for foreign capital in the economic picture that the Jana Sangh places before the country. For basic and other necessary industries, it will welcome foreign capital if it comes without political strings. But it will plan in such a way that the programmes of industrialisation do not suffer even if foreign capital is not forthcoming. Collaboration of local capital will be necessary with foreign capital. It will also be necessary that within a prescribed period local technicians should be trained and the whole concern managed by Indians as soon as they are available.

Indianisation of Foreign Industries
The Jana Sangh will try to Indianise Tea, Coffee, Rubber, Mines, Match, Vegetable oil, Tobacco and Soap industries that are at present mainly in foreign hands.

Tax Reforms
Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reform the tax system so that people groaning under unceaseable tax burdens will get some relief. Necessities of life shall be exempt from indirect taxes. Those getting minimum income will not be liable to any direct taxes.

Tax collection will be simplified. A unified machinery to collect all the taxes central, provincial and local will be constituted. It will reduce collection expenses and save the assessee's trouble of having to appear before a number of officials.

Tax collections will be so distributed amongst the different authorities that they can discharge their responsibilities independently. Today the local bodies look to the province and provinces to the Centre for grants. This state of affairs will be changed.

Capital Formation
Capital formation is necessary for industrial development. It needs savings on one side and opportunities for investment on the other. While the Jana Sangh will take steps to raise the living standards of the common man, it will check all ostentatious expenditure. The aim of government's monetary and fiscal policies will be maximum investment. To achieve this objective, the Jana Sangh will fix Rs. 2,000 as the maximum expendable income per mensem.
Export-Import Policy

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make an all-out effort to balance the foreign trade. Imports will be drastically cut in the Jana Sangh plan, priority being given to industries which depend very little on imports.

Jana Sangh will aim at diversification of exports and explore new markets for them.

Labour Policy

In order that labour becomes conscious of its duties and vigilant in respect of its rights, it is essential that it should be well organised. The Jana Sangh would encourage every labourer to join one or other trade union and defend the rights of labour unions. Rules regarding recognition of trade unions will be altered. The registration of a trade union ought, ipso facto, to mean its recognition by the Government and the management.

Labour as Co-sharer in Management and Profits

The Jana Sangh proposes to make labour a co-sharer in the management and profits of industry. With this end in view, it will arrange for their due representation on the Boards of Directors of different concerns.

Appointment of Permanent Wage Board

A permanent Wage Board will be appointed to draw up a pay scale for work in the various industries and revise it from time to time after taking into consideration the standard of living as also the national minima. Under conditions of today the minimum wage of any employee or labourer should be Rs. 125 p.m.

Labour Welfare

The State shall be responsible for the social security of labour. There shall be no retrenchment unless alternative employment is provided. Special allowances will be given to labour engaged in hazardous duties. Contribution from the employees to the State Employees Insurance Scheme will be abolished. There will be equal pay for equal work. Women will not be discriminated against in this respect. Three months maternity leave with pay will be allowed to them.

Social Welfare

Bharatiya Jana Sangh guarantees a minimum standard of living to every citizen. The primary aim of the Jana Sangh's programme will be to provide to every one his basic needs of food, clothing and housing.

The Jana Sangh will initiate social legislation which will comprise a National Health Service (including School Health Service), Unemployment and, Sickness Benefits and Old Age Pension, etc.

Pensions of retired employees will be linked with the price-index. Steps will be taken to remove delays and difficulties in the disbursement of pensions.

Health and Medical Aid

The Jana Sangh will provide free medical aid to all. Giving due recognition to Allopathy, Homoeopathy, Naturopathy and Unani systems of medicine, the Jana Sangh will develop Ayurveda as the National system of medicine and will make it a vehicle for improvement of national health.

The Jana Sangh will aim at the establishment of a dispensary in every village, and till this objective is achieved, mobile dispensaries and hospitals will be provided to make medical aid available in remote villages. Research laboratories will be established in various parts of the country for research in, and manufacture of, Ayurvedic medicines. The country will be made self-sufficient in respect of manufacture of drugs of various types. The condition of government hospitals and dispensaries will be improved. To protect public health, Jana Sangh will take proper measures to ensure availability of pure food-stuffs etc. Deterrent punishment will be meted out to those guilty of adulteration.

Housing

During the last few years multi-storied buildings have been constructed, but housing schemes for the common man have been neglected. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh recognises the necessity of a decent house for every family. A big housing programme will be immediately launched to provide cheap
houses in cities, towns and villages. Slum clearance will be given top priority.

**Advancement of Women**

The Jana Sangh will take special steps to remove social and educational disabilities of women so that they may fully discharge their responsibilities to the family, society and nation. Full opportunities in every field will be afforded to women. Without changing fundamentally the age-old scientific principles of social organisation, the Jana Sangh will enlarge and make more substantial property rights of women. A woman will be granted all and absolute rights as a member of her husband’s family.

**Special Facilities for the Backward Classes**

Jana Sangh will make special efforts to get equal and honourable treatment to the socially depressed and economically backward sections of society. It will strive to eradicate untouchability and casteism. There will be no restriction on the entry of any section of Hindus into temples.

In order to improve their economic condition, priority will be given to the depressed classes and tribes in the matter of redistribution of land. Their traditional arts and crafts will be developed. Arrangements for providing housing and drinking water to them will be made. Special facilities for their education will be provided. Necessary steps will be taken to link the tribal areas with the cities.

**Transport**

The Jana Sangh will pay special attention to the expansion and co-ordinated development of road, rail, and water transport. The Jana Sangh is opposed to nationalisation of road transport. Private services will be permitted to run on routes already nationalised. The efficiency of the services will be improved.

The Jana Sangh will run more Janata trains. It will provide sleeping accommodation to long-journey III class passengers without any extra charges. Efforts will also be made to procure more goods-wagons. Areas hitherto neglected will be connected by rail.

Railway employees will be represented on the Railway Board. Special efforts will be made to improve the working conditions of lower grade running staff. Arrangements for the education of their children and for medical aid will be made. Recommendations of the Kripalani Committee for removing corruption will be implemented.

In order to reduce the burden on the Railways, the Jana Sangh will take steps for the development of road and water transport. Rates of motor vehicle taxation will be reduced and made uniform throughout the country. There will be an integrated road transport for the whole country. Efforts will be made to connect every village by road and every big city by air. The Ganga will be made navigable from Patna to Calcutta. The contract system of Ghats will be abolished and their management will be conducted with the help of boatmen. Facilities for inter-state transport will be provided.

Special measures will be taken to develop shipping so that in the near future all our foreign trade cargo is borne in our own vessels. Minor and new ports will be developed. Freight rates and fares of coastal ships will not be increased. Indian nationals will be appointed on the staff of port-trusts and crews in place of foreigners.

**Foreign Policy**

The touchstone of the success of the foreign policy of any nation is its capacity to protect and promote the enlightened self-interests of the nation; and assessed on the basis of this criterion, the foreign policy of our Congress rulers has been a total failure. Neither has it been able to curb Pakistan's hostility towards India, nor has it succeeded in making China vacate its aggression from occupied Indian territory. Our policy of international peace and amity notwithstanding, no major country supported our just stand on Kashmir. The U.S.S.R. used its veto on this matter only when Pakistan joined the Western military alliances. China's aggression on Indian soil is a direct consequence of this foreign policy. By surrendering India's rights in Tibet and acknowledging China's suzerainty over the country, our Congress rulers have allowed a new and relatively more dangerous brand of imperialism—Communist imperialism—to raise its ugly head atop the roof of the world. They have thus not only invited a permanent
menace on India’s northern frontiers but have imperilled the freedom and security of the entire South East Asia. Besides this, our present foreign policy has failed to mobilise world opinion in India’s favour or to secure the moral support of those nations whom we have tried to support even to the detriment of our own national interests. China’s endeavours to isolate India from its neighbours have succeeded in some measure. In Nepal, anti-Indian feeling has grown. The attitude adopted by Burma and Indonesia towards the Sino-Indian dispute has only given strength to China’s propaganda that while China wishes to solve the problem by peaceful means, it is India that has been acting intransigently. In Africa and countries of West Asia too, lack of necessary and proper publicity has been allowing India’s case to suffer from default.

India’s foreign policy purports to aim at the elimination of imperialism, but Portuguese imperialism continues to defile Indian soil. The Government has not only failed to take any effective steps by itself for the liberation of Goa, but has checked popular movements for a peaceful Satyagraha to help Goa’s freedom fighters.

The Congress regime has failed to secure full citizenship rights to Indians settled in South Africa, Sri Lanka, Burma, Malaya, Mauritius and Fiji.

Despite its claim of following a policy of non-alignment the present Government has, by its attitude towards a number of international questions, given an impression of its leanings towards a particular bloc.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reorientate the nation’s foreign policy to make it more realistic, dynamic and firm so that while effectively safeguarding India’s interests it may contribute to world peace by upholding the freedom of nations and rights of men. To this end the Bharatiya Jana Sangh:

1. will follow a policy of non-alignment with the two power blocs and will not become involved in any international tangle not directly concerning India;
2. will strive to secure the goodwill and friendship of all nations;
3. will lend full co-operation to the UNO to enable it to secure a world peace based on the freedom and equality of nations and endeavour to have the UN

Chapter so amended as to make the UNO truly representative of the people of the world and an effective instrument for international peace and cooperation;
4. will endeavour to secure for India a permanent place on the Security Council;
5. will give full moral support to the freedom struggle of the peoples enclaved by the Western colonialism and communist imperialism and will inspire them to follow an independent foreign policy;
6. will co-operate in Tibet’s struggle for emancipation from the Chinese yoke;
7. will strengthen our bonds of amity and friendship with Nepal;
8. till such time that Pakistan exists as a separate State, will follow a policy of reciprocity towards it; will annul the transfer of Berubari and deal firmly with Pakistan in respect of evacuee property, recovery of debts, etc.; and
9. will make efforts to secure for Overseas Indians rights of equal citizenship in their respective countries of domicile.
1967

INTRODUCTORY

For the people of India, eager to herald a new era in independent India's political history, the Fourth General Elections present a great opportunity, and a challenge. The Congress party has been in office for the last twenty years. It has lost the confidence of the people. It has been unable to manifest the nation's real strength, act in conformity with its self-respect and ensure the fruition of the people's efforts. The Government's posture has failed to reflect the valour and sacrifices of the people and jawans. It has betrayed an unawareness of the nation's basic unity and integrity, ignored people's sentiments and has been callously indifferent to the common man's welfare. Instead of achieving all-round self-reliance, prosperity and respect, the country, under Congress' ageis, has arrived at the brink of political subservience, economic bankruptcy and national humiliation. The nation's centuries-long struggle for Swadesh, Swadharma and Swatantra cannot thus be allowed to be frustrated under Swaraj. The people cannot suffer this Congress Government. It has to be changed.

The Alternative

The country wants today an alternative party. The party must be one which has sound principles, clear policies and a definite programme; which has roots deep in the soil and a country-wide organisation, which has a cadre of devoted, selfless and disciplined workers and which, with its eyes fixed on the goal, has a pragmatic approach to all problems. It was to fulfil this expectation that the Bharatiya Jana Sangh came into existence. The Jana Sangh has increasingly earned the co-operation and confidence of the people. Its policies have stood the test of time. Its outlook has been constructive. As an opposition party, it has acted as the watch-dog of people's rights and interests. While on the one hand, it has been opposing fearlessly the wrong policies of the Government, it has, on the other hand, never omitted to extend active co-operation to the Government in defending the country and promoting the welfare of the people.

In this period of crisis through which the country is passing the people expect much from the Jana Sangh. Jana Sangh is conscious of its responsibilities. It is entering the general elections resolved to discharge these obligations.

Subject to the Party's stand, as expounded in the document 'Principles and Policies', we place the following programme of Government for the next five years for the consideration of the people and approval of the electorate.

Pragmatic Approach

The situation is grave. There is a growing threat of external aggression and internal subversion. The economy is weak and under serious strains. The administration has become corrupt, inefficient and futile. Far from realising our dreams of peace, prosperity and happiness, we find even our political independence in danger. It is imperative that immediate steps are taken to save the situation. It is painful that at this hour of crisis, the Congress and other parties instead of making a realistic appraisal of the situation are engrossed in polemic discussions. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not bound by any 'ism' so far as the question of defending the integrity of the motherland, maintenance of law and order and providing the minimum needs of the people are concerned. These 'isms' can neither feed the hungry nor expel the invader. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will solve these problems in a pragmatic way keeping the interests of the nation supremely in mind.

PROGRAMME

Liberation of Lost Territory

Both Communist China and Pakistan are in illegal occupation of large areas of Indian territory. The Congress Government has never cared to free them. On the contrary,
by accepting the Colombo proposals, it has acquiesced in Chinese occupation of Ladakh, and by signing the Tashkent Declaration it has surrendered the areas of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir that our jawans had valiantly liberated. India’s sovereignty over the Rann of Kutch has been made the subject of international arbitration. These policies have enabled both these enemies to consolidate their positions. Now, they are jointly preparing for further aggression. The people have never been a party to these decisions of the Government. They have consistently demanded a bold policy of retaliation. This demand found powerful expression in the massive demonstration staged in front of Parliament House on August 16, 1965. Soon thereafter came that historic march on Lahore which stirred the nation to its depths, and resulted in an upsurge of national resolve, unprecedented in the annals of free India. For a brief period, the Government seemed to respond to the nation’s wishes. The nation’s stocks soared high, and the people experienced a new sense of confidence and fulfillment. But, unfortunately, this phase did not continue for long. The Government succumbed to international pressures. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will bridge this gulf between the people’s sentiments and the Government’s policies and take all necessary steps to regain the lost territories.

**Defence**

Taking into account the continued aggression by Communist China and Pakistan and their future designs, the country’s defence and foreign policies need to be changed. The following steps will be taken to increase the nation’s defence potential:

1. **Increase in the strength of the Army, Navy and the Air Force**, equipping them with modern weapons, and improving the efficiency and ensuring better coordination among various branches of military and civil intelligence.
2. **Constitution of a vast Territorial Army**.
3. **Intensive military training for two years in all colleges, and provision of a course of “Military Science” in the universities**.
4. **Development of defence industries and military research to make the country self-reliant in arms**.
5. **Manufacture of nuclear weapons and missiles**.
6. **Creation of a permanent Civil Defence Organisation**.
7. **Special plans and facilities for the development and administration of and settlement of population in border areas**.

A trust will be established in every district to help and look after the families of those killed in the war.

**Independent Foreign Policy**

The policy of non-alignment was formulated against the background of the cold war between the two power blocs. Non-alignment cannot be our creed or a permanent basis of our foreign policy. Today, when we are aggressed, we must have allies. With a view to safeguard the nation’s interests and integrity, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will follow an independent foreign policy and will enter into bilateral alliances with countries irrespective of their allegiance to the two power blocs, based on the basis of reciprocity and mutuality of interests.

Jana Sangh will stop this needless prattle about the Tashkent Declaration and the Colombo proposals. It will not talk to either Communist China or Pakistan unless they agree to vacate aggression.

So long as aggression by Communist China continues, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will oppose China’s entry into the UNO.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will recognise the Government of Taiwan provided the latter recognises the territorial frontiers of India.

Jana Sangh recognises the independent status of Tibet and Sinkiang. It will accord recognition to the emigre Government of the Dalai Lama.

India has no quarrel with the people of Pakistan. Jana Sangh sympathises with all the movements of Pakistani people that are being organised for freedom and to put an end to dictatorship. Bharatiya Jana Sangh has faith in the ultimate unification of India and Pakistan. It will welcome any move to bring the two States closer, provided the move is not prompted by any third power.

Special steps will be taken to forge closer ties with...
countries of South East Asia and Africa.

Jana Sangh will lend full support to the struggle including use of force of the African peoples against apartheid and the illegal white Government of Rhodesia.

Jana Sangh will establish full-fledged diplomatic relations with Israel.

Considering India's position and importance, it is necessary that she should be a permanent member of the Security Council. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will try to get the UN Constitution amended to this effect.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers it the responsibility of the Government of India to protect the interests of Overseas Indians. Jana Sangh will specially try to develop closer relations with countries like Mauritius, Surinam, Guiana, Fiji and Trinidad, where Indians have settled in large numbers.

Jana Sangh will try to secure full compensation for the properties of Indians confiscated by the Governments of Burma and Tanzania. With a view to help people of Indian origin in Ceylon acquire citizenship rights, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will try to improve the Indo-Ceylonese agreement in this regard and secure its implementation.

National Unity

There are forces in the country which are working as fifth columnists of the enemies and have been threatening India's integrity and sovereignty. They should be put down with a firm hand. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will enact a law of treason and deal with these anti-national elements under the provisions of this law.

The Eastern Frontier Zone of the country will be politically reorganised, taking into consideration the following factors:

DEFENCE, ADMINISTRATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GEOGRAPHY.

Positive steps will be taken to strengthen sentiments of national unity. The present Constitution does not manifest the country's basic unity. Jana Sangh will amend it and declare India a Unitary State.

A High Power Commission will be set up to enquire into and arbitrate on all disputes between one province and another and between a province and the Centre. Its decisions will be binding.

Restrictions will be imposed on the activities of foreign missionaries in accordance with the recommendations of the Neogi and Rege Committees.

In order to bring the State of Jammu and Kashmir at par with other provinces and to give to its residents all the rights and privileges under the Indian Constitution Jana Sangh will delete Article 370.

Jana Sangh will take steps to integrate territories liberated from the Portuguese and French into adjoining provinces in accordance with the criteria accepted for reorganisation of states.

Equality

The Indian Constitution has recognised one citizenship and given equal rights to all the people of India. Against the spirit of the Constitution and the principle of one nationhood, some people have been from time to time putting forward separatist demands claiming special privileges and protection on the basis of province, religion, caste or language. There are allegations also of discrimination.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will put an end to all separatist demands and discriminatory practices.

Uniform Civil Code

A uniform civil code will be enacted to govern the laws of marriage, adoption, inheritance, etc. of all Indian citizens.

Administration

The administration is lax and loose. On the one hand there is widespread corruption and inefficiency, while on the other, there prevails a sense of anxiety and discontent in the services with regard to their service conditions and emoluments. Remedial measures in both directions will have to be taken. Corruption, like water, flows from the higher to lower level. Besides, conditions of shortage and bureaucratic control breed corruption. It is, therefore, necessary that the top be reformed, shortage removed, delays eliminated and controls relaxed.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will constitute a high power
commission to enquire into cases of corruption even at the highest level. A code of conduct for representatives of the people will be framed and a special law enacted to penalise corruption at political levels.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will institute an enquiry in respect of the assets of all ex-ministers and other high officials. In future too, all ministers and highly placed officials will be subject to such enquiries.

Scales of pay and emoluments of the employees will be uniform for Central, Provincial and Local bodies. Jana Sangh recognises the principle of cent per cent neutralisation of dearness.

There are a large number of employees who have been in service for years but are still treated as temporary. Jana Sangh will make them permanent. It will extend to casual labour, emoluments and privileges enjoyed by others of the same category.

Jana Sangh will not introduce automation in offices resulting in unemployment.

The Government will accept full responsibility in regard to housing, medical treatment and education of children of their employees.

To allay grievances of Government employees, an effective and fully representative negotiating machinery on the lines of the British Whitley Councils will be created without delay.

Jana Sangh will pay special attention to the welfare of pensioners and revite their emoluments, etc. in the light of the sharp spurt in the cost of living.

Austerity and Efficiency

Providing full facilities to Government servants, Jana Sangh will observe ideal austerity and simplicity. Maximum salary for officers will be fixed in relevance with the national maximum of Rs. 2,000 expendable income. Number of Ministers will be reduced. Governors will be appointed for Zones only. Legislative Councils will be abolished. Working of the various committees and advisory boards will be looked into and those of them found to be superfluous will be abolished.

The responsibility of every employee will be fixed and his services will be assessed on the basis of his performance. The frequent campaigns, weeks, etc., that are organised mainly for propaganda purposes, distract the worker’s attention from his normal routine duties and will be discontinued.

Jana Sangh will constitute All India Services for the following spheres:

- Judiciary
- Health
- Education
- Engineering
- Agriculture
- Public Enterprises
- Police

Civil Liberties

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will end the emergency. Defence of India Rules will be revoked.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will examine all the acts that curtail fundamental rights and will repeal laws that are undesirable. While care will be taken to ensure that fifth columnists and disruptionist elements are not allowed to exploit fundamental rights and democratic privileges to subvert democracy and freedom, no restrictions on these rights will be placed which could be misused by the administration to throttle democracy and suppress individual liberty.

Code for Agitations

In consultation with national democratic parties, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will formulate a code of conduct for agitations and movements and ensure that they are conducted in a democratic way.

Protection of Fundamental Rights

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will amend Sections 107, 108, 109, 144 and 151 of the Criminal Procedure Code and Sections 124A, 153 and 153A of the Indian Penal Code so that they are not abused to deprive people of their fundamental liberties.

Right to Bear Arms

Bharatiya Jana Sangh recognises the citizen's right to bear arms as fundamental.

Participation in Politics

Except those belonging to specified categories all Government employees and all employees of educational institutions will have freedom to take part in politics.
Decentralisation of Political Power

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will decentralise political power in a real and effective manner. Local Bodies and Zila Parishads will derive their powers from the Constitution. Their sources of revenue will be augmented.

Gram Panchayats will be evolved from below rather than imposed from above. The practice of unanimous elections and consensus will be favoured in the working of Gram Panchayats. Part of the land revenue will be allocated to the Panchayats.

Judiciary

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reform the judicial system. Judiciary will be separated from the Executive at all levels. Judicial services will be completely under the High Court.

Jana Sangh will increase the number of judges in proportion to the pending work. Retired judges will not be eligible for appointment to any Government post or to preside over, or be a member of, any commission appointed by the Government.

The system of Honorary Magistrates will be discontinued. Jana Sangh will make justice cheaply and expeditiously available. No fees will be charged on writ petitions.

Education

The directive principles of the Constitution provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 11 by 1961. This target has not been achieved. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will try to implement this directive within the next five years. It will further seek to make education free up to the Higher Secondary stage.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reform the system and content of education so as to bring it in tune with modern attainments and national values.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will respect the autonomy of universities and educational institutions and free them from the interference of Government. In each district, an education board will be constituted to supervise the affairs of the institutions within the district. This board will include representatives of the teachers and donors.

Higher and technical education will be included in the Concurrent List.

Jana Sangh will enforce uniform pay-scales in Government and private institutions and all universities.

Though they hold a very important position, the condition of primary teachers is deplorable. Jana Sangh will improve their service conditions and fix Rs. 150 p.m. as their minimum pay.

Regional languages will be the media of instructions up to the highest class. Hindi medium institutions will be established in all parts of the country. Arrangements will be made to prepare text-books in all Indian languages.

Up to the higher secondary stage, the three-language formula will include the mother tongue, Hindi and Sanskrit. One modern Indian language will be prescribed for those whose mother tongue is Hindi. The study of foreign languages will be optional.

The Jana Sangh will take steps to remove the present disparities between public schools and other institutions. No aid will be given to schools preparing students for foreign examinations.

Jana Sangh will take concrete steps to bring back those trained Indians who are working in foreign countries, so as to utilise their talent and experience.

Official Language

The Congress Government have completely disregarded the language provision of the Constitution. They have imposed English on the people. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will emancipate the nation from the shackles of the English language. Its language policy will be as under:

(i) Sanskrit will be declared as country’s National Language. It will be used on occasions of special importance.

(ii) Immediate steps will be taken at the provincial level to make the provincial language the official language.

(iii) In those departments of the Centre which come into direct contact with the people, Hindi and provincial languages will be used.

(iv) Hindi will be introduced at the Central level. However, option to use English will be given for ten years
to those employees who have not yet been able to learn Hindi.

(v) Examinations of the Union Public Service Commission will be held in all the regional languages.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will prepare a common scientific terminology for all the Indian languages.

Rehabilitation

There has been a continuous exodus of non-Muslims, particularly Hindus, from Pakistan due to its anti-Hindu policy and occasional programmes of squeezing them out by inciting large scale riots. By now more than one crore people have migrated to India. It is the Government’s responsibility to rehabilitate and compensate them. But not much has been done so far. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will expeditiously implement the various schemes made in this regard. Co-operation of local residents as in Dandakaranya area will be secured so that there remains no gulf and lack of integration between the new settlers and the local people.

Citizenship rights will be conferred in the course of rehabilitation.

The Government will pay full compensation for the properties left behind in Pakistan. Compensation and rehabilitation dues will be realised from Pakistan. Land will be demanded from Pakistan to rehabilitate these displaced persons.

Social Welfare

Traditionally, the joint family coparcenary ensured the individual’s social security and catered to his welfare. As the joint family is breaking up, an alternative arrangement will have to be made. In all propriety, this responsibility should be borne by institutions where the individual contributes his productive labour. The Employees State Insurance Scheme is a modest beginning in this direction. But we need a comprehensive plan. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will formulate a scheme insuring the individual against old age, disablement, sickness, unemployment as also for the education of his children.

Backward Classes

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will formulate a programme to bring the backward classes of society in line with other sections within a specified time. However, in case of sections, which have already come up, a vested interest in backwardness will not be allowed to develop. People with low income will get all facilities enjoyed by backward classes.

Prohibition

Bharatiya Jana Sangh regards drinking as a social evil which needs to be seriously tackled. The prohibition policy of the Congress Government, however, has miserably failed. Instead, it has led to much bootlegging. Jana Sangh will change this policy. It will formulate a uniform policy for the whole country and execute it simultaneously. It will also emphasise reform movements inculcating temperance.

Health and Medicine

In the sphere of medicine, Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not bound to any particular system. It will encourage them all. Ayurveda will be accorded the status of the National System of Medicine, and developed as such.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will take steps to make the country self-sufficient in the manufacture of all medicines. With this end in view, it will amend the Patents law.

Housing

There is acute shortage of housing in the country. The Plans did not attach any importance to this programme and even the little that was envisaged has not been achieved.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh promises decent living accommodation to every family. It will undertake a huge programme utilising local material to fulfil this promise.

In the cities, priority will be given to clearance of slums and rehabilitation of the slum-dwellers. So long as the slums continue, civic amenities such as water, light, sanitation, hospitals, schools, etc will be provided in these areas.

Economic Policy

Since independence, the Government has been mainly concerned with and has concentrated all its energies on the economic development of the country. The successive Plans
were formulated to achieve this end. But today we have neither a self-generating economy, as was postulated, nor the living standards of the common man have risen as was promised. The needs of defence were never considered by the planners, and therefore little wonder that we find ourselves hopelessly deficient in this respect. With all this planning, the lot of the common man is worse off. The middle class is completely crushed. Inequalities of income and economic status have increased. There is an acute shortage of both consumer and producer goods. Prices are sky-rocketing. Unemployment has increased from plan to plan. The Plans have made our economy so dependent on foreign countries that foreign loans and imports of all kinds of goods have become a must for the implementation of the Plans. The P.L. 480 wheat is the main prop of the Government's food policy. If spares and industrial raw materials are not imported, industrial production falls. Schemes of expansion are invariably formulated on the basis of foreign capital and technical know-how. It is because of this over-dependence on foreign aid that the Government was forced to devalue the rupee. There are pressures also to change our economic and political policies. The priorities and strategy determined under the Plans have greatly increased the hold of bureaucracy on the people.

All sections of the people, industrialists, traders, farmers, labourers and consumers, are caught in a maze of controls and regulations. They are not allowed to breathe freely and contribute their mite towards the prosperity of the nation. To meet ever-increasing Government expenditure, unbearable taxes have been imposed and deficit financing on an unimaginable scale has been resorted to. Consequently the purchasing power of the rupee has fallen very low.

All along Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been drawing attention of the Government and the people to these wrong economic policies and their effects. Now when their consequences have shaken the very foundations of our economic and political structure, we hoped that the planners would learn from past experience and that the Fourth Plan, in its size, shape and strategy, would remedy past mistakes. We expected measures to restore the balance of our economy. But we have been disillusioned. The planners have persisted in their discredited policies. Perhaps they have lost even the capacity to think anew. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will bring about revolutionary changes in the country's economic policies. While on the one hand we shall adopt short-term measures to alleviate the acute food and foreign exchange crisis and arrest the upward movement of prices, on the other, a long-term plan will be formulated to lay the foundations of a self-reliant, prosperous and egalitarian economy.

Micro Economic Planning

Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes in economic planning. The plans so far have failed to regenerate our economy and to relieve the sufferings of the people. On the contrary they have created severe stresses and strains. These cannot be relieved by ad-hoc measures. The Fourth Plan, as drafted, does not suggest basic remedies. Jana Sangh is of the view that the objectives, priorities, technique and strategy of the plans should be changed. The plan should be based on our own resources and capacities; it should be pragmatic and aim at an organic growth of the country's economy. Instead of copying and importing foreign technology, developed in the background of factor availability in those countries, we should create our own technology. Technological self-reliance is a must for a self-sustaining economic growth.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will change the Plan. The objectives of the Plan will be to equip the economy so as to provide the country's defence needs and a rising living standard to the people. Total utilisation of the manpower resources of the people will receive primary consideration. The plan on a countrywide basis will be confined to broad outlines and policy decisions. With a view to a balanced development, and effective implementation, Jana Sangh will adopt the system of Micro Economic Planning region-wise and project-wise.

Food Policy

Shortage of foodgrains, fall in the purchasing power of the people and maladministration are responsible for the present food problem. The measures adopted by the Congress Government have further complicated the problem. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will take the following steps in this regard:
Farmers will be encouraged to increase food production. They will be provided fertilisers, seeds, bullocks and implements at subsidised rates. There will be a remission in the land revenue and irrigation charges for food crops.

Remunerative and incentive prices will be assured for food crops. The system of levy and monopoly purchase will be abolished.

The Food Corporation will open branches in all provinces. It will work as a competitive trader and make purchases at the prevailing market prices. However, at the time of falling prices, it will purchase all the grain offered at the previously declared support price.

The Food Corporation will enter into forward contracts with the producers and advance them money. Thus credit will be linked with production.

Marketing or Multi-purpose Co-operative Societies, wherever they exist, will act as agents for the Food Corporation.

Food Zones will be abolished. All restrictions on the movement of grains will be removed.

Distribution of food will be Central subject. The provinces will be entrusted with the responsibility only of increasing production.

Import of American wheat will be completely stopped within the next five years. Trade agreements for the supply of rice will be negotiated with Burma and other countries of South East Asia.

Big cities and areas of chronic shortage will be cordoned off. Rationing will be introduced there. The quantum of ration will in no case be less than 16 oz. per unit per day.

Fair price shops will be opened in all areas. Only persons with low income would be allowed to draw rations from these shops.

Government employees and workers in the organised sector will get part of their D.A. in kind.

Sales Tax and other taxes on food articles will be abolished.

Special plans will be formulated for the production of milk and other nutritive and subsidiary foods.

Colourisation of hydrogenated oils will be made compulsory.

Agriculture

Bharatiya Jana Sangh gives first priority to agriculture. The Congress Government confined its agricultural programme to large dams and land reforms (which remain to be implemented). Intensive cultivation which is the root of India's agricultural development was completely ignored. Consequently, there has been very little increase in agricultural productivity.

Besides intensive cultivation, steps will be taken to bring under the plough cultivable and other fallows. Practical and effective schemes for eradication of 'Kans' and other weeds will be implemented.

Fixity of Tenure

The objective of the land reforms is to assure the farmer about his cadastral rights so that he may be encouraged to invest in land and develop it. Land reforms enacted under Congress rule have failed to achieve this objective. Laws conferring various rights to the peasant have generally remained unimplemented. Then, there has been an unending train of amendments. Further, slogans about co-operative farming and governmental farming have created in the farmers a sense of uncertainty about the future. Bharatiya Jana Sangh holds that land belongs to the tiller. Land reforms will be implemented to ensure this. An assurance will be given not to effect changes in laws which curtail the peasant's rights. Ejectments will be stopped.

Irregularities that are usually indulged in during land consolidation will be stopped. Land consolidation expenses will not be borne by the peasant.

There are many farms which remain untitled because of restrictions on subletting. This has affected capital investment also towards the development of land. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will get records corrected and then allow
subletting to tenants with uneconomic holdings and to landless farmers.

Agricultural Credit

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make a statutory provision for the State Bank and other commercial banks to open branches in the villages, so that the credit needs of the farmers are adequately met at low interest rates. Adequate funds will also be made available to credit co-operatives so that they may fully meet the demands of agricultural credit.

Irrigation

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make a Master plan so that every field gets assured irrigation. Various modes of irrigation will be used on the basis of a survey of the sub-soil water. The existing large irrigation schemes will be expeditiously completed. Supplementary schemes will be taken up in areas where the present canals cannot provide for the full needs of the agriculturists. A scheme of tube-wells, tanks and other minor irrigation works on a vast scale shall be undertaken. Old works will be repaired. Rates of irrigation with tube-well will be brought down to the level of canal rates. Private tube-wells will be allowed to sell water to other farmers. Electricity at bulk rates will be supplied to the farmers for irrigation purposes.

Manures, Fertilisers and Seeds

Every farmer will be encouraged to prepare and use compost and green manure. Improved seeds will be developed. There will be a soil testing laboratory in every block which will test the soil of every farm free. The farmer will be supplied at cheap rates fertiliser and seeds to suit the soil.

Reduction in Land Rents

The Congress Governments has increased land rents on different pretexts. The Fourth Plan proposes a further increase. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is opposed to it. Jana Sangh will rationalise land rents taking into consideration the kind of soil, production, system of tenancy and the need to raise the standard of living of the farmer. There will be a uniform system of land rent.

Insurance of Farm Produce

Jana Sangh will arrange for the insurance of farm produce.

Cow-Protection

The cow is our national point of honour. It is also the basis of India's agriculture. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will amend the Constitution and impose a legal ban on the slaughter of the cow and its progeny.

The breed of cattle will be improved. A chain of gosadans will be established where old cattle will be kept. ‘Grazing lands’ will be provided in every village. Goshalas will be reformed and dairies established.

Agricultural Labour

Culturable fallows and lands that become surplus following imposition of ceilings on land-holdings, will be distributed to landless agriculturists. Minimum wages at the existing price levels will be fixed and the provisions of Agricultural Labour Minimum Wages Act will be implemented. Subsidiary industries will be established to add to the income of agricultural labour. Credit facilities on personal security will be provided.

Forests

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will arrange for afforestation on a wide scale. Vanmahotsava will be made a purposeful programme and not a barren ritual.

Forest dwellers and forests are inseparable. Forest dwellers must, therefore, be made co-sharers in the wealth accruing from forests. Their traditional rights to forest produce shall be protected. Vanvasi labour must be given bonus out of the profits earned in forest contracts.

Vanvasis will be given rights over the land which they till. Deforested areas will be leased to them for cultivation and afforestation. The Tongya system will be revived. Collection
of Tendu leaves will be denationalised wherever it has been taken up by the Government.

Industry

During the last fifteen years much stress has been laid on industry. Therefore we have started production in some new lines. But the technology of this industrialisation has been totally imported from foreign lands. Foreign capital, technical know-how and patents completely dominate it. Consequently it has increased our dependence on foreign sources and there exists no organic relation between these industries and the country's economy and social mores.

This industrialisation has been excessively capital intensive, firstly because of priority to heavy industries in the plans; secondly, because of greater allocation to the public sector which is always more expensive; and thirdly, because of foreign collaborations who only have a capital intensive technology. This has become a heavy burden on a capital-scarce country like India. Further it has led to concentration both horizontal and vertical. It is, therefore, necessary that the investment pattern be changed. Decentralisation, Swadeshi and labour intensity should be the criteria for our industrial development. It will reduce unemployment, inequalities and the foreign exchange shortage and in physical terms our achievement will be greater. Jana Sangh will evolve a pattern suited to the needs and conditions of our country and integrate it with the existing industries. Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers small-scale decentralised industries to be most suitable for country's industrialisation. It will, therefore, give priority to small-scale mechanised industries and provide them all facilities.

Swadeshi and Self-Reliance

Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been laying emphasis on Swadeshi and self-reliance since its inception. The Government also thought of it when our production decreased due to stoppage of all foreign aid in the wake of our conflict with Pakistan. Some programmes of import substitution were then started. But since the resumption of foreign aid after devaluation, the policy has changed. The liberal import policy recklessly followed has harmed many such programmes. Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels that there should be rationalisation of imports rather than liberalisation. We cannot get rid of the foreign exchange problem without resorting to 'Swadeshi'.

Industrialisation and Foreign Exchange

With a view to greater industrialisation and to conserve foreign exchange, Jana Sangh will de-license all industrial units that can be established entirely with internal resources.

Industries that need foreign exchange will not be allowed to expand so long as their existing capacity is not fully utilised.

An industry-wise and unit-wise programme of import substitution will be prepared and executed according to schedule.

The research programme of the National Scientific Laboratories will be correlated with import substitution programmes. Private industry will be encouraged to organise research.

Foreign Trade

Export and import trade, except with Communist countries, will be in private hands.

New markets will be explored for import goods. Foreign aid as far as possible will be tied with trade.

While framing expert policy, internal needs and price structure will be taken into account.

Jana Sangh will nationalise insurance of foreign trade.

Foreign Capital

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will minimise the use of foreign capital. Collaboration will be allowed only in some priority industries. Foreign capital will not be allowed to hold majority shares.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will progressively Indianise mines, jute, tobacco, coffee, tea, rubber, matches, soap, biscuits, vegetable products and such other industries as are predominantly in foreign hands.

Jana Sangh will amend the Patents Law.

Mixed Economy

Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes in mixed economy. The
controversy going on at present between the public sector and the private sector is regrettable and meaningless. In fact there is such a vast scope for enterprise that the energies of the two will fall short of requirements.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the view that while assigning responsibility for developing a particular industry, the Government should be guided by merit rather than by doctrinaire principles of socialism.

During the three Plan-periods the public sector has expanded so much that it needs consolidation. Except in power, mineral oils and defence industries, ordinarily no programme of expansion in the public sector should be undertaken for some years to come.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not in favour of nationalising existing private sector industries. If at all need arises, the decision should be taken not on a political basis but on the basis of recommendations by a judicial commission to be appointed for this purpose.

Capital Formation

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will give all-out encouragement to capital formation. In order to inculcate the habit of simplicity and saving and greater capital formation, maximum expendable income will be limited to Rs. 2,000 p.m.

The Jana Sangh will place a definite programme of the Government and private banking institutions. Jana Sangh considers the proposal to nationalise banks as improper. The Jana Sangh will amend Banking Companies Act so as to secure representation on the Board of Directors for depositors and bank employees.

Taxation

In the course of the last fifteen years taxes by different authorities have been levied without any proper analysis of the country's fiscal structure. There are a number of taxes, though levied by different Governments, which fall either on the same commodity or the same class of people. This has adversely affected both prices and capital formation. Jana Sangh will appoint a Taxation Enquiry Commission to examine the present taxes to provide relief to the tax-payer and recommend a unified fiscal structure keeping in view the needs of the State and objectives of economic development and social justice.

Price Policy

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will determine a price policy correlating prices of agricultural commodities and manufactured goods, profits and interests and wages and salaries. Jana Sangh is against physical controls. It will regulate the price policy through monetary and fiscal measures.

The prices of sugar-cane and other cash crops will be increased in parity with prices of manufactured commodities.

In order to check the rising prices it is necessary to effect drastic economy in the Government's expenditure and to increase the supply of consumer goods. Jana Sangh will work in this direction.

Minimum Income

Jana Sangh guarantees a minimum standard of living to every family. In the present circumstances the minimum wages will be fixed at Rs. 125 per month.

Provision of subsidiary employment will be made for women who cannot work full time and for other unemployed.

Labour

Bharatiya Jana Sangh wants the labour to be a sharer in profits and management. It will prepare a programme for all large industrial units in this regard and firmly implement it. Public sector units will give a lead in this regard.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will constitute a permanent Wage Board to determine the wage rates in different industries from time to time. So long as there exists a difference between the real wages and the nationally fixed wages, Bonus will be treated as deferred wage. Only after the extinction of this difference will it be regarded as a share in profits.

Jana Sangh accepts the right to bonus of contract labour.

The present consumer price index is outdated. Jana Sangh will revise it.
Transport

Jana Sangh will pay special attention to the expansion and consolidated development of road, rail, water and air transport.

Jana Sangh is opposed to nationalisation of road transport. Private services will be allowed to run on routes already nationalised.

Jana Sangh will run more Janta trains and provide sleeping facilities to all III class passengers travelling overnight. On such newly constructed railway routes where extra fares are charged, the fare will be reduced to standard rates.

Railway employees will be represented on the Railway Board. Service conditions and emoluments on all railways will be made uniform. Vagaries of Selection Boards will be curbed.

There will be uniformity in regard to tax rates on motor vehicles and conditions of operation. Restrictions on inter-state transport will be removed.

The Ganga from Patna to Calcutta and the Brahmaputra from Dibrugarh to Gauhati will be made navigable. The contract system of ghats will be abolished and their management will be handed over to societies of boatmen.

Special measures will be taken to develop shipping so that in the near future all our foreign trade cargo is borne in our own vessels. Minor and new ports will be developed. Freight rates and fares of coastal ships will not be increased. Indian nationals will be appointed on the staff of the port trusts and crews in place of foreigners.

Special plans will be made to develop transport and communications in the border areas. Alternative routes will be developed for Assam.

Congress Failures

We have been consistently warning the people about the far-reaching damage which would be caused to national interests by the wrong policies this Congress Government has been pursuing for the past 20 years. The Congress leadership has been trying to make capital out of their past sacrifices. With the aid of high-sounding slogans, it has been trying to hypnotise the people into seeing fanciful dreams of a great future. But the events of these last 5 years have shattered all illusions and now, no amount of clever propaganda can falsify the following incontrovertible facts:

(1) Defence Policy—The Government's indifference to security and defence of the country, its reliance on cliches like Panch Sika and Co-existence, and its utter failure to comprehend the real intentions of Communist China led the country to humiliating defeat in NEFA and Ladakh in 1962.

(2) Foreign Policy—As a result of our unsound and unreal foreign policy, India found itself entirely friendless at the time of Pakistan's invasion. Not only so, the US, UK and USSR all put pressure on us as a result of which India succumbed and agreed to refer the Kutch issue to an International Tribunal, and later by accepting the Tashkent Declaration, wiped out the gains made on the battlefield by the valour and sacrifices of our Jawans.

(3) Home Policy—Instead of stressing the basic unity and integrity of the country, the Congress Government has been trying to appease separatist, disruptionist and anti-national forces which often seek to thrive in the name of diversities. As a result of this policy, Kashmir's integration with the rest of the country still remains incomplete, the rebels in Nagaland and Mizoram have been encouraged, centrifugal tendencies have been growing in the States, language controversy has been accentuated and English has been imposed on the country for all time to come. The evils of provincialism, casteism and communalism have been threatening the unity of the country.

(4) Plans—Dependent on Foreign Mercies—The Government's plans have been formulated in utter disregard of the country's resources and even its self-respect.
As a result, Indian economy has been made entirely dependent on foreign mercies. No wonder, we had to go to the extent of devaluing our rupee under pressure of those who give us food and finance.

(5) Corruption—By neglecting India's basic values in regard to character and righteous conduct, and by making people think almost exclusively in terms of economic progress, the Government has created a climate in which corruption is having a field-day. There seems not a sector of national activity untainted by this evil. Even from amongst those who are at the topmost rungs of the Congress hierarchy it is difficult to point out exceptions to this sorry state of affairs.

THE CALL

The Congress rulers have been able-defend neither the country nor its Constitution. 49,000 miles of national territory are under enemy occupation. Emergency has been made almost permanent with the result that Fundamental Rights guaranteed under the Constitution have become meaningless. The provisions of the Constitution pertaining to official language have been shelved. Similarly, the directives in regard to cow slaughter, compulsory primary education, eradication of untouchability, etc. have been entirely ignored.

For 20 long years, the Congress ruled the country. Here was an opportunity, absolute and untrammeled, for the Congress to build up the country according to its concept. The result has been a disaster. The Congress has failed miserably and totally. It deserves no further opportunity. The people of India who are the real masters of this land and the makers of its destiny must emancipate the country from the clutches of those who have developed a vested interest in the continuance of Congress Raj. These people have looted the country and brought it to the verge of ruin. Let us exert to bring about a democratic revolution through this Fourth general elections and give the country a new direction.

1971

INTRODUCTORY

Situation

India stands today at the cross-roads of history. The forthcoming mid-term elections for the Lok Sabha are going to be crucial for the country. Never before have the people faced a choice pregnant with such far-reaching consequences. Never before has a Prime Minister in a democracy entered into such open collusion with anti-national and anti-democratic forces. Never before has a prime Minister of Mrs. Gandhi's Government had such disastrous record of unmitigated failure in the maintenance of law and order, as Mrs. Gandhi's Government has in Bengal. In other words, never before have the alternatives been so clear and the choice so obvious.

Nobody is likely to be taken in by the Prime Minister's claim that she advised dissolution of the Lok Sabha because 'vested interests' stood in the way of her 'progressive' policies. Fact is that the ruling group has shown neither the capacity nor the desire to tackle the basic problems threatening the country.

Mounting unemployment has created an explosive situation. Our Five-Year Plans have failed to tackle it. Indeed, the Planning Commission has practically given up the fight, and taken shelter behind a facade of highly technical verbiage. The ruling party has no notion of when, if at all, and in what way, if any, the energies of our vast manpower will be harnessed to the cause of national development.

Another blatant failure of Government is in respect of the ever-rising price spiral. That prices have been skyrocketing in spite of the fact that the country has had an unbroken chain of good crops for three years shows that there is something:
radically wrong with the Government's economic policies.

When taxes to the tune of Rs. 170 crores were levied in last year’s budget, it was claimed that there would be only a fractional rise, if at all, in the cost of living. Later events have shown how wishful and deceptive this belief was. There has naturally been widespread unrest and irresistible demands for higher wages. The interrim relief granted recently, though disappointingly insufficient, is a direct result of these policies. The Prime Minister’s transferring the Finance portfolio to someone else may be an attempt to save her personal popularity. But she is aware that the next budget will have an additional burden of at least several hundred crores in the form of new taxes because of higher prices and a higher-wage burden. The Lok Sabha has been dissolved to escape the consequences such a budget would have had on the election prospects of the ruling group in 1972.

While the people are repeatedly asked to observe austerity the Government itself has been honouring these sermons in breach only. Squandering of public money and ostentatious display goes on unabated. Corruption in services is as rampant as ever. Bureaucratic red tape continues to stifle enterprise. Industrial plants still suffer the burden of heavy idle capacity. Conditions in the Public Sector have been rapidly deteriorating. Although all these failures on the economic front are sought to be clouded with the help of statistical jugglery, the man in the street cannot but be aware that the Ruling Party’s socialism means only increasing burdens, lessening opportunities, rising costs and growing misery.

Ever since the Congress split Smt. Gandhi has headed a minority Government. To make up for the failure on the economic front, and to maintain herself in power she has leaned more and more on communists and communalists. As a price for their support, she has turned a blind eye to the anarchic conditions created by the former and promoted the ominous revival of the Muslim League in the country’s political life.

In the Kerala mid-term polls the Ruling Congress entered into an open alliance with the Muslim League. In a bid to cloak this unabashed opportunism the Prime Minister publicly certified the Kerala Muslim League as “not communal”.

More recently, in a statement at Jammu, Smt. Gandhi has sought to absolve the entire Muslim League of responsibility for the sin of India’s partition.

The Muslim League’s claim that it is the sole representative body of Indian Muslims, its demand for reservations in legislatures and services, its attacks on Parliament’s right to amend the Muslim Personal Law and its propagation of imaginary stories about atrocities on Muslims—all this is building up the same vicious atmosphere which preceded the creation of Pakistan.

The Prime Minister has lent respectability to the anti-national activities of Naxalites by attributing them to “socio-economic” reasons. It must be well realised that those who are fomenting these Naxalite disturbances are nothing but agents of Red China exerting to bring India under Peking’s sway.

It is now 10 months that West Bengal has been under President’s Rule. But the law and order situation there has shown no improvement; indeed it has been progressively worsening. When you have innocent sons killed before the eyes of their mothers, teachers butchered in front of their pupils, stray young men stabbed in open daylight—these should be understood not as portents of any revolution, they are clear omens that the nation is being dragged to the brink of disaster. It is the primary duty of a Government to protect the life, property and honour of its citizens. The present Government has completely failed in fulfilling this duty. It has, therefore, forfeited its right to remain in office.

In this election, the options before the voter are democracy or totalitarianism; peaceful change or violent upheaval; orderly progress or anarchy; Rule of Law or the law of the jungle?

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh appeals to India’s enlightened electorate that they reject this unholy triple alliance of the Ruling Congress, C.P.I. and the Muslim League, and instal in its place an alternative government unequivocally committed to nationalism, democracy and the building up of an egalitarian society.

Basic Postulates

Jana Sangh believes that the emergence of a brave new
India would remain a dream so long as the basic postulates are not spelt out in clear terms. The mental cobwebs consciously woven to confuse the country need to be swept clean. It would be in place, therefore, to reiterate the party's fundamental tenets, which we regard as imperative for the building up of a virile Indian nation, capable of playing its due role in the world.

One Nation

Jana Sangh regards India as one nation, and all Indians as one people. The diversity of castes, creeds, languages and provinces only lend beauty and splendour to the unity of our national life, which is so assimilative that even those who came as invaders were absorbed in it and became identified with it.

Those who preach a two-nation theory on the basis of religion, or a multi-nation theory on the basis of language, pose a sinister challenge to this concept of one-nationhood. If India is to be saved from the danger of further fragmentation, these disruptive ideologies have to be firmly rooted out.

Non-Communal State

Jana Sangh fully subscribes to the ancient ideal of the non-communal State. In India no one is discriminated against on grounds of his religion. The State has always looked upon all faiths as entitled to equal freedom and protection. Jana Sangh is resolved to carry forward this secular tradition.

Jana Sangh, however, rejects the pseudo-secularism that combines religion with appeasement. We would like all religions to accept the Indian ideal of Sarvadharma-samabhava and cherish a feeling of not merely tolerance, but equal respect for other faiths.

Egalitarian Society

Jana Sangh is pledged to the creation of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination against, or in favour of, any citizen on grounds of birth, heredity, caste or creed. In this society, there would be no place for economic exploitation of social disparity.

Jana Sangh will seek to conserve and promote all that is great, noble and sublime in Indian culture and wage a relentless battle against intolerance, superstition and obscenity, so that our objective of building up a modern India on the basis of liberty, equality and fraternity can be achieved.

Subject to the party's general manifesto, as outlined in the document 'Principles and Policies', we place the following programme of Government for the next five years for the consideration of the people and approval of the electorate.

A NATIONAL WAR ON POVERTY

The Jana Sangh declares a National War on Poverty. It is committed to the objective of total victory in this war. We are out to break once and for all the vicious circle of low incomes, low demand, low savings, low investment, low employment and low production. We shall generate the healthy trend of more employment, higher incomes, greater demand, larger savings and greater investment, leading to higher production at lower costs.

The development of the Indian economy is a vast enterprise which only the reawakened mass of the Indian people can execute with success. It is a task beyond a handful of moneybags, or petty ministers doling out a licence here or a permit there. Indian economy is not a baby of big business, nor of bad government, it is the job of the Indian people. It can come into its own only with the tremendous release of national energies. Every citizen with an ideal in his head and energy in his hands must feel free to put up an enterprise. That is the only way to Banish Poverty and attain Full Employment.

Full Employment

Jana Sangh will plan for full employment. The nuclear programme will absorb educated unemployed. Compulsory primary education and primary health centres in each group of villages will mop up rural unemployment. A massive programme of rural public works and housing will change the face of India. We will do all this by using our labour as our best capital, and making every project labour-intensive.

Agriculture: Our Biggest Industry

Our biggest industry is agriculture, Jana Sangh will
attain food self-sufficiency in the next five years. In the same period it will distribute all surplus and cultivable waste land to landless labourers and farmers with uneconomic holdings, particularly those belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Ex-service men. It will give interest-free loans to help turn uneconomic holdings into economic ones. We will complete the uncompleted irrigation projects like Rajasthani Canal and execute a network of minor irrigation works.

The Jana Sangh upholds the principle of ‘Land to the Tiller’—with exemption to minors, widows, disabled, and army and police personnel. It will guarantee security of tenure and fair share to ‘haratidars’. It will reduce and rationalize land rents. It is opposed to any lowering of land ceilings.

Jana Sangh will encourage formation of service co-operatives for marketing etc. and ensure cheaper supply of improved tools, bullocks, seeds, manures, fertilisers, pesticides, other inputs and credit facilities. It will lower irrigation and electricity charges, introduce crop and cattle insurance, and promote cattle breeding and animal husbandry. It will guarantee remunerative prices for food crops, and maintain a proper balance between the prices of agricultural produce and manufactured goods.

We will bring good drinking water to villages, develop agro-industries and evolve an indigenous technology to transform the countryside.

House for Every Family

Next to agriculture, building activity is the second biggest industry of the country. It not only yields the much needed houses and factories, it creates vast employment opportunities for architects, engineers, construction-workers and material suppliers. Jana Sangh will direct banking and insurance institutions to give adequate financial aid to all the various housing co-operative societies and establish a central housing authority to give long-term low-interest loans for the purpose. It will abolish all slums and give every family its own house to live in.

The houses and flats thus constructed by various agencies will be allotted on hire-purchase basis, the cost being recovered in easy instalments.

Measures will be adopted to diffuse house ownership in urban areas.

Industrial Growth

Jana Sangh notes the recession that has overtaken industry. It will take all steps necessary to restore health and buoyancy to it.

We will take industrial licensing out of the hands of politicians and invest it in the expert hands of an autonomous authority directly responsible to Parliament. We will abolish licensing of small and medium industries not requiring any foreign exchange. We shall prefer the small and medium sector for expansion in the consumer goods industry. This will check the growth of monopolies and bring industry within the reach of the common man.

Jana Sangh will revive the Swadeshi spirit to strengthen the Indian economy. It will invite and encourage Indians abroad to invest in Indian industry.

Patterns of Industrial Ownership

The Jana Sangh stands for decentralisation of all authority, economic or political. It is opposed to the concentration of power in a few hands. Consequently, it rejects both types of capitalism, i.e., private and Governmental, since both are incompatible with the tenets of economic democracy.

Jana Sangh will immediately set up a ‘National Commission on the Patterns of Industrial Ownership’ to determine—in the light of the structural peculiarities of different industries and the needs of economic growth—the scientific criteria for various forms of ownership.

Autonomous Monetary Authority

The Jana Sangh notes that credit has become more expensive since the banks have been nationalised. Small industry and small farms, are charged a higher rate of interest than big industry and big farms. All this has confirmed our fears that bank nationalisation was a political act and not an economic measure.

Jana Sangh will retrieve this situation. It will convert the nationalised banking industry into an Autonomous Mone-
tary Authority in full charge of currency and credit, headed by the Reserve Bank of India, whose character and composition will have to be suitably altered. The Authority thus created will have the twin objectives of price-regulation through currency control and full employment through credit policies.

The Autonomous Monetary Authority will be required to organise extensively its Financial Consultation Service to conduct micro-planning for raising the level of credit-worthiness of small peasants, village and urban artisans, educated unemployed, engineers, technicians, and the new and small entrepreneurs, and provide them appropriate credit facilities.

Replace Sales-tax by Excise Duty

The Jana Sangh will simplify taxation laws to minimise tax evasion, and provide relief to hard pressed sections. It will divert, through suitable measures, the major portion of all unearned incomes into public utilities.

The device of taxation will be utilised to minimise the present disparities in expendable incomes and bring about a ratio of 1:20 between lowest and highest incomes. We will not impose any new tax which will raise the price of consumer goods for the common man.

We reject the proposal to impose Sales-tax on cloth, sugar and tobacco. Indeed, we will replace the vexatious sales tax, wherever possible, by the more convenient Excise Duty. Care will be taken to see that the States are not put to any loss in the process.

We will abolish all such taxes in which the cost of collection is almost as high as the revenue collected, e.g. profession tax, income tax on low income brackets, etc.

Stop Foreign Aid

By running up a foreign debt of over Rs. 7,000 crores the Government has, in a sense, mortgaged the future generations of the country. The Jana Sangh will enquire into these iniquitous loan agreements, expose the burden of the so called 'aid', and have their terms revised.

Jana Sangh will work for a completely self-reliant economy and dispense with all foreign aid. Our import requirements will be financed by our export earnings and commercial credit from the world money market. All foreign technical know-how and equipment will be purchased through open global tenders.

Jana Sangh will scrutinise all foreign collaboration agreements and seek deletion of objectionable clauses therein.

Nationalise Foreign Banks

The Jana Sangh will nationalise all foreign banks operating in India; and Indianise all foreign-owned consumer goods industries. Their share capital will be thrown open to Indian citizens, particularly to their local employees and those in the low and medium income groups.

The Jana Sangh will nationalise export-import trade with communist countries, and insurance of foreign trade.

It will constitute an autonomous board answerable to Parliament for issuing import licences.

Making Public Sector Profitable

The tremendous losses on the enormous investments in public sector projects is a screaming scandal. Jana Sangh will free public undertakings from politicians and bureaucrats, and entrust them to professional public administrators with necessary training and experience of industrial management.

There will be a proper balance between the autonomy of the undertakings and their answerability to Parliament.

Instead of undertaking indiscriminate expansion of the public sector, Jana Sangh will concentrate on its consolidation. All losing concerns will be reorganised to make them profitable.

A New Deal to Wage Earners

The Jana Sangh will ensure for urban and industrial wage-earners security of service, fixation of a needs-based minimum wage, protection of real wage and recognition of unions by secret ballot.

The statutory range of bonus from 4% to 20% will be
revised upwards in consultation with employers and employees.

Apart from the statutory minimum wages, co-sharing will be guaranteed to agricultural workers in their agricultural produce and to Vanavasi workers in the produce of forests and forest-based industries.

The Jana Sangh will launch integrated schemes of social security (including unemployment insurance, free medical care and retirement benefits) and labour welfare (including education of workers' children).

It will revise labour laws and the machinery thereunder, so as to ensure cheap and expeditious justice to workers and promote industrial peace.

It will encourage the process of labour participation in the management and ownership of industries, evaluating labour in terms of shares.

**Women Workers**

Jana Sangh stands for equal opportunities to women. It will encourage their employment to the types of jobs for which they have special aptitude, provide for their training, and arrange for more rational distribution of the female labour force so as to reduce competition between man and woman. It will strictly enforce the statutory provisions relating to women workers, and ensure equal pay for equal work.

Jana Sangh will require employers to recognise the fact that working house-wives constitute a special employment group and to make necessary adjustments regarding their working hours, work schedules, facilities for housing and transport, and children care services.

We shall put up hostels for working girls in the big cities.

**No Retrenchment**

The Jana Sangh is opposed to rationalisation leading to retrenchment without alternative employment. It will oppose automation causing large-scale unemployment in industries, except in the field of Defence and Space Science.

**Fair Deal for Pensioners**

The Jana Sangh will raise the quantum of pensions substantially in view of the increased cost of living. It will extend the Central Health Scheme to pensioners.

**Price Stabilisation Board**

With a view to regulating the price level, the Jana Sangh will curtail deficit financing, establish a Price Stabilisation Board to regulate the margin of profit, prescribe severe penalties for profiteering and hoarding, and provide a net-work of fair price shops.

**Micro and Macro Planning**

The Jana Sangh stands for micro-planning for the public sector and macro-planning for the whole economy. It believes in full employment, maximum production, equitable distribution and price stabilisation.

With these objectives in view the Jana Sangh will replace the Fourth Plan by a self-reliant Swadesh Plan to achieve the growth rate of 10% per annum.

**Right to Property**

Jana Sangh is a people's party. It upholds the citizen's right to property. It looks forward to the day when every citizen will have some property to call his own. Jana Sangh is, therefore, determined to defeat the Congi-Communist attacks on the constitutional right to property, which can only end in extinguishing the citizen's right to his farm, factory and home.

**Commission on Constitution**

Jana Sangh does not regard the Constitution as a static document. The Constitution must remain an effective instrument for the fulfilment of the hopes and aspirations of the people. It is, therefore, that our constitution-makers invested it with built-in flexibility in the form of Article 368. Care, however, was taken to ensure that the essential fabric of the Constitution—which the Jana Sangh thinks is basically sound—is not tampered with lightly.

Of late, there has been a growing tendency in the ruling
party to denigrate the Constitution whenever any of its provision runs counter to the demands of political expediency. The Jana Sangh regards this as extremely unfortunate. It feels, however, that the time has come when a ‘Commission on the Constitution’ should be created to review the working of the Constitution in the light of the experience of the past two decades and make recommendations in that regard.

National Integration through Indianisation
Jana Sangh will work actively for national integration. To that end it will take the following positive steps:

1. We will implement the forgotten Directive Principles of the Constitution and give free education to all children up to the age of 14 (Article 45), protect the cow family (Article 48), progressively diminish the consumption of alcoholic drinks (Article 47), and give the country a uniform Civil Law (Article 44).

2. We will give a positive, patriotic and moral content to education to instil in our children deep love of our country, our people and our cultural heritage. To this end, we will revise the text-books.

3. We shall take steps to prevent all kinds of riots. In the event of a riot breaking out, we shall punish the guilty and compensate the sufferers.

4. We shall appoint an Inter-State Council under Act 263 of the Constitution to advise Government in respect of all issues pertaining to Centre-State relations.

In respect of disputes between State and State which cannot be resolved by mutual negotiations Jana Sangh will set up a statutory commission to arbitrate in that regard.

All demands for statehood arising out of regional imbalances will also be referred to this Commission for suggesting appropriate economic, administrative and constitutional remedies.

The Jana Sangh considers the manner in which the present Government is deciding on the creation of new states for party reasons as thoroughly opportunist. Thus, it is patently unfair to refuse statehood to Delhi, while granting it to certain other areas with smaller numbers and Scarce resources.

5. As per Article 371, we shall establish separate Development Boards for backward areas.

6. We shall impose restrictions on the activities of foreign missionaries. We shall regulate the distribution of foreign supplies through official channels alone.

7. We shall scrap the separate constitution of Jammu and Kashmir and bring that state fully on par with other states.

8. We shall formulate and implement a crash programme to afford equal opportunities to the backward classes of the society and to bring them in line with the advanced sections within a period of ten years.

9. Untouchability is a crime against Man and God. We shall implement laws against untouchability in letter and in spirit and, if necessary, make them stringent. We shall break the barriers that divide one Indian from another and accelerate the evolution of a homogeneous and egalitarian society.

10. The Jana Sangh will foster the feeling of Indianness in all sections of society, particularly those which, for historical reasons, have remained aloof from the national mainstream.

Reorientation of Educational System
Jana Sangh will reform the educational system so that it can serve simultaneously to strengthen national values and fulfil the needs of modern India.

Developing Indian Languages
Swarajya is incomplete without Swabhasha. Jana Sangh will expedite the replacement of English by Indian languages at the state level, and make the latter media of instructions, administration and courts.

Jana Sangh will develop Hindi as the link language over the next five years. It will hold UPSC examinations in all the recognised Indian languages so that non-Hindi speakers are
not handicapped in any way in the matter of recruitment to Central jobs.

In Punjab, Hindi has always been widely used. Jana Sangh will, therefore, give it its due place in education and administration.

Jana Sangh will pay attention to the promotion of the Urdu language, and ensure that facilities due to it under the law are accorded to it. It is, however, opposed to making Urdu the second official language of U.P., Bihar, M.P., etc.

**Media of Mass Communication**

Jana Sangh will convert A.I.R., including television, and the Films Division into autonomous corporations.

It will accelerate the expansion of the television set up.

Jana Sangh recognises the vital role which films play in providing entertainment and enlightenment to the people. It will take steps to promote this important industry by giving relief wherever possible. It will encourage the opening of a larger number of cinema houses.

**Compensation for Refugees**

More than two decades after partition, lakhs of refugees continue to pour in from East Pakistan year after year. They are living in shocking conditions. Jana Sangh will see to it that Hindus in Pakistan are treated well, so that they do not have to run for life and honour.

At the same time Jana Sangh will expedite the rehabilitation of refugees already here.

The Indo-Pak agreements on evacuee property do not cover East Pakistan. Jana Sangh will seek their extension to Eastern India, to compensate refugees for properties left behind by them.

**Two Murder Inquiries**

Jana Sangh takes note of the many doubts in the public mind about the mysterious deaths of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. It will institute three-judge public inquiries, with investigative powers, to probe the two mysteries.

**MANIFESTO—1971**

**Foreign Policy**

Though the Government continues to pay lip-service to non-alignment, Jana Sangh is concerned at the way New Delhi is fast becoming a Russian satellite. We would like to reiterate that Jana Sangh wants nothing but friendly relations with USSR. But friendship can survive—and grow—only on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and a scrupulous avoidance of any meddling in each other’s internal affairs.

**Arms Aid to Pakistan**

In this context we cannot appreciate Russian persistence in publishing maps showing Indian territory as Chinese. Its radio broadcasts attacking Indian parties and leaders are a gross attack on our free political institutions. Its interference in our elections—including Presidential election—is an assault on our sovereignty. On top of it all, its arming of Pakistan amounts to sabotage of our defences.

Jana Sangh takes serious note of American re-arming of Pakistan. It considers the same an unfriendly act. In arming Pakistan, the two super-powers seem to have the same goal, viz., to harass India, strain our resources and delay our economic development.

The Government of India’s decision to send a delegation to the Islamic Conference at Rabat, the red-carpet treatment given to Al Fateh terrorists, the unprecedented invitation extended to Madam Binh, the rebel leader of South Vietnam, and India’s refusal to attend the Conference on Cambodia sponsored by Indonesia, are examples which show that our Foreign policy is anything but independent.

**Quit Commonwealth**

Jana Sangh will lead India out of the British Commonwealth. It will work for a special relationship with South East Asia.

We shall protect and promote the interests of Indians abroad.

The Jana Sangh views with grave concern the scandalous manner in which foreign lobbies—Russian, American, Chinese, Pakistani and Arabic—are operating in this country with impunity. It shall smash all these lobbies.
India—as a Major World Power

In the international field, India has always stood for friendship with all and malice towards none. But the Jana Sangh realises that mere pursuit of friendship and peace is no guarantee either of friendship or of peace. And it is no substitute for a suitable strategy for Defence. The fact that we have been subjected to as many as four invasions during a brief 23 years of our independent existence, underlines the lesson that while working for peace we must be prepared for war.

The Jana Sangh is deeply conscious of the continuing Chinese and Pakistani aggressions on our territory. We are pledged to the vacation of this double aggression. We are, therefore, committed to an India strong enough to be a major world power in the next few years. To this end we shall take the following steps:

1. We shall strengthen our armed forces and equip them with latest arms.
2. We shall develop a nuclear armoury to deter any fresh invasion of the country.
3. We shall work for complete self-sufficiency in the production of all arms through defence research and defence industries.
4. To defend our vast coastline, and to protect our trade routes, we shall develop the Indian Navy to become the biggest in the Indian Ocean.
5. We shall adopt more effective measures to ensure border security and settle ex-servicemen in the border areas.
6. We shall stop all infiltration from Pakistan and pack off old infiltrators.
7. To make the entire population defence conscious, we shall introduce defence studies in all Universities and start rifle clubs all over the country.

WILL TO WIN

The Jana Sangh is pledged to banish poverty. It has a promise to keep—a solemn promise to our future generations that they will be born solvent as honourable citizens of a first-rate State. This cannot be achieved through empty slogans or ample gimmickry. In this fight to finish between our people and the demon of poverty, victory can be assured only through hard work with patience, perseverance, discipline, dedication, and, above all, the will to win. As a party of patriots, the Jana Sangh will rouse our people's will to win this Holy War on poverty.
1972

JANA SANGH—THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE

For the first time since Independence, elections to a majority of the State Assemblies are going to be held separately from those for the Parliament. For the first time, the electorate has an opportunity of exercising its franchise on the basis, mainly, of state level issues closer to the people. Now, therefore, is the time for people to judge whether the party in power has lived up to its professions or betrayed the trust reposed in it.

The Ruling Congress wants the vote for itself in the name of victory and stability. Fact is that it can claim neither. What we have just won was a glorious National victory made possible by our gallant forces. Indeed, had the Congress(R) heeded Jana Sangh’s demand to recognise Bangla Desh in early summer, we could have stopped the genocide and defeated the Pakistani army before it had reinforced itself. Even now, judged by official ambiguity about the liberated territories, recovery of reparations and trial of war-criminals, the fear is that Congress will let down the country after the elections are safely over.

Congress Claims

As for the Congress’ claim of stability, it cannot be forgotten that except for a brief period of one and a half years after the Fourth General Elections the Congress has for all these twenty five years enjoyed an absolute majority in not only Parliament but in almost all States. But this has certainly not led to real stability.

Indeed, Congress’ style of politics, particularly since after the split, has been a serious destabilising factor for Indian politics. The ruling party has made defections into a major industry. The Prime Minister has been toppling provincial governments with an abandon more appropriate to puppetry. The august office of Governors is being abused to serve the ends of party expediency. In the process, the Constitution has been dehydrated, provincial autonomy reduced to a farce and the country pushed in the direction of a one-party dictatorship. The only safeguards of our democratic freedoms are the judiciary and the press. But, in the name of ‘commitment’, efforts are already afoot to subvert the independence of both these great institutions.

It must be clearly understood that stability cannot be an end in itself. A stability which does not effect rapid economic development and social justice makes for a stinking stagnation. During the 20 years—1947 to 67—the Congress, with all its huge majorities, gave the country little more than corruption, waste, unemployment and an unseemly exhibition of its own quarrels. Stability becomes meaningful only in the context of rapid progress; and that is possible only for a party with dynamism, discipline, dedication and a sense of direction, qualities which are quite alien to the Congress ethos. By contrast, the Jana Sangh, which has these qualities in abundant measure, has achieved remarkable results in Delhi. It is time the country voted out the Congressmen so that they can compose their quarrels in leisure, and at their own expense—and gave Jana Sangh the opportunity to serve the people.

The Congress record is, in all conscience, intolerable. On the eve of every General Election the ruling party has coined a nice new slogan. It was Welfare State in 1952, Socialist Pattern in 1957, Co-operative Commonwealth in 1962, Socialism in 1967 and ‘Garibi Hatao’ in 1971. But the lot of the people has only worsened with time.

Unemployment

When the First Five-Year Plan was launched, we had 33 lakh unemployed. Today, 20 years later, the number of unemployed exceeds 1,20,00,000. In answer to questions in Parliament, Government itself has admitted that 75,000 scientists and 64,700 engineers and technologists were unemployed at the beginning of 1971. Also, we have 1,597 unemployed doctors and 450 unemployed pilots.
Prices

During the last ten years retail prices have risen on an average by 11 per cent every year. During the last one year alone, wholesale prices rose by 68 points in the case of pulses, 38 points in sugar, 16 points in eggs and fish, 13.6 points in cereals and 11 points in milk. This is because while production is increasing by 4 to 5 per cent a year, money supply is increasing at more than twice that rate. In 1970-71 alone there was deficit financing of the order of Rs. 365 crores.

Losses

In the name of nationalisation, a sum of more than Rs. 500 crores has been lost on public sector projects. The Hindustan Steel Ltd. alone has lost Rs. 178 crores, a sum with which we could have built a new medium-size steel plant. Bhopal Heavy Electricals has piled up a loss of Rs. 57 crores. The Machinery and Allied Mining Corporation has wiped out its entire capital of Rs. 20 crores.

Notwithstanding the green revolution, we have continued to import PL 480 wheat right up to 1971-72. Shortage of cotton and oil seeds continues to grow and worsen. And over the years the consumption of edible oils, pulses, milk and cloth per head has actually declined.

Licences

With 1960-61 as the base year, the index number of per capita net National Product at constant prices in 1969-70 was 110.8. This amounts to little more than 1 per cent per annum growth, which would be about the lowest in the world. But in spite of all this the Government has been sitting tight on thousands of applications for industrial licences. In 1970, only 334 of the 1800 applications were sanctioned. In 1971, the figure was 495 out of 3,200.

While the Government talks bravely of doing without aid, the Mid-term Plan Reappraisal actually visualises an additional foreign aid of Rs. 464 crores. Already the foreign debt of India has crossed Rs. 7,800 crores mark. Yet another devaluation of the rupee, presently under consideration of the Government, will only push this figure still higher. Such is the mess that the ruling party has made of our economy.

Directive Principles Violated

Of late, the Government has discovered that the Fundamental Rights are not so very important, that they may be amended and eroded, and that the Directive Principles of State Policy are more important. Fact, however, is that all the important Directive Principles have been grossly violated.

For example, one of the Directive Principles is that free and compulsory education will be provided for all children up to the age of 14 by 1960. But 12 years later, in 1972, only 35 per cent of children in the age group 11-14 go to school. Another Directive Principle was the protection and promotion of the cattle wealth of India. But lakhs of cows continue to be slaughtered year in and year out so much so that milk consumption per head has declined by 23 per cent over the last 13 years. A third major Directive Principle was the adoption of a uniform civil code for all citizens of India. But to this day there is no sign of any such code. The fourth important Directive Principle is about prohibition of alcoholic drinks has also gone by the board.

BJS: Only Alternative

The record of Congress Government, thus, is a story of big promises but poor performance, fancy schemes but inefficient implementation, high-sounding slogans but shallow deeds. The party has got away with it only because of its brute majorities. The Congress monolith has been prone to take the people for granted. During much of this period most of the State Assemblies did not have even a recognised opposition. It is because of this lack of checks and balances that the Government has been riding roughshod over the will of the people and ignoring their true interests with impunity.

In the process of political polarisation that has set in, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh stands out as the one and the only All India alternative. It cannot only play the role of a strong opposition, it can give a strong administration of its own.

PROGRAMME

Subject to the party’s general manifesto, as outlined in
the document *Principles and Policies*, the Jana Sangh specifically pledges itself to:

**For Kisans**

- Enforce strictly land reform laws such as those relating to land ceiling;
- Give priority to Agriculture in plan allocations;
- Undertake widespread development of minor irrigation projects; maximise the number of tube-wells; and ensure cheap supply of power for electric pumping sets;
- Reduce irrigation rates, connect every village with an approach road within 5 years;
- Ensure steady supply of agricultural inputs, costly machines at low rents through service co-operatives, and proper maintenance facilities for tractors;
- Reduce and rationalise land rents; guarantee security of tenure and a fair share to bataidars; introduce cattle and crop insurance and promote improved cattle breeds;
- Implement Article 48 of the Directive Principles and impose a complete ban on cow-slaughter; grant loans and subsidies for purchase of cows; develop the dairy industry so as to bring about a White Revolution, and double the country's milk production within 5 years;
- Adopt suitable measures to save farmers from exploitation by middlemen, particularly those dealing in perishable products like vegetable, fruit, etc.; assure the peasants a remunerative price for their produce, better storage and cartage facilities.
- Maintain price parity between agricultural produce and manufactured goods; and
- Arrange interest-free loans for a period of 5 years for uneconomic holdings, so as to make them economic, and provide adequate as well as cheap credit to all agriculturists, so as to carry the green revolution to the smallest farmer.

**For Agricultural Labour**

- Redistribute within one year the surplus and the cultivable waste lands to the landless and holders of uneconomic holdings, particularly to those belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ex-army personnel; and
- Ensure for them statutory minimum wages as well as a share in the additional produce.

**For Artisans**

- Encourage the evolution of new techniques of production and the development of marketing co-operatives; provide improved tools at subsidised rates.

**For Countryside**

- Undertake massive programmes of rural public works and housing to generate large-scale employment;
- Ensure supply of good drinking water to every village within 3 years; and
- Evolve indigenous technology suited to decentralisation of production, vigorously develop agro-based and other small scale industries in rural areas.

**For Scheduled Tribes**

- Extend the facilities presently available to the Scheduled Tribes in specific areas to the entire country;
- Distribute among them all surplus and cultivable waste lands in and near the forests; and rehabilitate those displaced in the past;
- De-governmentalise minor forest produce, restore and preserve the traditional rights of tribals in governmental as well as private forest areas;
- Give them priority in forest services and the protection of the Minimum Wages Act;
- Develop forest-based industries and labour co-operatives; strictly enforce debt relief measures; and
- Take all appropriate steps for their progressive integration with the social mainstream.

**For Scheduled Castes**

- Make laws against untouchability more stringent and enforce them strictly;
- Provide facilities within two years to do away with the system of carrying night soil on the head;
- Ensure reservation in services for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes according to their population and set up Assembly-level Vigilance Committees to ensure its faithful
implementation;
Arrange for extra training classes, refresher courses and
in-service training for their benefit;
Allocate out of the resources earmarked for cottage and
small-scale industries funds in proportion to their population,
to such industries which provide employment to Scheduled
Castes and Tribes, and periodically review the progress
thereof; and
Implement the Directive Principles of the Constitution in
letter and spirit so as to protect and promote their social,
economic and educational interests.

For Handicapped and Disabled
Evolve a National Social Policy, provide an institutional
framework for the vocational training and employment of the
handicapped and disabled.
Help them with suitable tools and raw materials for self-
employment; and
Undertake responsibility for the maintenance of all
invalids and destitutes.

For Children
Provide compulsory free education and nutritional diet to
all children up to 14 years;
Regulate child labour particularly in un-organised indus-
tries and implement Children's Acts for their benefit;
Accept the ten basic principles laid down in the United
Nations' Declaration of Rights of the Child; and take all
necessary steps in pursuance thereof.

For Women Workers
Provide for suitable vocational and technical training and
employment opportunities in a way so as to reduce competition
between man and woman;
Ensure equal pay for equal work;
Enforce all statutory provisions relating to women workers
and make necessary adjustments in their working hours; and
Put up hostels for working girls and provide facilities
for transport and children's care.

For Unprotected Toilers
Enact special State legislations for, and convene in every
State, a Vocational Council to attend to the problems for un-
protected labour, such as fishermen, saltpan workers, washer-
men, coolies, barbers, casual piece-rate workers employed in
markets, shops, docks, railway-yards, goods-sheds, public
transport vehicles, or in godowns for loading, weighing
etc.; and
Enact special Industrial Dispute laws to protect workers
in educational, religious and social organisations, in domestic
employment, hospitals, co-operatives, construction works and
small and seasonal industries, engaged in rickshaw-pulling,
scooter or taxi-driving, weaving, legal firms, or in the employ
of former Princes, etc.

For Pensioners and Ex-Servicemen
Strictly enforce various provisions extending legal protec-
tion and benefits to ex-servicemen;
Raise the quantum of all pensions and link them with the
cost of living index;
Extend the protection of labour legislation to pensioners,
ex-servicemen, and their associations; and
Organise Pension Committees in different services to
expedite the disposal of their cases and grievances.

For Urban Shelterless
Gear up building activity, creating vast employment
opportunities for all types of construction workers;
Impose a ceiling on urban property and thus diffuse
house-ownership;
Give adequate financial aid to housing co-operative
societies;
Exert for the establishment of a Central Housing Authority
to give long-term low interest loans for the purpose; and
Undertake slum improvement and slum clearance and
construct houses/flats and allot them on hire-purchase basis.

For General Wage Earners
Ban all retrenchment without alternate employment;
Ensure security of service and rational policies in recruit-
ment, promotion, transfer and retirement;

- Guarantee a needs-based minimum wage, protection of real wage, and a minimum bonus of 8.33%;
- Launch integrated Social Security Schemes covering unemployment insurance, free medical care and retirement benefits and labour welfare (including education of workers' children);
- Streamline the industrial relations machinery so as to ensure cheap and expeditious justice;
- Ensure workers' participation in the management and ownership of industries; and
- Set up appropriate machinery for the redressal of grievances of the police personnel and the members of the Industrial Security Force.

For Consumers
Regulate the price-level through curtailment of deficit financing, reduction in overdrafts by States, curbs on all wasteful governmental expenditures, establishment of a Price Stabilisation Board, prescription of severe penalties for profiteering and hoarding and provision of fair price shops; and

- Provide subsidised foodgrains and open subsidised canteens in the cities for the poorer sections.

For Entrepreneurs
Do away with the need of licences for all small and medium industries which do not involve any foreign exchange, and take other steps to encourage mass enterprise for building up a decentralised economy free from all varieties of monopolistic domination.

For Tax-payers
Simplify taxation laws and rationalise the tax-structure to minimise tax evasion;

- Abolish sales-tax and replace it by excise duties collected by the Centre and allocated to the States by a Standing Finance Commission in a manner so as not to affect States' revenues adversely;
- Scrap all taxes whose yield is not commensurate with their cost of collection, such as professional tax, cycle tax, etc.; and

Utilise the device of taxation to minimise income disparities, and progressively bring about a ratio of 1:20 between the minimum and maximum expendable incomes.

For Teachers and Taught
Overhaul, Indianise and modernise the educational system to make it conducive to the individual's all-round development, enabling him to fulfil his obligations as a responsible and responsive member of the nation while earning his livelihood;

- Arrange for free and compulsory education for every boy and girl up to the middle standard;
- Provide free education up to the highest standard for poor but talented boys and girls;
- Ensure the autonomy of universities and free them from governmental interference; a Board of Education will be set up in each district with which all the schools of the district will be affiliated, comprising of representatives of teachers, parents, managements and the government; this Board will supervise educational institutions and co-ordinate their working;
- Remove disparities between the pay-scales of government and private schools; teachers of non-government institutions will receive their salaries direct from the state government by a fixed date;
- Will make special efforts to improve the pay scales and conditions of primary teachers; a Commission will be appointed to study their problems in depth;
- Invigorate the literacy campaign and attain cent per cent literacy within one year in the urban areas and within three years in rural areas; and
- Ensure that Indian languages secure their rightful place in the field of education.

For Administration
Enact legislation to create a State-level body on the lines of the Lokpal and Lokayukta recommended by the Administrative Reforms Commission—an invaluable recommendation to combat corruption but which the Government of India has failed to implement;
- Take effective measures to remedy the deteriorating law
and order situation; special steps will be taken to reform the
colice administration so as to make them true and upright
custodians of law;

Conduct administration in Indian languages;

Secure a readjustment of Centre-State relations particularly
in financial matters; as the developmental expenditure of
States has been increasing by leaps and bounds, the imbalance
between the obligations and resources of States has been
growing with the result that States have had to lean more and
more on discretionary grants from the Centre; a reappraisal of
existing financial arrangements should aim at ensuring that
States get more and more through assured statutory devolutions
rather than discretionary devolutions; and

Exert for the setting up of an Inter-State Council under
Art. 263 of the Constitution to advise Government in respect of
all issues pertaining to Centre-State relations.

APPEAL

The Jana Sangh is entering the election arena with hope
and confidence. Amidst the political turmoil of last year, the
Jana Sangh has proved to be the only opposition party which
has not only retained its organisational strength and influence
but in fact has succeeded in augmenting it. The Janata Party's
decision to merge itself into the Jana Sangh is a pointer that
amongst opposition parties the feeling is growing that for all
elements who believe in nationalism, democracy and social
justice and who feel that the Ruling Congress' policies are
weakening these values, the Jana Sangh can provide a powerful
rallying platform.

The Jana Sangh rejects both capitalism as well as commun-
nism. It is pledged to the building up of an egalitarian society
in which there would be no discrimination against, or in favour
of, any one on grounds of birth, heredity, caste or creed.
There will be no place in this society for economic exploitation
or social disparity. But for the achievement of this aim, the
Jana Sangh stands committed to democratic and peaceful
methods. The Jana Sangh lays stress on the purity of both
ends and means and would exert to re-establish moral values in
public life.

The Jana Sangh appeals to the electorate to exercise their
sacred right of franchise with discretion. It assures them
that on its part it would earnestly carry out the above-indicated
concrete and time-bound programme of government and exert
both inside and outside the legislatures for its fulfilment. For
the Jana Sangh, an election is essentially a means to secure an
opportunity of service, and not a wherewithal to attain power.
If the electors give us this opportunity—as they gave us in
Delhi in 1967—we can assure them their expectations will be
amply fulfilled.
Bharatiya Jana Sangh

CONSTITUTION

Article 1

The name of the organisation shall be "Bharatiya Jana Sangh".

Article 2

SPHERE OF WORK

(1) The work of Bharatiya Jana Sangh shall extend to Indian citizens living in India as well as in any other part of the world.

(2) The Central Office shall be located in Delhi.

Article 3

OBJECTIVE

The aim of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh is to make India a political, social and economic democracy on the basis of Bharatiya Sanskriti and Maryada. In this democracy every individual shall have equal opportunity and freedom. This democracy shall be oriented towards making India a prosperous, powerful, organised, progressive, modern and alert nation, which may successfully contain the aggressive tendency of other countries and play an effective role in the international sphere in establishing world peace.

Article 4

UNITS

1. Local Committee
2. Mandal Committee.
3. District Committee.
4. Divisional Committee.
5. Pradesh General Council.
7. All India General Council.
8. All India Working Committee.
10. Fronts affiliated to or organised by All India General Council or All India Working Committee.

Article 5

(1) The basic unit of Bharatiya Jana Sangh shall be the Mandal. The Mandal shall include within it the area covered by a Development Block provided, however, that Municipal Areas with a population of over 20,000 falling within the Block shall be excluded from the Mandal. Every such urban area shall constitute a separate Mandal.

The Pradesh Working Committee shall have the power to add to or subtract from the area of any Mandal, merge two or more Mandals into one Mandal, or join a part of one Mandal to another.

(2) With a view to developing local democracy every Mandal shall be divided into smaller units. The area of such unit shall extend to a Gram Panchayat or a municipal ward. This delimitation shall be carried out by Mandal Committees, and may be subject to change from time to time depending upon organisational and other requirements.

(3) Mandals shall be grouped together to form a District. In a city with a population of over 20 lakhs its districts shall be grouped together to form a Division by the Pradesh Working Committee.

The All India Working Committee shall group districts to form a Pradesh.

Article 6

MEMBERSHIP

Any Indian citizen of 18 years and above may become a member of Bharatiya Jana Sangh on his accepting its aims and objects as stated in Article 3. He shall continue to be a member so long as:

(a) he continues to contribute a minimum amount of 50 paisa into the Membership Fund every term,
(b) he does not resign, or
(c) he is not removed.

Article 7

ELIGIBILITY OR INELIGIBILITY

(1) For candidature to all units except local committees, only those members shall be eligible who enrol at least 11 members of the Jana Sangh every term and who have been active in a committee, council or some other front for at least one term.

(2) The post of a member elected or appointed to any unit shall be considered vacant on his becoming inactive. But this post may be filled only on directions from the higher committee.

(3) The All India Working Committee may, from time to time, determine the criteria of activity or inactivity and may constitute an appropriate body to determine eligibility or ineligibility.

Article 8

LOCAL COMMITTEE

Members of every local committee shall elect their Working Committee, which shall consist of President, Secretary, Treasurer and four members in the case of committees with membership of less than 100. Where the membership is 100 or more, the strength of the Working Committee shall be 11, and apart from the above office-bearers, a Vice-President and a Joint Secretary shall also be elected.

Article 9

MANDAL COMMITTEE

(1) All elected members of local committees within a
Mandal shall elect the following office-bearers:

(a) President,
(b) Vice-Presidents (not more than two),
(c) Secretary,
(d) Joint Secretaries (not more than two), and
(e) Treasurer.

Provided that a Mandal Committee shall not be constituted unless at least five Local Committees have been formed within the Mandal.

Provided, further, that members of the Working Committee of a local committee with a membership of less than 25 shall not be entitled to participate in this election.

(2) The strength of a Mandal Committee shall be not more than 21; members apart from those elected by the above procedure shall be nominated by the President. In each Mandal Committee, two places shall be reserved for women members and two for members belonging to the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes.

(3) The Mandal Committee shall supervise the work of local committees, set up new Committees and with the consent of the Pradesh Working Committee re-organise old committees. The Mandal Committee shall be responsible for setting up the necessary unit for elections.

**Article 10**

**DISTRICT COMMITTEE**

(1) Elected members of at least three Mandal Committees within a district shall elect the following office-bearers for their District Committee:

(a) President,
(b) Vice-Presidents (not more than two),
(c) Secretary,
(d) Joint Secretaries (not more than two), and
(e) Treasurer.

(2) The maximum strength of a District Committee shall be 31; members apart from those elected by the above procedure shall be nominated by the President. In each District Committee two places shall be filled by women members and two by members belonging to the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes.

(3) The District Committee shall have the authority to expand, conduct and co-ordinate the work of the Jana Sangh units in its area.

**Article 11**

**DIVISIONAL COMMITTEE**

(1) In cities with a population of over 20 lakhs, elected members of district committees constituted therein, shall elect the following office-bearers for their Divisional Committee:

(a) President,
(b) Vice-Presidents (not more than two),
(c) Secretary,
(d) Joint Secretaries (not more than two), and
(e) Treasurer.

(2) The maximum strength of a Divisional Committee shall be 31; members apart from those elected as above shall be nominated by the President.

(3) Every Divisional Committee shall consist of at least four women members and four members belonging to the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes.

(4) The Divisional Committee shall have the right to expand, control and co-ordinate the work of the Jana Sangh units in its area.

**Article 12**

**PRADESH GENERAL COUNCIL**

(1) The Pradesh General Council shall comprise of the following members:

(a) Representatives of Legislative Assembly Constituencies—one member from each constituency. Reserved constituencies shall be represented by members belonging to the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes;

(b) Women representatives—one from each district;

(c) Members of the All India General Council from the Pradesh;
(d) Not more than twenty members co-opted at the first session;
(e) Not more than five members nominated by the All India Working Committee;
(f) Members of the Pradesh Working Committee;
(g) Members of Legislatures;
(h) Chairmen of District Councils; and
(i) Chairmen of Municipalities with a population of more than 20,000.

(2) Elected members of Mandals Committees within every district shall elect representatives of Article (1) (a) and (b).

(3) Every member of the Pradesh General Council shall pay an annual membership fee of Rs. 500 only.

(4) Members of the Pradesh General Council as described in Article (1) (a) and (b) above shall elect the following office-bearers at the Council's first session:

(a) President,
(b) Vice-Presidents (not more than three),
(c) Secretary
(d) Joint-Secretaries (not more than three), and
(e) Treasurer.

(5) In case the Pradesh Working Committee so desires the election of the Pradesh President may be held by post before the first session of the Pradesh General Council in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 17. The Pradesh Secretary shall be the Returning Officer and Pradesh representatives elected under Article (1) (a) and (b) shall be entitled to nominate candidates.

(6) The functions of the Pradesh General Council shall be as follows:

(a) It shall carry out the programmes and policies laid down by the All India General Council.
(b) It shall be responsible for the activities of the units within the Pradesh subject to the general control and supervision of the All India General Council.
(c) It shall submit a report on Jana Sangh activities in the Pradesh as and when required by the All India Working Committee, and also submit a consolidated report every year.

---

**Article 13**

**PRADESH WORKING COMMITTEE**

(1) The Pradesh Working Committee shall comprise of office-bearers of the Pradesh General Council and members nominated by the President; the strength of the Working Committee shall not be more than 41 of which at least 2 shall be women members and 2 members belonging to the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes.

(2) The Pradesh Working Committee shall be the Pradesh Executive of the Jana Sangh. It shall implement the policy and programme decided upon by the All India General Council.

(3) Subject to the general control and supervision of the All India General Council the Pradesh Working Committee shall be responsible for the functioning of all committees as well as the party within the Pradesh.

(4) The Pradesh Working Committee shall be empowered to take disciplinary action against any committee or member within the Pradesh for any reason that it may deem fit, and after such enquiry, as it may consider necessary, remove any member or any office bearer of a committee. An appeal against such action may be made to the All India Working Committee whose decision shall be final.

(5) The Pradesh Working Committee shall have the right to set up ad hoc committees and nominate conveners in those Mandals or districts where elected committees have not been formed. The tenure of an ad hoc committee shall be three months. But the Pradesh Working Committee may, if it deems necessary, extend it to a total period of six months.

(6) The Pradesh Working Committee may, if necessary, appoint organising secretaries for the State or for any part of the State and lay down their functions.

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**Article 14**

**ALL INDIA GENERAL COUNCIL**

(1) The All India General Council shall comprise of the following members:

(a) Presidents and Secretaries of District and Divisional Committees;
[In districts where the number of Lok Sabha members is more than two, besides the District Secretary and the President, as many representatives shall be additionally elected as would be required to make the total number equal to the number of existing Lok Sabha constituencies (full and partial) in that district.]

(b) Members of the All India Working Committee;
(c) Members of the Pradesh Working Committees;
(d) Members, working on various fronts;
[These members shall be nominated by the All India Working Committee; not more than two members of any front from one Pradesh shall be so nominated.]
(e) Representatives of affiliated organisations;
[The number shall be determined by the All India Working Committee. However, no such organisation shall have more than 5 representatives.]
(f) Members of Parliament; and
(g) Not more than 20 members co-opted at the first session of the All India General Council.

(2) Every member of the All India General Council shall pay an annual membership fee of Rs. 10.

(3) The President of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh shall be the President of the All India General Council.

(4) The All India General Council shall have the highest authority to determine the policy and programme of the Jana Sangh. It shall have all powers necessary to discharge its functions and shall also have the right to direct various committees and councils.

(5) The All India General Council shall hold its session at least once a year. It shall be held either when the All India Working Committee feels it necessary or when a minimum of 50 members of the All India General Council make a requisition to the President specifying reasons. At such a specially requisitioned meeting, the All India Working Committee may also present additional agenda.

(6) The All India General Council can affiliate any organisation or association with the Jana Sangh and give it a representation as it may deem necessary.

Article 15

ALL INDIA WORKING COMMITTEE

(1) The All India Working Committee shall comprise of not more than 51 members, including the President and those nominated by him. Of these at least three shall be women, two shall be Scheduled Castes and two Scheduled Tribes.

(2) The President shall nominate two or more Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, one or more Secretaries and a Treasurer from among the members of the Working Committee.

(3) The All India Working Committee shall be the highest executive of the Jana Sangh and will be responsible to the All India General Council. It shall carry out the programmes and policies determined by the All India General Council.

(4) The All India Working Committee shall have the following powers:

(a) To frame rules with the consent of the All India General Council for the proper implementation of the Constitution.

(b) To give directions in matters for which there is no specific provision. These directions shall be in conformity with the Constitution and rules.

(c) To supervise, direct and control all Pradesh Working Committees.

(d) To take necessary disciplinary action against any committee, council or individual except the All India General Council.

(e) To conduct all such activities as are proper and necessary for the fulfilment of the objectives of the Jana Sangh.

(f) To issue directions for and keep scrutiny of the funds with various committees of the Jana Sangh so that they are properly spent and accounted for.
Article 16

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD

(1) The All India Working Committee shall appoint a Parliamentary Board of not more than seven members and empower it with necessary authority to control elections, election organisation and legislative work.

(2) The Pradesh Working Committee shall appoint a Pradesh Parliamentary Board of not more than seven members which shall function in accordance with directives from the Central Parliamentary Board.

Article 17

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

The procedure for election of the President shall be as follows:

(a) According to a schedule drawn up by the All India Working Committee, the General Secretary shall invite every Pradesh Working Committee to nominate one person for the post of President.

(b) On receiving the nomination papers within the specified period, the General Secretary shall write to the nominated individuals and obtain their consent as candidates for the post.

(c) The names of those individuals who wish to withdraw or whose consent is not received shall be struck off the list and the remaining names shall be sent by post to members of the All India General Council indicated in Article 14(1). Simultaneously, a ballot paper shall be sent on which they shall record their vote in accordance with the system prescribed and shall return it in the prescribed manner before the specified date.

(d) The votes thus obtained shall be counted by the General Secretary in the presence of persons nominated by the candidates, and the candidate securing the maximum number of votes shall be declared elected. In case of a tie, the verdict shall be by draw of lots.

Article 18

FILLING UP A VACANCY

In case any office falls vacant by reason of resignation, death or otherwise, the Working Committee of that region shall have the right to fill it for the rest of the term.

Article 19

QUORUM

The quorum of a Working Committee meeting shall be 1/4th of its membership and that of a General Council 1/10th of its membership.

Article 20

ELECTION

Election to various units and offices shall be held every year and the procedure, time and place of the election shall be determined by the All India Working Committee.

Article 21

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

(1) This constitution may be amended at any session of the All India General Council by a two-third majority of the members present and voting.

(2) In case of any difficulty in working this Constitution, the All India Working Committee shall have the power to amend or alter any of its provisions. Such changes shall be submitted to the All India General Council for approval.

Article 22

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

A dispute arising out of this Constitution may be referred to the next higher unit or a committee specially constituted for this purpose. In case a party to the dispute is not satisfied with the verdict, it may appeal to the All India President. In case the President considers the matter to be important he may
constitute a Tribunal of three disinterested individuals and entrust the matter to it. The verdict of this Tribunal shall be final. Any individual or unit taking any dispute to any outside authority shall be deemed guilty of breach of discipline, and shall be liable for disciplinary action.

RULES

[Under Article 15(4)(a)]

1. Membership

(1) The function of enrolling members shall be carried out by the local committee. Where there are no local committees this shall be done by the Mandal Committee.

(2) Members may be enrolled only on membership forms, a specimen whereof is given in Appendix B. The forms shall be printed by the Pradesh Committee.

(3) Annual contribution towards the membership fund from old members shall be collected by the local committee, and in its absence by the Mandal Committee. For this purpose the pro forma given in Appendix B alone may be used.

(4) The Mandal Committee shall maintain a membership register which shall be in the form given in Appendix A. A copy of this shall be sent to the district office. The number of members enrolled and the amount of membership funds collected shall be intimated to the Pradesh Office also.

(5) The membership year shall begin from Baisakh 1. The term of membership shall be two years.

2. Criteria of Active and Inactive Members

(1) A member shall be considered active if:

(a) he attends at least 50 per cent meetings of the committee or council of which he is a member; and

(b) he is engaged in some activity which may be directly party work or work of the Parliament, Legislature or local self-government body as an elected representative of the Jana Sangh or allied social work duly recognised by a body appointed under Article 7(3).

(2) A member shall be considered inactive:
(a) if he fails to enrol 11 members of the Jana Sangh every term,
(b) if he fails to attend three meetings in a row of the related unit without permission, and/or
(c) if he fails to pay his fee as the prescribed fee by the Constitution, within three months of becoming a member.

(3) The All India Working Committee may make an exception regarding any member in respect of these rules and declare him active. The Pradesh President also may relieve any member from ineligibility arising out of inactivity.

(4) In case a person is simultaneously a member of many committees, he may attend meetings of the lower committees at his convenience.

3. Units, Meetings and Functions

(1) The periodicity of meetings of various committees shall be as follows:
   (a) Local and City committees—every fortnight.
   (b) Mandal and Divisional Committees—every two months.
   (c) District Committee—every three months.
   (d) Pradesh Working Committees and All India Working Committee—every four months.

   As required, more frequent meetings and at smaller intervals may be convened.

(2) If for some reason it is not possible to hold the meeting of a particular unit within the period indicated above, the permission of the higher unit shall have to be obtained.

(3) The time and day for a meeting of a local or city committee shall be decided immediately on the formation of the committee, and so long as the committee does not change this programme it may not be deemed necessary to intimate members every time.

(4) In case of other bodies there shall be a notice of 10 days for an ordinary meeting and a notice of 3 days for a special meeting.

(5) Every committee shall keep a record of its proceedings and of the members present, in its minute book, and these minutes shall have to be approved at the next meeting.

(6) The Pradesh General Council shall meet at least once a year. There shall be a notice of 21 days for such a meeting. For a special meeting a one-week notice shall be given.

(7) A notice of 21 days shall be necessary for a session of the All India General Council. A notice of one week shall be required for a special meeting.

(8) Any committee may make its own rules for reducing the period of notice for its meetings.

4. Sessions

(1) The Pradesh Working Committee may, if it so desires, hold one or more sessions in the Pradesh. A decision about representatives at these sessions other than members of the Pradesh General Council, shall be taken by the Pradesh Working Committee.

(2) The All India Working Committee shall arrange for All India or Zonal sessions. The session may be attended by the following representatives:
   (a) Members of the All India General Council,
   (b) Members of the Pradesh General Council of the respective zones,
   (c) Jana Sangh Members of Parliament or Legislatures, and
   (d) Such others as the All India Working Committee decides.

(3) The Delegate’s fee for a Pradesh, Zonal or All India Session shall be Rs. 5.

(4) The policy and programme determined at the sessions shall be considered as passed by the General Council of the area.

(5) The Working Committee of the place where the Session is scheduled to be held, shall set up a Reception Committee and collect funds for the session. On conclusion of the session complete accounts of income and expenditure shall be prepared within a month and approved by the Reception Committee. Copies of the accounts shall be sent to the Pradesh and All India Working Committees. In respect of the amount remaining unspent, disbursement shall be as follows:
   (a) 20 per cent of the balance to the Centre,
   (b) 30 per cent to the Pradesh, and
(c) 50 per cent to the Committee setting up the Reception Committee.

The Delegate's fees for a Pradesh Session shall go to the Pradesh Working Committee and the Delegate's fees for a Zonal or All India Session shall go to the All India Working Committee.

5. Fund-collection and Expenditure

(1) No funds may be collected on behalf of the Jana Sangh without issuing a receipt. Receipt books shall be printed by the Pradesh Working Committee in the form prescribed in Appendix C. Funds may be collected only under the signatures of the Pradesh and the local treasurer.

(2) It shall be the responsibility of the treasurer of every Committee to maintain regular accounts, get them audited every year and have them passed by the Committee. The Committee may open an account in any bank.

(3) The All India Working Committee shall arrange for the auditing of Central and Pradesh Accounts. The responsibility for the auditing of accounts of other Committees shall lie with the Pradesh Working Committee.

(4) The Pradesh Working Committee shall from time to time contribute into the Central Fund an amount decided in this behalf by the All India Working Committee or a share of its collected funds, as may be decided.

(5) Funds collected by various Committees in a Pradesh as well as the membership funds, shall be spent in accordance with the procedure and proportion laid down by the Pradesh Working Committee.

(6) Candidates' fees and monthly collections from elected members shall be spent by the Parliamentary Board.

(7) Funds for the local committees shall be disbursed by the Mandal Committee.

(8) Funds collected in the form of monthly contributions may be used for that Committee but it shall be necessary to send an account of this collection to the Pradesh Working Committee. If the Pradesh Working Committee so desires, it may take a fixed share of this collection for the use of the Pradesh.

6. Elections

(1) Every year, the All India Working Committee shall fix a time schedule for various elections.

(2) Every Mandal Committee shall prepare a voters' list which shall include new voters from the previous Baisakh 1, to a specific date laid down by the All India Working Committee as well as old members under Article 6. This list shall be in accordance with local committee delimitation. The list shall be available for inspection in the office by any voter. In case a member wishes to propose an amendment to the list, he may notify it to the Mandal President along with relevant grounds. The Mandal President shall take appropriate action. A copy of the amended list shall be sent to the Pradesh and District Offices.

(3) The General Secretary shall be the Chief Returning Officer. He shall have the right to appoint Assistant Returning Officers and give them necessary directions and authority for holding various elections.

(4) All elections shall be held by voice vote, or if necessary by the raising of hands at the meeting called for the purpose. But if the Returning Officer considers it necessary for any reason, he may, in accordance with a pre-determined procedure, call for written nominations and hold elections either by postal ballot or by raising of hands or by secret vote in a meeting. The consent of the candidates proposed shall be necessary, but the Returning Officer may dispense with this requirement.

(5) In a case a Pradesh Committee wants to hold the election of Pradesh President under Article 12(5), the Pradesh Secretary in his capacity as Returning Officer, shall call for nominations from Pradesh representatives one month prior to the date of election and the nomination papers should reach the Returning Officer within 10 days of the notice calling for such nominations.

(6) In case there is a dispute regarding eligibility for election it shall be submitted to the body constituted under Article 7(3).
APPENDIX A

MEMBERSHIP REGISTER

Local Committee
Mandal
Pradesh

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<th>Name</th>
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<th>Age</th>
<th>Address</th>
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APPENDIX B

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH MEMBERSHIP FORM

No.       Date       
The Secretary       Mandals       
Bharatiya Jana Sangh       District.       

Sir,
I have understood the aims* and rules of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. I agree with them and desire to become/remain a member of the Jana Sangh. I pledge that I shall abide by the Rules and Regulations of the Jana Sangh. I may kindly be enrolled/permit to continue as a member of the Jana Sangh. I am enclosing Rs. as my contribution to the Membership Fund.

Yours sincerely,

Recipient's
Name. (Signature)
Address. Name. Age.

Membership Fund. Name of Father/Husband.
Signature. Profession.
(Pradesh Treasurer). Full Address.

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH PRADeSH

No.       Date.       
Mandal       District.       

Received with thanks Rs. for the Membership Fund from Shri. son/daughter/wife of Shri.       

(Signature of recipient) (Pradesh Treasurer)

* Please see aims and objectives overleaf.
**Alms and Objectives in Brief**


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**APPENDIX C**

**BHARATIYA JANA SANGH**

**RECEIPT-BOOK FORM**

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