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BHARATIYA JANA SANGH
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Volume 4
RESOLUTIONS ON
INTERNAL AFFAIRS

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VOLUME 4

Resolutions
on
Internal Affairs

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH
CENTRAL OFFICE
Vithalbhai Patel Bhavan,
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FOREWORD

ON OCTOBER 21, 1972, Bharatiya Jana Sangh completed 21 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-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-appeasement 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 imperative as military strength. It was, therefore, that in its very first manifesto adopted on October 21, 1951 Jana Sangh 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 approach right from the outset has been based on pragmatic considerations and not on dogmas. 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.

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, Jana Sangh has traversed through many ups and downs. It has fought five General Elections. Taking victories and defeats of electoral battle in its strides, 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 '*Daidra*' (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 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 untrammelled.

In this context it must be mentioned that the Jana Sangh's rational 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. 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, Jana Sangh's advocacy of urban ceilings is prompted by a desire to ensure optimum use of urban land. In its Ghaziabad resolution, therefore, 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 Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the opinion that for residential houses in urban localities, no plot should be more than 1000 square yards in area.

When in its economic resolution at Ghaziabad, Jana Sangh said that the ratio between the minimum and the maximum expendable income of citizens should be 1 : 20, many people were surprised. They promptly pronounced the verdict: Jana Sangh is turning left. Many newspapers made the same comment. Some comments were critical, while others praised 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, Bharatiya Jana Sangh's General Council 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 the 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 the maximum and the minimum expendable incomes. The critics have either not read them or have read them too casually to be able to grasp their implications.

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, 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 disagree 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 Jana Sangh has become the prime target of attacks from our rulers and their communist and Communalist allies, this is essentially because these elements are increasingly becoming conscious of the fact that unlike other opposition parties, 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 subject-wise 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. Since then, the Jana Sangh has contested almost all the general and mid-term elections. Its representatives have 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 itself. The present compilation of Party Documents is the result of this necessity.

Included in these five volumes are : 'Principles and Policy,' the party's key-note document, its All India manifestos and resolutions passed by the Central Working Committee, All India General Council and Plenary Sessions. Obituary resolutions have been omitted.

The first volume contained 'Principles and Policy' which was adopted at the XII BJS Plenary Session in January 1965 at Vijayawada, all manifestos and the party's constitution as amended by the AIGC in May 1972 at Bhagalpur. Resolutions on Economic Affairs divided into four chapters comprised the second volume while those on Defence and External Affairs formed the two chapters of the third volume. The present volume contains resolutions on Internal Affairs divided into four chapters.

Although topics have generally been grouped according to the Ministries of the Central Government, resolutions in this volume have been grouped under four heads namely, National Unity and Territorial Integrity, Problems of Unity, Clean and Efficient Administration, and Democracy and Party Trends. Some resolutions deal with issues which could be classified under two or more of these chapters. As such they could have been either split up or wholly included in any of them. Instead of the resolutions being split up, important paragraphs have been given sub-headings and listed in the index where cross-reference to all

the chapters may be had. Resolutions containing border-line topics which could justifiably be assigned to one or the other chapters, have been placed where their relative importance was assessed to be higher.

All resolutions have been numbered in a chronological order, first two digits indicating the year and the next two ones, the serial number of the resolution in that year. Thus 52.05 indicates the fifth resolution passed in 1952 while 66.16 means the sixteenth resolution of the year 1966. At the end of each resolution, have been given the date, place and name of the body which passed it, wherein CWC, AIGC and AIS respectively mean the Central Working Committee, All India General Council and the 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 all those for whom it is intended.

—Compiler

CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	3
PREFACE	8
I. NATIONAL UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY	15-99
Resolutions	
52.05 Withdraw Kashmir Issue from UNO	19
52.06 Brutal Repression in Jammu	19
52.07 JK Constituent Assembly	20
52.24 Integrate Kashmir Movement	22
52.25 Cultural Revival	24
53.01 Integrate Kashmir Movement	25
53.02 Mookerji's Great Martyrdom	29
53.06 Akhand Bharat	31
53.07 Demand for Public Trial of Abdulla	32
53.11 Activities of Foreign Missionaries	33
54.05 Mookerji's Mysterious Death	33
54.13 Integrate Kashmir	34
54.14 Restrain Foreign Missionaries	34
54.23 Liberate Goa	35
55.06 Integrate Kashmir	36
55.14 Goa Liberation Movement	38
55.19 Enrolment of Goa Satyagrahis	39
55.27 Great Martyrdom of Goa Satyagrahis	40
56.05 Uncertainty in Kashmir	41
56.08 Liberation of Goa	42
56.13 Naga Problem	43
56.16 United Independent Indian Christian Church	44
56.27 Eradicate Communalism Through Indianisation	44
57.07 British Memorials	46

CONTENTS

11

	PAGE
Resolutions	
58.01 JK Situation	46
58.21 Integrate Kashmir	48
59.03 Transfer of Berubari	49
59.14 'Stateless' Indians in India	50
60.05 Integrate Kashmir	51
60.11 Supreme Court on Berubari	52
60.15 Separate Nagaland	53
60.21 Transfer of Berubari Bill	54
61.01 Transfer of Berubari	55
61.07 Growing Separatism	57
61.10 Berubari Pratirakasha Samiti	59
61.16 Transfer of Berubari	60
62.07 Abrogate Article 370	61
62.08 Pak Infiltration in the East	62
62.12 Integrate Kashmir	63
62.13 Pak Infiltration in the East	63
63.10 Uncertainty in Kashmir	64
63.14 Pak Infiltration in the East	65
63.15 China Acts, India only Reacts	66
63.19 Transfer of Berubari	68
63.29 Transfer of Berubari	68
64.02 Abrogate Article 370	69
64.09 Naga Problem	70
64.10 Abdulla's Release	70
64.17 Naga Problem	71
65.09 Scrap Separate Constitution	73
65.17 Save Assam	73
65.20 Massive Pak Infiltration into Kashmir	75
65.23 Akhanda Bharat	77
66.03 Abrogate Article 370	79
66.12 Release of Mohan Ranade	80
66.16 No Negotiations with Naga Rebels	80
66.18 Mysore-Maharashtra Border Dispute	81
66.19 Peking, Pindi and Moscow Winds in Kashmir	82
67.11 Partition of JK	83
67.15 Terror in Kashmir Valley	84
67.27 Uncertainty in Kashmir	85
68.08 Reorganisation of Assam	86

Resolutions	PAGE
69.08 Centre-States Relations	90
2. PROBLEMS OF UNITY	97-140
52.11 Urdu Agitation	101
52.12 Merger of Hyderabad	101
52.18 States Reorganisation	102
54.16 States Reorganisation Commission	102
55.21 Punjabi Suba Demand	102
55.29 SRC Report	103
56.01 Reactions to SRC Report	105
56.02 Government-Akali Parles	107
56.06 States Reorganisation Bill : Some Suggestion	107
56.17 States Reorganisation Bill	108
56.22 Mischievous Book Agitation	109
56.23 Congress-Akali Terror in Punjab	110
58.05 Punjab Situation	111
58.15 Reorganisation of Bombay State	112
58.30 Mysore-Maharashtra Border Dispute	113
59.16 Reorganisation of Bombay State	113
60.08 Punjabi Suba Demand	114
60.12 Punjabi Suba Demand	115
60.17 Assam Disturbances	116
61.11 Communal Threat	118
61.14 Master Tara Singh's Fast	120
61.20 Communal Character of AMU	121
65.16 Aligarh Muslim University	122
66.02 Punjabi Suba Demand	123
66.10 Reorganisation of Puujab	124
68.11 Communal Threat	126
69.01 Telangana Agitation	131
69.02 Proposed Malapuram District	133
69.13 Telangana Unrest	135
69.19 Internal Situation	136
70.01 Chandigarh	139

3. CLEAN AND EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION 141-158

Resolutions	PAGE
55.05 Appoint All India Police Commission	145
55.22 Appoint All India Police Commission	146
56.12 Hoshiyarpur Happenings	146
56.20 Discrimination Against Jammu	147
60.09 Corruption in High Offices	148
60.18 Central Employees' Strike	148
61.06 Central Employees' Strike	149
61.15 Discrimination Against Jammu... ..	150
61.19 Central Employees' Strike	151
63.04 Misuse of Emergency Powers	152
64.15 Enquiry Against Orissa Ministers	152
68.17 Central Employees' Unrest	153
68.21 Central Employees' Strike	154
69.03 Discrimination against Jammu and Ladakh	155
72.18 Double Standards Regarding Corruption	156

4. DEMOCRACY AND PARTY TRENDS 159-235

57.01 Opposition Cooperation in Legislatures	163
57.04 Second General Election	163
58.06 Constitutional Provisions for Local Bodies	164
58.14 Political Murders	166
58.16 Communist Challenge	166
58.23 Unity of Punjab	168
58.28 Rigged Elections in Kashmir	168
58.31 Democracy in India	169
59.05 Kerala People's Struggle	171
59.11 Chinese Aggression and CPI	173
60.01 Co-participation in Nation-building	174
61.12 Bastar Firing	178
62.01 Third General Election	178
62.19 After India-China War	179

Resolutions	PAGE
63.08 Opposition Unity	182
63.09 Congress Violence	182
63.25 Congress Violence	183
65.02 Divisive Forces	184
65.11 Firing on Kerala BJS Workers	187
65.12 Communist Game in Karala	187
66.07 Internal Situation	188
66.11 Bastar Stigma	190
66.21 National Democratic Alternative	192
67.01 Fourth General Election	193
67.04 Murder of Democracy in Rajasthan	194
67.06 Coalition Governments	196
67.07 Centre-States Relations	197
67.10 Naxalbari Menace	198
67.12 Coalition Governments in Punjab and Haryana	200
67.17 Coalition Governments	201
67.22 Non-Congress Governments	202
67.25 Communists and Communalists in Kerala	205
68.07 Coalition Governments	207
68.13 Post-1967 Situation	209
68.18 Discrimination against Delhi	212
68.19 Centre-States Relations	214
69.04 Bombay Disturbances	216
69.05 Mid-term Polls	217
69.12 Judicial Probe into Upadhyaya's Murder	219
69.14 Opposition Unity	221
69.17 Fifth Presidential Election	222
69.20 Congress-split	225
70.05 Opposition Unity	228
70.07 Internal Situation	230
70.10 W. Bengal Situation	233

APPENDIX LIST OF RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER ...	236--242
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INDEX ...	243--251
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CHAPTER I

NATIONAL UNITY
AND
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

In the sphere of national affairs Jana Sangh has considered National unity, Democracy and a clean and efficient Administration to be the basis of the country's political progress (60.01). The first concern of the Jana Sangh is the attainment, preservation and nurturing of national unity. It is this concern and not a desire for temporary political advantage that has governed the attitude of the Jana Sangh to every problem. It has described National unity as "a precious legacy which cannot be sacrificed at the altar of party politics (68.11)." At one place it has stressed this determination in the following words: "Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been raising its voice against communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism from its very inception and has been making every effort to counteract these undesirable tendencies. To that end it has adopted the concept of One Country, One People and One Culture as its basic article of faith. It has firmly rejected every kind of separatism in the field of politics on the basis of religion, sect, language or province. (61.11)"

As a matter of fact the concept of 'One Country, One People and One Culture' (61.11) can be considered a fundamental contribution of the Jana Sangh to the politics of independent India. In its considered opinion, it is not enough to condemn narrow loyalties based upon sect, language, caste and region; there has to be a systematic effort to replace these loyalties by higher ones. They have to be Indianised. The problem is to lift minds from the rut of narrowness and inform them with a catholic point of view of nationalism (61.11).

Therefore, in many resolutions the Jana Sangh has tried to define clearly the bases of Indian nationhood and national unity. It has pointed out that mere territorial and constitutional unity is not enough for nationalism; the foundation of one culture is essential for it (52.25, 56.27). Bharat is an ancient nation (68.11). The continuing flow of culture has given it unity in the midst of diversity for long ages. The Jana Sangh has been repeatedly reminding the nation that considering Muslim culture a separate entity became the basis of Two-nation theory and it was this Two-nation theory that resulted in the tragic partition of the Motherland (52.25, 53.06, 53.23). Hence it urges that "for the promotion of unity and nationalism, feeling of one culture should be imbibed maintaining the diversities in our national life and different modes of worship (56.27)."

To strengthen this feeling of cultural homogeneity, the Jana Sangh proposed a clear cut seven-point programme (52.26, 56.27). It is this process of cultural education that Jana Sangh has called Nationalisation or Indianisation. It has clearly said: "By Indianisation we mean the sub-Indianisation of all narrow loyalties like those of religion, caste, region, language or dogma to the overriding loyalty to the Nation, of all haphazard elements, especially of those with extra-territorial loyalties or allegiance (overt or covert) to the Two-nation or Multi-nation theory (69.19)."

Dressed over the partition of the Motherland the Jana Sangh has been from its very birth extra wary in respect of the territorial integrity of

partitioned India, defence of its borders and preservation of its independence. It has been alive to every danger directed towards them. Its uncompromising loyalty to motherland enables it to sense any threat to national integrity even from a distance. The Jana Sangh had started warning about the 1965-Pakistani aggression quite in advance (63.10, 65.20); similarly in respect of China's aggressive designs on the northern border the Jana Sangh had warned as far back as in 1953 the Government "to protest emphatically against this aggressive policy of China (53.15, Vol. 3)."

From the Kashmir problem to the carving out of Malapuram district in Kerala, the illegal entry of Pakistanis into Assam, linguistic riots, Naga hostilities, the transfer of Berubari, and demand of a Punjabi Suba—the Jana Sangh has looked at all national problems from one angle—that of preserving the strength of our national frontiers and preventing Pakistan, China and other enemies from acquiring a foothold in independent India.

52.05. WITHDRAW KASHMIR ISSUE FROM UNO

The Central Working Committee is of the view that the policy followed by the Government of India concerning Jammu-Kashmir State has failed to achieve the object it had in view. The accession of Kashmir to India was full and it was wrong to offer a plebiscite. It was likewise wrong to take the matter to the UNO where it is not the justice that governs votes but power-politics and cold war tactics. The result has been the passing of one-third of the State under the aggressive occupation of Pakistan and there is a suspense about the future of the rest. Further, the way the Government of Kashmir is being run indicates as if it is not a full-fledged integration with India that it has in view. The Committee, therefore, feels that time has come when the Government should take a realistic view of the situation and alter this policy of soft-paddling and dependence on the UNO. It must take a stand on its rights and on the justness of its Cause, withdraw this question from the UNO and complete the integration of the Jammu-Kashmir State with India in the same manner as of other acceding states.

[February 10, 1952: Delhi, CWC]

52.06. BRUTAL REPRESSION IN JAMMU

Party and National Flags—The Central Working Committee received from a deputation from Jammu an account of the recent happenings there. It feels that the punishments inflicted on the college students for their right protest against the hoisting of a party flag by the side of the national flag at a college function organised by the Education Department of the State was improper and vindictive, resulting in a situation which has become serious due to the authorities' mishandling. And the way in which the Government have exploited the situation to suppress the only political party in opposition in the State is undemocratic and highly condemnable.

The Committee resolves to send two observers to Jammu to study the situation and report to the President about it.

The substance of the version of the Jammu deputation is:

(1) Students of the Government College in Jammu protested against the hoisting of the party flag of Sheikh Abdulla's

party along with the National Tricolour on the occasion of a function of the college on January 15, as they considered this to be an insult to the national flag.

(2) College authorities inflicted very heavy punishment on the student leaders for staging the protest demonstration.

(3) The students approached the authorities with the request to remit the fine and other disabilities imposed on them. Failing to get redress a number of them started hunger strike in the college premises on January 29. The authorities instead of considering the demands of the students removed the hunger strikers bodily to jail.

As the hunger-strike became prolonged, efforts for mediation began. The Deputy Commissioner of Jammu approached some leading citizens including the Praja Parishad leaders in this connection. A compromise was brought about between the authorities and the students on February 6, but the Deputy Prime Minister Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed refused to accept it.

(4) On February 7, a number of female relatives of hunger-strikers made a demonstration in the college. They were joined by the students who then marched in procession through the city bazar.

Police made a fierce lathi charge on the processionists including ladies in which one elderly lady became unconscious and several others received serious injuries. The procession, thereafter, marched towards the Secretariat carrying the injured ladies on cots to manifest their protests to the Ministers.

This procession was again lathi charged 5 times and fired upon 3 times resulting in serious injuries to a score of men and women including a number of teen-aged girls.

The authorities thereafter clamped 72 hours' curfew on the city and exploited the situation to arrest the leaders of the Praja Parishad, the only political party in opposition in the State.

[February 10, 1952; Delhi, CWC]

52.07. JK CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

JK as Autonomous Republic—The Central Working Committee is emphatically of the view that the Jammu-Kashmir State is an integral part of India and that economic and social advancement of the State requires that it integrates with India in fullness. The provisions in the Indian Constitution about

Kashmir were admittedly of a temporary character, in view of the peculiar circumstances then prevailing and it was expected that in due course when Kashmir integrates with India its position will approximate to that of the Part B States. The recent decision of the State's Constituent Assembly, however, regarding an elected President and a separate Flag, coupled with the recommendations of the Basic Principles Committee that Kashmir will be an Autonomous Republic within the Indian Republic, are in clear violation of India's sovereignty and the spirit of India's Constitution.

Jammu and Ladakh's Demand—Besides, this move threatens to break up the unity of the State as Jammu and Ladakh have through their representatives clearly expressed their determination to have full accession with India irrespective of the wishes of the people of Kashmir Valley. Reacting to this demand, Sheikh Abdulla, the 'Prime Minister' of Kashmir, is also reported to have said in a public speech that these areas could break away if they so desired.

Cabinet Mission Scheme—The Committee takes a serious view of this development and wants to remind the people and the Government of India that the Cabinet Mission Scheme of 1945 envisaging a weak centre with only three subjects was rejected by the Congress and a large section of Indian opinion considering it to be inimical to India's unity and interests. The fissiparous tendencies of the Muslim League, however, succeeded in dividing India leading to disastrous consequences. To allow Jammu-Kashmir to proceed along the same path now looks like permitting History to repeat itself. It might mean a fresh call to disruptive elements in India to break the unity and integrity of the country which has been achieved at such tremendous sacrifices.

Hereditary Rulership—For abolishing hereditary Rulership the decision has to be taken by the Parliament and uniformly applied to all parts of the Indian Union. The Committee sees no reason to discriminate between the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Nizam of Hyderabad who defied India but is still allowed to continue in authority in spite of the wishes of the people of the Hyderabad State.

In view of all the above considerations, this Committee requests the Government of India to be circumspect and not to take any decision in this matter without fully consulting Parliament and giving an opportunity to the people of Jammu

and Ladakh to express their wishes regarding integration with India independently of the Constituent Assembly of the State.

Kashmir Day—The Committee resolves that June 29 be observed as *Kashmir Day* all over India and public meetings and demonstrations be held every where in support of this stand.

[June 14, 1952; Delhi, CWC]

52.24. INTEGRATE KASHMIR MOVEMENT

This Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses grave concern at the policies of Government of India in relation to Jammu-Kashmir. As a result one-third of this State has been usurped by Pakistan and is still under Pak occupation, while the rest has virtually been made an independent Sheikhdom by Sheikh Abdulla, with a separate Constitution, separate Flag and a separate Prime Minister.

Jammu-Kashmir is an integral part of India. Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been ceaselessly urging the Governments of India and Kashmir to give up such policies as have created a deep hiatus between Kashmir and the rest of India. Constitutional efforts that the people of Jammu and Ladakh are making for the complete integration of the Kashmir State with India are natural and praiseworthy. It is an acknowledged truth that they were forced to launch an agitation because their deep feelings have been continuously ignored in a brutal manner.

In the opinion of this Session their agitation for integration is important not only for the Jammu-Kashmir State but also for the integrity and security of India.

Abdulla Government's Brutal Atrocities—This Session expresses sympathy and solidarity with them for their fight to uphold the noble principle that there cannot be two Constitutions, two Flags and two Prime Ministers within one nation. Merciless attempts are being made to suppress this constitutional and peaceful agitation. Lathis, bullets and tear gas are being used continuously against an unarmed and peaceful people, as a result of which a large number of people have been killed and wounded. To date, 1300 Satyagrahis, including many ladies, have been arrested. In jail they are being beaten and other inhuman atrocities are being perpetrated on them. Many of them have been transferred to jails in the Kashmir Valley where the

temperature these days is below zero and yet they have not been given enough clothings. Satyagrahis and their friends on a large scale are being deprived of their properties and pensions. This Session severely condemns the sending of police forces from the Punjab and other States to Kashmir to assist the Government there to suppress a peaceful people.

As a counter-measure against this Satyagraha the Kashmir Government has launched a contemptible smear-campaign against the patriotic leaders of the agitation, in order to divert the attention of the people of India from the real issues. It is a matter of deep regret that the Government of India and many English language newspapers have been influenced by this mal-propaganda of the Abdulla Government, started talking in the same tone and abusing it without knowing about the propriety of the agitation. No one in the state wants to re-establish feudalism, nor can this agitation (in which hundreds of Muslims are openly participating) be called communal.

This Session praises the admirable patience shown by the people of Jammu-Kashmir and pays its tributes to those martyrs who laid down their lives for holding the National Flag high in their hands. This Session warns Sheikh Abdulla that the suppression at present being practised in Jammu cannot put down a popular movement. Political sagacity and realism demand that instead of falling a prey to false prestige, prompt steps be taken to find out an honourable solution to control the situation in Jammu.

Integration, not Local Issue—The Government of India is to be condemned for saying that this is a local problem in which it does not have any thing to say except sending police and army to suppress the agitation. The underlying principle of integration in this agitation relates to the whole nation and it is the duty of the Government of India to take the initiative in finding a solution.

This Session suggests that a round-table conference should immediately be called between the representatives of Praja Parishad and Abdulla Government and the recognised leaders of India.

If the Government of India does not take immediate steps in this direction the people of India would be forced to actively assist this agitation. In that case this Session directs the Central Working Committee to prepare whatever is necessary for an All India agitation for the complete integration of the State of

Jammu-Kashmir with India. This Session gives its President the authority to set up a Committee to achieve this purpose.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

52.25. CULTURAL REVIVAL

In the opinion of Bharatiya Jana Sangh the history of India as well as of other countries proves that merely a geographical entity is not enough for nationalism. The people of a country become a nation only when they are united by one common culture. So long as the Indian society followed one common culture, the basic nationality of the people in this country continued, in spite of many political divisions. But Indian nationalism fell on evil days when foreign rulers broke up the cultural integration of this country for their own ends and forced foreign oriented cultures in this land. In spite of our declaring for centuries that we are One Nation, Muslim communalism in India insisted on the Two-nation theory, which triumphed in the form of the partition and made life impossible for non-Muslims in Pakistan. In India, by acknowledging a separate Muslim culture and in the name of its protection and promotion, again the same Two-nation theory is being revived which has been a hindrance in national integration.

Hence, in the opinion of Jana Sangh, the development of one common culture is necessary for the development of nationalism in India. This culture should manifest itself among all the residents of the country irrespective of their religions and should be ensured general recognition.

Indianisation for Unity and Nationalism—To achieve this purpose the people and the Government should take initiative in the following direction:

(1) Education should be based upon national culture. Literature rearing Indian culture, including the *Upanishads*, Gita, Ramayana, Mahabharata, etc. and also modern compositions, should be made known to all. In the near future, knowledge of this cultural mainstream should be considered essential in all walks of social life.

(2) The birthdays of national heroes of India should be celebrated as national festivals, which the Government should assist by providing encouragement, arrangements and resources and in which all citizens should participate.

(3) The main festivals of India should be celebrated as National Festivals. These should include Holi, Vijaya Dashami,

Raksha Bandhan and Diwali.

(4) The Government as well as the people should initiate continuous and effective efforts for encouraging the use of the regional languages and the link language in the social life of India, so that the Indian people may develop themselves on a common national basis.

(5) Sanskrit should be revived. Its knowledge should be considered essential for scholarship and Devanagari script should be accepted for all the languages of the country.

(6) The history of India should be written on the right lines, so that it is the history of the people of India and not of those who committed aggression on her. In this history, periods should not be divided upon the basis of foreign rule but on that of the development of the Indian society and agitations and revolutions within it. Also, it should include the glorious story of the ancient global spread of the Indian culture and Indian culture.

(7) (a) In the interests of cultural revival and integration the Jana Sangh warns the Hindu society that it should promptly do away with its intrinsic social weaknesses particularly social inequality. Complete equality should be established between backward classes and other Hindus. At the same time, religious and other festivals should be celebrated on an organised and disciplined basis, and in this task the cooperation of all classes of people should be obtained.

(b) Alongwith its internal development it is also the duty of the Hindu society to take up the noble task of Indianisation of general life and of those sections of the Indian national being which were shaken out of their national moorings and were made to look outside the country for inspiration. Hindus should integrate such people within them affectionately. Only thus communalism can be ended and supreme sentiment for the nation be created.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

53.01. INTEGRATE KASHMIR MOVEMENT

Abdulla Precipitated Movement—The Central Working Committee after considering the recent developments in Jammu deeply regrets the failure on the part of the Government of India to take adequate and timely measures for a peaceful settlement of the matters that have led to the movement. Normally speaking under a Democratic Constitution, Satyagraha can be justified only under exceptional circumstances. The Praja Parishad's

repeated attempts to obtain an honourable settlement through constitutional means failed and they received no favourable response either from the Government of India or from the Government of Jammu-Kashmir. Even if the *status quo* in Kashmir had continued, perhaps the movement would not have started. It was forced on the people when it appeared that the Abdulla Government backed by the Government of India was determined to put into effect some fundamental changes in the existing constitutional arrangements which drew away the State further from India. On the other hand there were no signs of implementing the application of even some modified provisions of the Indian Constitution, which would have brought the State of Jammu-Kashmir a little more within the political and constitutional structure of India.

The Committee has received reports from various quarters regarding the intensity of the movement and the widespread support which it has received from all classes of people. The Committee is satisfied that the movement has maintained its non-violent character except some inevitable breaches of peace that had occurred due to provocations by the authorities. The movement has also been free from communal bias in spite of attempts on the part of interested elements in the country. Details of the repressive measures and atrocities are shocking and even surpass what was done by the British in India for counteracting national movements. It is deplorable that the Government of India has allowed sections of police from other States to be utilised for this purpose. The Working Committee is surprised that the Government of India and the Abdulla Government should imagine that repression could crush a movement which had such immense popular backing and had raised fundamental political and constitutional issues.

Parishad Movement Objectives—There has been widespread mal-propaganda against the movement. Its aims have always been misconstrued by Government spokesmen. The movement is not actuated by communal or sectional or reactionary or anti-Indian motives. The Praja Parishad wants that the existing uncertainty about the final accession of the State of Jammu-Kashmir to India should be promptly ended. There is no expectation left in any quarter that through the intervention of UNO any satisfactory settlement would ever be reached. In any case, India's reference to UNO was not in respect of the accession but of aggression by Pakistan on the

soil of Kashmir which is part of the Indian Union. The Instrument of Accession signed by the Ruler of Jammu-Kashmir State made no reference to a plebiscite. The offer to settle the future of Kashmir according to the will of the people has however been repeatedly made by Government of India. The question is how to determine this will? In the considered opinion of the Working Committee this can be done through a resolution to be passed by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Jammu-Kashmir which is claimed to have been elected on the basis of adult franchise. This suggestion has been ridiculed by Abdulla on the ground that the Praja Parishad had itself challenged the representative character of the Jammu-Kashmir Assembly. The Committee is of the view that since both Shri Nehru and Abdulla have insisted that the elections had been properly held and that they represented almost cent per cent will of the people of Jammu-Kashmir, then how could Shri Nehru or Abdulla question the accession of the State settled through the vote of such an Assembly. Once this vital question was finalised there would be no room left for uncertainty in the minds of the people of the State or others as regards the future status of this State *vis-a-vis* India. The Working Committee feels that the question of accession was a matter which solely concerned India and Jammu-Kashmir and neither the UNO nor Pakistan had anything to do with it.

The Praja Parishad also demands that the territory of Jammu-Kashmir which is now in the forcible occupation of Pakistan must be liberated. This was not likely to be obtained through UNO's intervention or through the consent of Pakistan.

The next demand of the Praja Parishad is that the entire State of Jammu-Kashmir should be governed according to the Constitution of free India. Here Abdulla relies on Article 370 of the Indian Constitution which provides that application of the provisions of the Indian Constitution to Jammu-Kashmir State beyond the 3 subjects of foreign relations, defence and communications, could be made only with the consent of the Kashmir Government. This was a transitory provision and its history is well known to all. Similar assurances had been given to all the 500 Indian States (as they were previously called), when they first decided to merge with India. Authorities of these States, however, had in their own interest and for the good of India, subsequently agreed to adopt uniformly the provisions of the Indian Constitution. Abdulla and his party cannot, therefore, stand

on merely legalistic technicalities and refuse to accept the very Constitution which today governs free India where 4 crores of Muslims are living as common citizens with equal rights. In matters like Supreme Court, Fundamental Rights, Citizens' Rights, Financial Integration, Presidential Powers & National Planning there can be only one Constitution for the whole of India. Such attitudes of separatism as are being encouraged in Jammu-Kashmir State to placate Abdulla may create complications for other parts of India also leading to her disruption and disintegrity. The demand of Praja Parishad for full application of the Indian Constitution to the entire State of Jammu-Kashmir is just, legitimate and is inspired by the highest patriotic and national considerations. If, however, Abdulla feels that there are special reasons for certain provisions of the Indian Constitution being modified in favour of Jammu-Kashmir, the onus is on him and it is for him to take the country into his confidence and put his proposals before the people.

Charge-sheet against Abdulla Government—Praja Parishad has also brought out a charge-sheet regarding the administration of Abdulla Government. It relates to financial affairs, rehabilitation irregularities, discriminatory acts and policies, and an artificial and communal border division of Jammu. They require careful examination by an impartial Commission consisting of persons from outside the State. The Commission recently appointed will not serve the purpose at all. The Working Committee fails to understand why any Government calling itself democratic, would refuse to consider the above proposals. It appears neither Shri Nehru nor Abdulla is prepared to hold proper discussions. Charges of bigotry and reactionism are brought against Praja Parishad. The Committee considers it futile to approach political disputes from a perverted angle. Abdulla himself started his career as a leader of a communal political party but he would resent if anyone judges his present policies in relation to his past records.

The Praja Parishad has demonstrated that it has very large hold on the affection of the people of Jammu. Greater the delay in negotiations for a just settlement, greater is the danger of the situation getting deteriorated. False sense of prestige and partisanship often marked the behaviour of British Government in its dealings with the Congress. History, however, showed that the British Government had to bend its knees and the will of the people ultimately triumphed. No party attached to the

dispute can be dubbed as an enemy of the country and there was no reason why the situation should be allowed to deteriorate. It is realised that the continuance of the movement and its ruthless suppression may bring about chaos and will undoubtedly strengthen the hands of India's enemies. The Working Committee, therefore, urges that the Prime Minister of India and Abdulla should take the initiative for releasing all prisoners and calling the leaders of Jammu and others to a conference where all matters be thrashed out with a determination to come to an agreed settlement. While this goes on, the movement should remain suspended and a proper atmosphere for peaceful settlement be created. Mutual recrimination and casting motives and aspersions will do the country no good whatsoever. The present situation in India and recent international developments urgently need maintenance of peace and goodwill and cooperation of all parties. Government bears a special responsibility in this regard. It will be unfortunate for the country if it chose to proceed in an obstinate manner according to its own whims oblivious of the viewpoints of those who differ from it.

Jana Sangh makes it clear that while it has pledged its support and sympathy to the Praja Parishad movement it has no desire to precipitate a crisis. For the last 6 weeks the Jana Sangh President has made every endeavour to create conditions for mutual negotiations and has directly approached the Prime Minister of India, and also the JK 'Prime Minister'. Till now his efforts have not produced results. On the other hand, recent arrests in Punjab indicate the real attitude and policy which the Government desires to pursue. The Committee hopes that good sense on all sides will prevail even at this late hour. If, however, it continues to be adamant and chose to rely only on force and repression, it would be the duty of Jana Sangh to call upon the people to resolutely and non-violently resist this policy of the Government. The Committee deems it its moral duty to stand by those brave men and women of Jammu belonging to a race well known for its patriotism, courage and chivalry, who are paying by their blood and sufferings, for the attainment of their birthright.

[February 10, 1953; Delhi, CWC]

53.02. MOOKERJI'S GREAT MARTYRDOM

Tributes to Mookerji—The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh places on record its deep sense of

grief at the untimely and tragic death of its President, late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, in the Srinagar jail on the 23rd of June 1953. Dr. Mookerji's contribution in building Bharatiya Jana Sangh was immense. Because of his burning patriotism, firm determination, great foresight and matchless organising capacity he was able to make Jana Sangh a representative organisation of the Indian people within the short period of 1½ years. His sudden death has been an irreparable loss to Jana Sangh.

Dr. S. P. Mookerji was one of those great sons of India, every minute of whose time and every ounce of whose energy was dedicated to the service of the Motherland. He has left an indelible imprint on every aspect of our national life. Even though he had a tremendous capacity to mobilise public opinion and from time to time he successfully organised powerful movements against what he considered unjust and anti-national policies, his approach to all problems was always constructive. In his death the country has lost a priceless gem, a redoubtable votary of *Akhand Bharat*, a pillar of strength to the refugees, a vigilant sentinel of civil liberties, a standard bearer of democracy, and a great devotee of Indian Culture.

Mookerji's Mysterious Death—The whole country is stunned by the mysterious circumstances in which he died far away from his near and dear ones, in Srinagar jail. His death in detention is the greatest blot on the Government of Free India. Clearly his arrest on entry into Jammu and his death in detention in Srinagar was the result of a deep conspiracy between the Nehru and Abdulla Governments. If his arrest was really due to entry into the State without permit he should have been sent back to India after his arrest. It was the duty of the Nehru Government as well to take immediate steps for the release of its citizen who was arrested illegally by the Abdulla Government, but its policy in this affair has been such as to strengthen the doubt that it wanted him to be kept in detention in Kashmir for some mysterious reasons and to deprive him of the protection of the Supreme Court.

Criminal Medical Negligence—Whatever other facilities might have been given to Dr. Mookerji during his detention, there is clear evidence to prove that proper attention was not paid to his health. He was kept in detention at a place where no medical aid was available nor were there any arrangements for nursing. The postal arrangement was most unsatisfactory. For many days before his death letters from his daughter and

revered mother were withheld from him. He was not given the permission to have long walks in the morning and evening before his last illness. His companions were not allowed to accompany him when he was removed to hospital. In spite of Dr. Mookerji's clear statement that his family physician was of the opinion that streptomycin did not suit him, he was given its injections. Proper medical arrangements were not made even when he was in the hospital where he was removed when he was very sick in a motor car in which he had to go sitting. No arrangements were made for an ambulance car. The hospital was at a distance of 12 miles from his jail which had no telephone to keep the doctor informed of his health. There is information which shows that statements made by the Abdulla Government about his illness and death are full of mis-statements and deliberate lies. Even the exact time of his death as given in the Government Communique is said to be incorrect.

Impartial Enquiry into Mookerji's Death—The attitude adopted by the Nehru Government towards the demand coming from all parts of the country (because of the above reasons) for an impartial enquiry into the circumstances of his death, instead of allaying the doubts strengthens them. It appears that the Government is not prepared to face the facts.

It is our firm conviction that the responsibility for Dr. Mookerji's arrest, detention and death in jail primarily and fully lies on the shoulders of the Nehru Government. It is now for the Government to establish its innocence in the matter by placing all the facts and evidence before the public.

[July 4, 1953; Delhi, CWC]

53.06. AKHAND BHARAT

Six years ago on August 15, India while she attained her freedom, was also divided into two independent States on a basis which cuts at the very roots of the spirit of one nationhood. This partition of the country was done without the consent of the people and a large majority of nationalist forces in the country have since repudiated it.

Nor has it solved any problem. Rather it has created a horde of new problems and complicated the communal problem as well. Bharatiya Jana Sangh stands for 'one nation, one country and one culture'. It believes that upholding of these fundamentals is essential for an all-round progress of this country. We, therefore, reaffirm once again our faith in one and united

India and pledge ourselves to renewed efforts for the fulfilment of this ideal of *Akhand Bharat*.

[August 15, 1953; Allahabad, AIGC]

53.07. DEMAND FOR PUBLIC TRIAL OF ABDULLA

The developments in Jammu-Kashmir State during the last few weeks have completely vindicated the stand of Bharatiya Jana Sangh. The dismissal and arrest of Sheikh Abdulla and the revelations about his anti-national and patently communal activities have made it clear that the Jana Sangh was really fighting against forces of separatism, communalism and totalitarianism in Kashmir and rest of India.

Yuvaraja Karan Singh and Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed deserve thanks and sympathy of all the nationalist and patriotic elements in the country for the realism and firmness that they have shown in handling the anti-national forces which the Praja Parishad and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh had clearly exposed through their long struggle.

Machinations of Foreign Powers—It has also now become clear beyond doubt that some foreign powers have been playing a nefarious anti-India game in Kashmir. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been demanding for a long time that Kashmir issue should be withdrawn from UNO, so that machinations of foreign powers in our essentially domestic problems may be ended. Now it has become particularly imperative that foreign powers be asked to stop once for all meddling into India's internal affairs in Kashmir.

Sheikh Abdulla's role in creating this situation in which the foreign agents could carry on their anti-India activities with impunity in the vale of Kashmir and his deliberate attempt at fanning the fire of communalism in the interest of India's enemies deserves the strongest condemnation. He has betrayed India.

His obstinate resistance to the just and patriotic demands of the Praja Parishad, brutal repression of the Parishad Satyagraha and death of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji in his jail has fully established his guilt for much of the trouble in Kashmir today and for the great tragedy of Dr. Mookerji's martyrdom.

In view of all this the charges that have been levelled against him by the *Sadar-e-riyasat* at the time of his dismissal as also justice and national interests demand that Sheikh Abdulla should be tried for treachery and anti-national activities, by a special tribunal. It is unfortunate that Shri Nehru in his state-

ment in Parliament tried to defend Sheikh Abdulla by shifting the responsibility of his ill deeds on some of his companions and also on those patriots who had the foresight and courage to point out the dangers of the policies that Sheikh Abdulla had been pursuing for some time past. We feel that he has allowed his judgement to be clouded by considerations of his personal friendship for Abdulla and prejudices against others. This is deplorable. We demand that he must rise to the occasion and brush aside his personal feelings about his erstwhile friend who has proved to be a traitor and arrange for his immediate public trial so that others like him may be deterred.

[August 15, 1953; Allahabad, AIGC]

53.11. ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

Jana Sangh expresses grave concern over the recent spurt in the activities of American-British and other foreign missionaries who are exploiting illiteracy and poverty of the backward sections of our people for converting them to Christianity through their bountiful resources. They are thus creating denationalised elements in an already weak society. Demands for independent States of Naga and Jharkhand regions are proofs of their anti-national and disruptive influence. Jana Sangh, therefore, calls upon the Government to keep strict watch on all foreign missionaries and extern them from the country when they are found engaged in objectionable activities.

[August 15, 1953; Allahabad, AIGC]

54.05. MOOKERJI'S MYSTERIOUS DEATH

This Session of All India Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the considered opinion that the way in which the nation-wide demand for an impartial enquiry into the circumstances of the shocking and mysterious death of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji has been rejected is arbitrary, unjust and unbecoming of any civilised Government, not to speak of a Government which parades itself as the upholder of high ethical and democratic values. The whole country has to hang its head in shame at the shameless attitude of its Government in persistently refusing to listen to the demand of bare justice. The doubts which the people originally felt about the role of the Government in the death of one of the most illustrious sons of the Motherland have consequently strengthened into a belief. Jana Sangh shudders to think of what the country may be driven to, if the

Government chooses to remain blind to the fact that (because of its present attitude) the people are losing all hopes of fair-play and justice from its present rulers.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

54.13. INTEGRATE KASHMIR

Mookerji stopped Second Dismemberment—Just a year and a half back the Bharatiya Jana Sangh raised its solitary voice to warn the country of the dangers inherent in the separatist policies of Sheikh Abdulla and the blind faith reposed in him by Nehru Government. Rarely has history vindicated a stand in so short a period and in so unequivocal a manner. The fact that the Jana Sangh was forced to launch a country-wide movement to make the blind and deaf statesmanship see what was going on below its very nose and the painful memory of the supreme sacrifice which Dr. Mookerji made in that cause is equalled only by the satisfaction that the Jana Sangh was able to save the country from a second dismemberment and that those guilty of such an attempt are in the place they deserved.

The Jana Sangh notes with satisfaction the welcome change promised to be brought about by the declaration of the Bakhshi Government that the fundamental rights would be granted to the people of Jammu-Kashmir and the State would be financially and judicially integrated with the rest of the country. Though a step in the right direction, the Jana Sangh considers it to be much below the requirement because in its opinion any continuance of the present uncertainty about Kashmir under Article 370 is undesirable.

Stop Talks about Plebiscite—It is the considered belief of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that after the legally complete accession of the State to India, all talk of plebiscite is meaningless and against the spirit of the Constitution. The Jana Sangh reminds the Government of India of its failure to liberate and recover nearly one-third of the State which is still under the illegal and forcible occupation of Pakistan and calls upon it to take effective steps to fulfil its duty. Pakistan is an aggressor and must be treated as such in all matters. It has no *locus standi* in Kashmir and all talks with it must be stopped forthwith.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

54.14. RESTRAIN FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

Jana Sangh expresses its concern over the activities of foreign

missionaries in different parts of India, who with the help of huge resources at their command are taking undue advantage of the helplessness of the poor, backward and ignorant sections of our society to convert and denationalise them. The demands for separate Nagaland and Jharkhand are examples of the anti-national activities of these foreign missionaries. Jana Sangh, therefore, requests the Government (1) to keep a watchful eye on the anti-national activities of foreign missionaries and take steps to expel them out if they transgress their limits and misuse the privileges and concessions granted to them, and (2) it should also see that foreign money does not influence these missions.

This Session also reiterates that the Jana Sangh must speedily extend its activities in the whole country and particularly in those areas where the foreign missionaries are concentrating for their anti-national work. The Jana Sangh also urges upon all cultural and social organisations to reinforce their work of educating the backward people to meet more effectively this new danger to the national life.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

54.23. LIBERATE GOA

The continuance of foreign pockets in India after the withdrawal of the British has created a situation which is both a threat and a challenge to the security and sovereignty of free India. These pockets should have been liquidated alongwith the British rule. But the inaction displayed by the Government of India regarding these colonial outposts of Western Imperialism has not only resulted in the question of French pockets still continuing to be a subject of confusing indecisive talks, but has also encouraged Portugal to adopt a challenging attitude towards India and start a campaign of repression against the people who have been agitating for the merger of these territories with their motherland—India.

The increasing hostility of Pakistan and some other western powers towards India has since aggravated the danger from these Portuguese footholds in the country because they can be used by them as military bases against India. The threatening and insolent attitude adopted by Portugal for sometime past is an indication of this new situation.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh has long been pressing the Government of India which has been denouncing colonialism the world over

to adopt a firm and resolute policy towards these vestiges of colonialism in India itself. But unfortunately little effective has been done by it in this regard so far. Government has failed not only in its duty in this matter but it has also been guilty of being grossly affront to the public opinion and national interests by imposing a ban on Indian citizens to enter these territories for their liberation. Bharatiya Jana Sangh warns the Government that this weak-kneed policy will create further complications and make the liquidation of these pockets more difficult in future. The replies of Portugal to the various suggestions to open the question of merger of the Portuguese pockets by peaceful negotiations and her war-like preparations have made it clear that she is not amiable to reason or moral pressure.

British Attitude towards Goa—The support given by the British Government to Portugal on the issue of these colonies is objectionable and improper and as such Bharatiya Jana Sangh condemns it with all the emphasis. As one of the Commonwealth Nations, Britain was expected to help in the solution of the problem but her attitude has only exposed her traditionally imperialist nature. Government of India should not waste time in useless negotiations about observers through which Portugal wants to gain time and make this an issue in international power politics. It urges upon the Government to adopt some speedy, effective and decisive course (like Police action) to liberate these national territories at the earliest.

Even if the Government fails in its duty in the matter, the people of India cannot. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh calls upon all countrymen in general and its workers and sympathisers in particular to take up the cause of liberation of these territories and take all necessary steps to mobilise public opinion and enlist liberation volunteers to that end. The General Council further calls upon all branches of Jana Sangh in the country to observe '*Goa Mukti Saptah*' (Goa Liberation Week) from 9 to 16 September for the purpose.

[August 19, 1954; Indore, AIGC]

55.06. INTEGRATE KASHMIR

The people and the Government of India are facing the Kashmir problem for the last 7 years. During this long period Jana Sangh has many a time put forth before the country the problem's only practical and national solution. It has also made sacrifices for it. It is clear that these sacrifices and

the supreme sacrifice of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, Founder President of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, have had their impact. During the last 2 years, various Articles of the Indian Constitution have been made applicable to Jammu-Kashmir and thus this region has come closer to being an integral part of India.

But the Nehru Government has failed to make use of the favourable situation created by the joint Satyagraha of the Praja Parishad and Jana Sangh as also the martyrdom of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji. Its unsound policies are again leading to a deterioration of the situation and it is necessary to pay careful attention to it in the interest of the entire nation as well as of the Jammu-Kashmir State.

Liberate Occupied Kashmir—The first necessity today is for the Government of India to clearly and finally declare that not a single inch of the territory of Jammu-Kashmir would go under Pakistani occupation and that effective steps would be taken to liberate Pakistan occupied territories of Kashmir as early as possible and also to integrate them with India. Such a bold and clear declaration is very necessary today for ending the uncertainty being created in the minds of the Indian people by Pakistani agents and anti-India elements.

The future of Kashmir is not only a problem of Kashmiris but also of whole of India. In the opinion of Jana Sangh it is unconstitutional and irrelevant to indulge in any talk of referendum or to say that the problem of integrating Kashmir with India will be solved by the people of Kashmir. Under no circumstances does any part of India have the right to secede from it. This problem cannot become a matter of discussion between India and Pakistan or in any international forum. It has been reported that in spite of his previous assurances, the Prime Minister of India has shown willingness to discuss this matter with the Pakistani Prime Minister. If such is the case Jana Sangh warns him that the national opinion in India will tolerate no steps taken for the appeasement of Pakistan on the Kashmir problem.

Disreputed Kashmir Government—In Jammu-Kashmir rampant corruption, group politics and inefficiency of the state administration are resulting in widespread resentment and woes among the people of the state. The Government of India should appoint experienced and honest officers in various Departments of State administration so that it could be conducted outside the party influence and the woes and resentment of the people be removed.

All the remaining Articles of Indian Constitution should be made applicable to Jammu-Kashmir without delay. Immediate steps should be taken to bring Jammu-Kashmir within the purview of the Supreme Court, Auditor-General and Election Commission of India and country's Official Language Hindi should be given its proper place in the educational and administrative fields in Kashmir so that the state could catch up the level of other states and a desirable change might be brought about in the habit of looking at Kashmir as apart from India.

The Jammu-Kashmir State Assembly has supported the decision of merger with India. As it was set up for this very purpose and the purpose has been fulfilled, the Assembly should now be dissolved and fresh elections be held without delay so that the Government may become truly representative of the people. This has become all the more necessary because although the Communist Party has negligible following among the people it is in a position to maintain the balance of power in the present Legislative Assembly and thus maintain its influence among administrative circles, which it is misusing to make the State a hot bed of Communist politics and to strike at the very roots of democracy. Similarly representatives of the State in the Lok Sabha should not be nominated by the State Legislative Assembly but directly elected by the people.

Jana Sangh demands that while dealing with Pakistan the Jammu-Kashmir problem should not be considered an international problem. This State should be completely merged with India and fully brought on to the level of other States. All the remaining Fundamental Rights of Indian citizens should be extended to the citizens of Kashmir and the National Flag of India should be honoured in the State as the highest flag and not on the same level with the State flag of Kashmir.

[January 1, 1955; Jodhpur, III AIS]

55.14. GOA LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Portuguese Repression—The problem presented by continuance of the Portuguese colonial rule over Goa, Daman and Diu on our soil has been steadily getting more complex and difficult. The terrible repression let loose by the Portuguese authorities over those who want to be one with their Motherland, and feverish steps to convert these strategic outposts into military bases reveal the mind of the Rules of Portugal.

India, it is the considered view of the Jana Sangh, can allow

this situation to persist at its own peril. Dignity and self-respect of India (no less than her security and integrity) demand that these foreign pockets be liberated without any further delay and the people living therein be saved from the inhuman repression of the Portuguese Rulers.

The people of Goa have been fighting for their liberation for many years now. A number of patriotic people from all over the country have also been lending their helping hand and sharing their sufferings for the purpose. They all deserve praise and congratulations of all lovers of freedom and Indian unity. But it is wrong to think that this problem can be left to be solved by them alone. It is primarily a national and political problem and Government of India as such must move in the matter on the Governmental level in an effective way. The nation will support them whole heartedly in any step they may choose to take to that effect.

But the Government have so far culpably failed in their duty in the matter. They have been tinkering with the problem while the repression is mounting and Portugal is going ahead with her warlike preparations. It has, therefore, become the painful duty of the people of India to take steps to put pressure on the Government to move in the matter before it is too late.

Goa Liberation Committee—The Central Working Committee while condemning the Government for its inactivity resolves to take the following steps for the purpose of furthering the Goa Liberation Movement :

(1) A Goa Liberation Committee be formed which will tour the Goa border area to collect data and plan steps to educate public opinion about the gravity of the situation.

(2) The Jana Sangh units all over the country be instructed to organise public attention on this vital question.

[April 15, 1955; Gokak, CWC]

55.19. ENROLMENT OF GOA SATYAGRAHIS

The Central Working Committee views with great concern the deteriorating situation in Goa and other Portuguese colonies in India. It congratulates all freedom-fighters within and outside Goa on their patriotic fervour and heroic stand and assures them of the fullest and active support of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. It directs its provincial units to organise meetings and demonstrations and enrol volunteers for offering Satyagraha, to mobilise public opinion and put pressure on the Government of

India to act in the matter effectively.

The Working Committee expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the policy adopted by the Government and the views expressed about this vital national question by the Prime Minister, Shri Nehru. It considers their approach as negative and unrealistic.

The Committee reiterates the Jana Sangh demand for a police-action in Goa which alone can finally solve the problem. Delay in it will only complicate and aggravate the situation to the detriment of wider national interests.

The Committee resolves to send the first batch of 101 Satyagrahis into Goa on the 23rd of June, the martyrdom day of Dr. Mookerji. Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi, Secretary, All India Jana Sangh, shall lead this batch.

[June 13, 1955; Delhi, CWC]

55.27. GREAT MARTYRDOM OF GOA SATYAGRAHIS

The All India General Council of the Jana Sangh pays its deep homage to those brave sons of India who gave their lives to liberate the Portuguese colonies and integrate them with India. The General Council expresses its high appreciation for those Satyagrahis, both men and women of all ages and classes, who have smilingly faced the greatest danger to put an end to colonialism in their holy Motherland.

The inhuman slaughter of unarmed Satyagrahis on August 15, has given rise to so much public anger, as expressed through mammoth demonstrations, that it is as plain as day that on this national issue the whole country is united and the glorious martyrdom of Satyagrahis would not go in vain. Even after the slaughter of August 15, thousands of Indians have volunteered to participate in the Satyagraha. This proves that the people of India are now determined to continue the liberation struggle of Goa.

Congress Inactivity—It is a matter of great regret that the Congress, which always talks loudly about the nobility and utility of non-violent Satyagraha, has failed to make its own contribution in this struggle. Instead of preaching the utility of peaceful means it should have cooperated with other parties on this national question.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh has from the very beginning stressed that the Goa problem would not be solved merely by a Satyagraha. The events of August 15, have made it all the

more clear that the Portuguese administration would not be amenable to moral pressure only. So the Jana Sangh demand that the problem should be solved on the official level, including a police-action, stands completely vindicated. This view is now being supported by other parties also.

Now the time has come when the Government must pay heed to the national demand for an effective action regarding the Goa problem, and determine a time-limit in which the Portuguese colonies are to be liberated by peaceful means or otherwise.

In the meanwhile, the efforts of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh to rouse the public opinion and put pressure on the Government of India should continue. It cannot allow the Government to keep talking indefinitely of peaceful means. It is because of such talk that the Portuguese administration is throwing all principles of International law and civilised behaviour to the winds and behaving more and more barbariously with the Satyagrahis.

Goa and Western Powers—The policy that the Western powers have adopted in relation to the Portuguese colonialism is a matter of grave concern. Instead of putting pressures on Portugal to recognise the signs of the time and voluntarily withdraw from India, the Western countries are encouraging it to continue its colonialism. As a result the goodwill in the minds of the Indian people for Western countries has been adversely affected, and their faith in Western professions of democracy and freedom has been shaken.

[August 28, 1955; Calcutta, AIGC]

56.05. UNCERTAINTY IN KASHMIR

Partition of JK—Bharatiya Jana Sangh has always considered the accession of Jammu-Kashmir State to India as final and irrevocable and has regarded all talks of plebiscite in Kashmir as irrelevant and uncalled for. It is, therefore, happy to note that the Prime Minister Shri Nehru has at last accepted and vindicated this stand of the Jana Sangh in his recent statement in the Lok Sabha. But it is pained to find that he has marred the effect of this correct, though belated stand by revealing that he had made a secret offer to Pakistan in contravention of the Constitution of India to accept the cease-fire line as the partition line of Kashmir for a final settlement of the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan. This, Jana Sangh holds, amounts to

gross betrayal of Indian interests in Kashmir and an abject surrender to Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir.

Jana Sangh emphatically reiterates its often repeated stand that the whole of Jammu-Kashmir State is an integral part of India and aggressive occupation of any part of it by Pakistan is aggression against the whole of India. It, therefore, demands that Shri Nehru must withdraw his offer and that all possible steps should be taken to liberate the occupied areas of Kashmir at the earliest.

At the same time steps must be taken to fully integrate the Jammu-Kashmir State with the rest of India by applying the Constitution of India to it in full without any exception so as to bring it into line with other States, and holding general elections there along with elections in the rest of India under the supervision of the Election Commission of India.

All restrictions on the entry of Indian citizens into the State must be removed. All these steps, Jana Sangh is convinced, are essential to bring normalcy to the State as a constituent unit of India and remove the feeling of uncertainty in the minds of the local people which has been so far exploited by Pakistan and her agents to the detriment of Indian interests in Kashmir.

[April 21, 1956; Jaipur, IV AIS]

56.08. LIBERATION OF GOA

The Government of India, when it banned the entry of Indian Satyagrahis into Goa, had taken upon itself responsibility for liberating the Portuguese colonies in India. But it is a matter of regret that it has so far failed to discharge this responsibility. In the meanwhile Portugal has been steadily strengthening its position and is successfully trying to get the active support of countries hostile to India. It is, therefore, considered view of Jana Sangh that liberation of Goa would be getting difficult with the passage of time. It, therefore, demands that the Government must take immediate effective steps to liberate Goa or else remove the ban on the entry of Indian Satyagrahis so that the people of India may be able to do their duty.

Indians in Portuguese Prisons—Jana Sangh takes this opportunity to send its good wishes to its Secretary, Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi and leaders of other parties who are passing valuable days of their life in the prison cells of Portugal to wipe off the curse of slavery from the soil of India. Jana Sangh is convinced that their hardships will not go in vain and time will come

sooner than later, when their sacrifices will bear fruits and Goa will be liberated in spite of the weak policy of the Government of India.

[April 21, 1956; Jaipur, IV AIS]

56.13. NAGA PROBLEM

The Central Working Committee notes the unfortunate developments in the Naga Hills District in Assam with great anxiety. It looks as if the Government of India has not been able until now to size up the Naga problem, either in its basic or its present military aspect properly.

Sifting Enquiry into Naga Problem—The Committee feels that proper attention should be paid to the basic question, as to why the Naga Tribes (within the Assam administration) have been so much disaffected that they have gone to the extent of virtual rebellion, demanding outright separation from the Indian Union. There has been no such disaffection or disturbances amongst the Nagas living outside the Assam administration. This matter requires thorough enquiry and the policy of the Assam administration towards the Nagas has to be thoroughly scrutinized and proper remedial steps taken, if necessary.

Secondly, there have been persistent reports of undesirable activities for years past, by certain foreign Christian Missions, to the effect that they have tried to sow seeds of dissention between Hill Tribes and people of the plains, and instill into the minds of these tribes a separatist and anti-India feeling. Such Christian Missionary activities, if any, have to be immediately stopped.

Thirdly, in connection with the military aspect of the problem, a sifting enquiry has to be instituted as to the sources of the supply of modern arms and weapons to the Nagas and how these Naga hostiles are being trained in their use. Reports of extensive smuggling across the Burma and Pakistan borders are rife. The Government must immediately ascertain how far these reports are correct. The public are not satisfied with the explanation that 13 years old dumps of Japanese and American arms during the closing stages of last World War are the sole supply of the Naga Rebels.

Finally, the Working Committee feels that, while probing the basic aspects of the problem as pointed out above and assuring the Nagas that their customs and manners and way of life will be respected and that they will be given all possible scope (by

their autonomous Tribal District Councils) to develop their lives according to their genius, the present military problem arising out of the rebellion by a section of the Nagas has to be tackled on a military plane thoroughly, efficiently and swiftly by the Indian Army without any interference from the civil authorities of the Assam administration. The situation in the Naga Hills District is already sufficiently bad and has been allowed to continue as such for too long a time, and it must not be permitted to deteriorate any further. The rebellion must be quelled and peace restored in that vital North-Eastern Indian border area without delay. This Naga disturbance has remained a festering sore in the Indian body-politic for too long already and further delay and tinkering would be dangerous.

[July 21, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

56.16. UNITED INDEPENDENT INDIAN CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The Central Working Committee has considered the report of the Neogy Committee on the activities of foreign Christian missionaries in certain areas of Madhya Pradesh and accords its general support to its recommendations in so far as they are intended to put an end to the undesirable activities of foreign Christian missionaries in India. The Neogy Committee have confirmed the worst apprehensions of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh regarding unfortunate effects of the objectionable activities of foreign Christian missionaries in India, as tending to create an anti-national attitude of mind. The Working Committee feels that the Indian Christian community should gather under a United Independent Indian Christian Church in India without being dependent on foreign support, as recommended by the Neogy committee and should thus constitute a devoted, loyal and valued section of the citizens of India.

[July 21, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

56.27. ERADICATE COMMUNALISM THROUGH INDIANISATION

Unifying Bonds of Culture—Jana Sangh holds that territorial unity alone cannot be the basis of nationalism. For being a nation, a people require the unifying bonds of culture. Indian Nationalism is ancient. The national consciousness has been nurtured and strengthened by the one and all pervading culture of the country. Despite political divisions, the people of India

have remained one through the bonds of one national culture.

Two-nation Theory—When foreign rulers of this country began destroying this unity and for their selfish ends, thrusted cultures foreign to the genius of Indian life and when foreign values of life began to be respected, our nationalism was endangered. The success of the Two-nation theory and the consequent vivisection of the Motherland are their results. Even then, again a supposedly separate Muslim culture is being promoted and protected resulting in the continuance of the Two-nation theory mentality. The incidents relating to the Book Movement and the increasing activities of Pak Fifth Columnists are natural corollaries of that mentality. The unfortunate happenings in connection with States Reorganisation rooted in the Western concept of distorted multi-nationalism, only demonstrate that the hold of our culture is loose.

Indianisation for Unity and Nationalism—Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes that for the promotion of unity and nationalism, feeling for one culture should be imbibed maintaining the diversities in our national life and different modes of worship. For the implementation of this task the Society and the Government should take the following steps :

(1) Education should be based on national culture. The children of the land should be provided the rich and life-giving spiritual food which abounds in the form of gems of Indian literature like Ramayana, Gita, Upanishads, Mahabharata and other nation-building literature of modern Indian languages. Before long, a time should come when basic knowledge of the main current of Indian culture is considered essential in various spheres of social life.

(2) Birthdays of national heroes be celebrated as national days which should be inspired, aided and administered by the State and all citizens may take part in it.

(3) Major festivals of India be solemnised and celebrated as national festivals.

(4) For the propagation and use of the link and regional languages in the social life of the nation, concrete and continued efforts be made on the part of the Government and the people, so that Indian society may develop on the basis of common national traditions.

(5) The study of Sanskrit be revived as an essential ingredient of Scholarliness. Efforts be made to recognize Devanagari script for all Indian languages.

(6) That Indian history be rewritten so that it be the history of the Indian people and not that of invaders. The historical epochs be divided on the basis of the progress and growth of Indian society, its movements and revolutions and not according to periods of foreign rule. The glorious story of India's ancient cultural global conquest be incorporated in it.

(7) From the point of view of cultural revival and unification, Jana Sangh exhorts the Hindu society to promptly remove the inherent social evils and weaknesses especially the inequality arising out of caste differences, so that complete equality is established between backward classes and others. The religious festivals be solemnised collectively in an organised and disciplined way and cooperation of persons of all strata be secured.

(8) Along with this internal cleansing, it is the duty of the Hindu society to Indianise the general life and those sections of India's national being which were shaken out of their national moorings and made to look outside the country for inspiration. They should be embraced back affectionately. Only in this way communalism can be rooted out and the unity and solidarity of the nation be established.

[December 30, 1956; Delhi, V AIS]

57.07. BRITISH MEMORIALS

The Central Working Committee regrets to note that memorials to British Rulers in the form of statues continue to disfigure public places even 10 years after the liberation of India from the yoke of British Imperialism. This not only hurts the national self-respect but it is also an insult to the memory of the martyrs of freedom struggle.

The Working Committee, therefore, demands that Government of India must give up its policy of vacillation about removal of such statues from public places and order them to be removed to the National Museum by May 10. The Committee feels that failure of the Government to respect sentiments of the people in this matter might force Jana Sangh to organise popular movement to get this popular demand accepted.

[April 20, 1957; Jaunpur, CWC]

58.01. JK SITUATION

Abdulla's anti-India Activities—Recent developments in Kashmir and the activities of Sheikh Abdulla since his release from jail have fully vindicated the Jana Sangh stand regarding

Kashmir problem in general and Sheikh Abdulla in particular. Topmost Government spokesmen are today speaking the same language and adducing the same arguments regarding Kashmir as Jana Sangh had been doing since its very inception. It is now clear that the great Martyrdom of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji is beginning to have its impact.

But there is no room for complacency yet. Sheikh Abdulla is out to play the game of Pakistan through his fanatical anti-Indian propaganda. Some of his recent actions and utterances amount to open treason against our country and its Constitution. Any leniency in dealing with him can do incalculable harm to the wider interests of India. It is, therefore, necessary that effective steps should be taken without any further delay to curb him and his associates. It is, however, a matter for satisfaction that the people of Kashmir in general have remained unaffected by Sh. Abdulla's communal propaganda for which they deserve congratulations.

Nehru-Abdulla (1953) Correspondence—The activities of certain elements in the Capital, on the other hand, are disquieting. The charge made by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd. at a recent public meeting about Delhi being a centre of anti-India activities of Abdulla's friends and Pakistani agents, should be a matter of serious concern to the Government of India. Prime Minister Shri Nehru has a sort of personal responsibility in the matter. His studied silence about Sh. Abdulla's activities since after his release, and his known personal regard for him, are being systematically exploited by anti-India elements to confuse the public mind. In this regard Shri Nehru would be well advised to publish the correspondence that passed between him and Abdulla in 1953 prior to Abdulla's dismissal and subsequent arrest. That is necessary to give the public a clear view of the situation and chain of events at that time.

At the same time steps must be taken to delete Article 370 of the Constitution and bring Jammu-Kashmir in line with the rest of India in all respects. Integration of services and extension of the jurisdiction of Auditor and Comptroller General over the Jammu-Kashmir State are welcome so far as they go. But the situation demands complete removal of all distinctions between Kashmir and other states of India. Enforcement of common citizenship rules, direct elections to the Lok Sabha and extension of jurisdiction of the Election Commission and the Supreme Court are essential to bring about emotional integration

of the people of the State with their brethren in rest of India. Government of India must also see that the liberal financial grants given by it for the development of Kashmir are properly spent. At the same time steps must be taken to purify the administration of the State. A clean and honest administration in the State is essential to counteract poisonous propaganda of Abdulla and his agents. The Government must lend services of some tried administrators to the Kashmir Government for the purpose.

The fundamental problem relating to Kashmir, however, remains yet unsolved. Early and effective steps must be taken by the Government to liberate the portion of Kashmir still under the occupation of the Pakistani aggression.

[April 5, 1958; Ambala, VI AIS]

58.21. INTEGRATE KASHMIR

The Central Working Committee reviewed the situation in Jammu-Kashmir State in the light of reports submitted by Shri Prem Nath Dongra, President Jammu-Kashmir Praja Parishad. The Committee felt concerned over the continuance of conditions of abnormalcy and the resultant uncalled for strangulation and curtailment of the democratic rights and civil liberties of the people of the State. The Committee is convinced that time has now come, when concrete steps should be taken to translate into action the oft repeated declarations of the powers that be in Jammu, Srinagar and Delhi that the problem of integration of Jammu-Kashmir has been finally resolved, so far as India is concerned. It demands that the handicaps from which the people of the State suffer due to the transitional provision in the Constitution of India regarding Jammu-Kashmir State be removed and they be assured of the same rights and liberties enjoyed by their copatriots in the rest of India. The extension of the full jurisdiction of the Election Commission and the Supreme Court of India, provision of direct elections of its representatives to the Lok Sabha, full and final integration, abolition of permit system and all such other discriminations between the citizens of the State and those of the rest of India are some of the most essential steps that need to be taken in this connection at the earliest.

As it is, because of these distinctions people of the State feel that they are being discriminated against by the Government of India. The ruling circles of Kashmir are interested in

perpetuating this discrimination because it pays them. They try to perpetuate their hold over the Government through rigged elections and other authoritarian methods. What is worse, the wrath of the people against the authorities in Kashmir (who have developed a vested interest in this position and who defend it in the name of internal Autonomy of the State) is in the ultimate, diverted against the Government and the people of India. Thereby the emotional integration of the people of the State with their brethren in the rest of India is being hindered to the advantage of anti-national and separatist elements.

The Working Committee, therefore, warns the Government of India that it must wake up to the situation and take a realistic view of the results of the continuance of these distinctions between the Jammu-Kashmir State and the rest of India. A large majority of the people of the State are keen about removal of these distinctions and the resultant handicaps from which they suffer. The Working Committee, therefore, demands that in the larger interests of the people of Jammu-Kashmir State and of India as a whole, immediate steps must be taken to delete the transitional Article 370 of the Indian Constitution and the Jammu-Kashmir State should be brought in line with other States of India without any further delay.

[October 15, 1958; Delhi, CWC]

59.03. TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

Ever since September 1958 when the Nehru-Noon Agreement was entered into, Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been active in its efforts to bring home to the public its sinister features and its being detrimental to India's national interests. It is encouraging that Jana Sangh's efforts in this direction have succeeded to a great extent, so much so, that now the general consensus (almost irrespective of parties) is emerging against the Agreement, especially the transfer of the Berubari Union (in Jalpaiguri district, West Bengal) to Pakistan. But it is regrettable that the Government still persists in its proposal of introducing a Bill in the Parliament to validate the provisions of the Nehru-Noon Agreement, in spite of its condemnation by the public and unanimous rejection of the Berubari Union Transfer proposal by the West Bengal Legislature.

Jana Sangh calls upon the Government of India to withdraw at once, the proposed Bill. If, however, the Government introduces it in the Parliament, Jana Sangh calls upon the

Members of Parliament to throw the Bill out as it is against the interests of the Nation.

The Central Working Committee, accordingly, directs its provincial executives to take all steps to mobilise public opinion against the Nehru-Noon Agreement (including Berubari Union Transfer Bill) by holding meetings and conferences in all Parliamentary constituencies, and directs the West Bengal Jana Sangh in particular to take steps to see that the inhabitants of the Berubari Union, who are the people to suffer directly in its proposed transfer to Pakistan, are organised so that they can effectively resist such transfer by all peaceful means.

[March 15, 1959; Delhi, CWC]

59.14. 'STATELESS' INDIANS IN INDIA

The Central Working Committee hails with satisfaction (although in part) the fulfilment of the popular and patriotic demand spearheaded by Bharatiya Jana Sangh for the integration of Jammu-Kashmir State with the rest of India. The JK Government has decided to abolish the permit system and to extend the jurisdiction of the Election Commission and the Supreme Court of India to that State. But there are still many more discriminations between that State and the rest of India which continue to hinder the emotional integration of the people of Kashmir with their brethren in the rest of India and create favourable atmosphere for the separatist forces to create trouble and uncertainty within the State. Most glaring and indefensible of these discriminations is the one pertaining to separate citizenship prevalent in the State in the name of permanent residency which excludes all citizens of India from enjoying the elementary political and civil rights guaranteed to the Indian Citizens including the people of Jammu-Kashmir by the Indian Constitution in the rest of India. As a result of this divisive discrimination, over 1,00,000 of refugees from West Punjab who are settled in Jammu-Kashmir State for the last 12 years as also thousands of Indian citizens working there, have been deprived of the right to vote and have been thus reduced to the position of 'Stateless' persons in their own country.

Election of Sadar-e-riyasat—The mode of appointment of the Head of the State (Sadar-e-riyasat) who is elected by the State Assembly is also at variance with the Constitutional provision in respect of this office in other States.

All these discriminations including a separate Flag for the

State, are being defended in the name of special position of the Jammu-Kashmir State as envisaged in the temporary Article 370 of the Constitution, in which the Ruling Party in the State has now developed vested interests.

It is the considered opinion of the Working Committee that these discriminations and this sort of special position is detrimental to the wider interests of Indian unity as also to the interests of the common people of Jammu-Kashmir. Situation created by the Chinese aggression in Ladakh has made the continuation of these discriminations all the more intolerable and dangerous.

Abrogate Article 370—The Working Committee, therefore, demands that Article 370 of the Indian Constitution should be abrogated and pending that the glaring discriminations referred to above be removed forthwith. Any delay in the matter will only help in perpetuating the anomalies which have so long kept Jammu-Kashmir State somewhat different from the rest of India.

[December 6, 1959; Surat, CWC]

60.05. INTEGRATE KASHMIR

Separate Citizenship—While abolition of the permit system for entering Jammu-Kashmir State, extension (though partial) of the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India and of the Supreme Court are steps in the right direction, Jana Sangh is convinced that normality will not be restored in this State and the country's integration will be incomplete till the differential position granted to it under temporary Article 370 of the Indian Constitution is not terminated. There was no valid ground or justification for keeping Jammu-Kashmir State out of the pale of the Indian Constitution in the making of which Kashmir's representatives also had taken due part. The developments inside and outside this State since the granting of that status have fully exposed the folly of that retrograde step to circumvent the Constitution.

As it is, taking advantage of that position the ruling clique in Kashmir, which has developed a vested interest in it, is perpetuating a separate citizenship in Kashmir in the name of permanent residency which debars Indian citizens from enjoying the basic civil and political rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. As a result a large number of refugees from West Punjab and NWFP who have settled in Kashmir as also thousands of Indian citizens who have gone there in pursuit of nor-

mal economic activities have been reduced to the status of 'Stateless' people within their own country. Because of the absence of direct representation of Jammu-Kashmir State in the Lok Sabha, the state of affairs and public opinion in that State are not truly reflected in the deliberations of the Indian Parliament. The election of the Sadar-e-riyasat, the head of the State, by the State Legislature makes it impossible for him to play the role laid down for the Governors of other States by the Constitution.

As a result the people of the State in general feel that they are being discriminated against and deprived of the rights and privileges enjoyed by other citizens of India for no fault of theirs. This situation is exploited by the anti-India elements and parties for creating and perpetuating a separatist feeling in a section of Kashmir's population to the detriment of wider interests of India as a whole.

The situation has been further aggravated by the Chinese invasion of Ladakh which has created a problem of security for the whole country. The situation in Ladakh demands closer Central vigilance on that area in particular and the whole of Jammu-Kashmir State in general.

Link-Roads to Ladakh—The Central Working Committee, therefore, reiterates its demand for immediate action to repeal Article 370 of the Constitution and extension of the Constitution of India in full to the Jammu-Kashmir State. At the same time immediate steps should be taken to develop means of transport and communications in that area. It is important that construction of alternative link roads to Ladakh through Lahaul on the one side and Kishtwar and Padar on the other be taken in hand immediately.

[January 25, 1960; Nagpur, VIII AIS]

60.11. SUPREME COURT ON BERUBARI

The Supreme Court verdict on the reference from the President regarding the transfer of Berubari and Cooch Bihar areas to Pakistan under the Nehru-Noon Agreement has completely vindicated the Jana Sangh viewpoint. It has been strongly opposing this Agreement from the very beginning on the ground that it provides for the surrender of Indian territory to a foreign power. Had Jana Sangh not roused public pressure to bear in this matter, Shri Nehru would have handed over this territory to Pakistan without taking the opinion of the Supreme Court. The people deserve to be congratulated for their struggle.

The Government does not have the right to surrender Indian territory to any other country nor has this right been given to Parliament as decided by the Supreme Court. Hence those clauses of the Agreement which relate to transfer of Indian territory become inoperative. An Agreement that is not in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Land is also illegal in the eyes of International Law. Therefore, the Government should recognise its incompetence in this respect. There is no sense in attempting to make an illegal Agreement legal.

It is a matter of regret that the Government is thinking of amending the Constitution for this purpose. In the eyes of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh this would be an anti-national step. The Constitution and the Government are meant for protection of the nation and the integrity of its territory. They cannot transfer territory of the country like private property. Such an Amendment would be against the concept and spirit of a Constitutional Government. Hence the Central Working Committee appeals to all Members of Parliament to throw out such a Constitution (Amendment) Bill, which the Government may dare to introduce. Jana Sangh expects that they will certainly not commit the crime of any such suicidal attempt. The people should be vigilant so that their representatives do not betray them at such a grave juncture. The Working Committee directs all branches to organise voter's conferences in every parliamentary constituency to ask their representatives to oppose any Amendment for this purpose.

[March 20, 1960; Delhi, CWC]

60.15. SEPARATE NAGALAND

The All India General Council of Jana Sangh engrossedly deplores the Government's decision to carve out a separate Naga State on the eastern frontiers of the country. Jana Sangh considers this decision a grave blunder, and an act fraught with explosive possibilities.

The proposed State will have a population of some 3.5 lacs and an annual revenue of less than 5 lacs. In conferring Statehood on such a unit, the Government will evidently be discarding one of the hitherto accepted cardinal criteria of States Reorganisation, namely, economic viability. Of graver importance still is the fact that the decision has come verily as an epilogue to an era of terror and lawlessness let loose in the Naga region by a small section of the Nagas and so is tantamount to putting

a premium on violence and rebellion. Naga separatism has its genesis in deliberate and sustained efforts by our erstwhile British Rulers who created various barriers between these hill regions and the rest of the country. Foreign Missionaries have kept this separatism vigorously alive. It is unfortunate that during the last 13 years, the Government has failed to demolish these barriers and integrate the Nagas with the rest of their countrymen. This latest decision, AIGC feels, will be an added impediment in the way of the cherished goal of integration. Furthermore, it is extremely doubtful that even after payment of this heavy price, peace would be procured in that area.

Yet another fact which cannot be ignored is the likely reaction, the creation of Nagaland would have on the other Hill tribes in Assam as also on the large section of tribal population scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country. Elements would not be wanting who would avail themselves of this concession to bolster up similar demands in other areas too. Even outside the tribal belts, regionalism and parochialism is bound to receive a fill-up because of the creation of this new State, thus endangering the unity and integrity of the country.

The General Council feels that the Government have erred gravely in agreeing to the Naga delegation's demand for having the new State named 'Nagaland' and for having it administered by the External Affairs Ministry. While the delegation's insistence on these aspects is a significant pointer in respect of their own frame of mind and objectives, the Government's agreement would by implication tend to strengthen the rebel Naga's contention that the Naga region is entitled to an independent sovereign status.

Jana Sangh urges the Government to reconsider the implications of its decision and suitably amend it while there is still time.

[August 28, 1960; Hyderabad, AIGC]

60.21. TRANSFER OF BERUBARI BILL

The Central Working Committee condemns the Government of India for persisting in its project of handing over Berubari to Pakistan in spite of the Supreme Court's pronouncement to the effect that such transfer is against the Constitution, and demands that the proposed Bill to amend the Constitution in order to enable the transfers be dropped. In case the Government does not drop it but proceeds with the Bill, the

Working Committee calls upon all the Members of Parliament to throw out the Bill.

[August 28, 1960; Hyderabad, AIGC]

61.01. TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

Unanimous Opposition by West Bengal—The Constitution (Ninth) Amendment Bill which is more known as the Berubari Bill and which provides to give a constitutional form to the Nehru-Noon Pact of September 10, 1958, providing for the transfer to Pakistan of Berubari Union of West Bengal as also certain territories of Assam, Tripura and Punjab, was introduced in Parliament recently by Prime Minister Nehru and has been passed with the required majority on the strength of the Congress Party Whip. This transfer of Indian territory to Pakistan is without doubt against the popular Indian sentiment, particularly in view of the hostile attitude of Pakistan towards India since the partition in 1947. The West Bengal Legislature had expressed its opinion against this transfer of territory by passing a unanimous resolution, but the Prime Minister was adamant and got the Bill passed.

Genesis of Nehru-Noon Agreement—It would be useful to give a brief outline of the background of the Nehru-Noon Agreement and the circumstances in which it was signed. In 1958 Pakistan indulged in continuous firing for many months in the border areas of Tripura and the Cooch Bihar district of Assam and it also occupied the villages of Tukurgram in Assam and Lakhimpur in Tripura. These Pakistani hostile activities caused serious damage to the life and property of Indian citizens, but the Government of India did not take any effective steps to stop them or to bring Pakistan to its senses. Time and again cease-fire agreements were made but Pakistan kept on violating them. A conference at Secretaries' level convened in Karanchi in this connection proved a failure, after which there were talks between the two Prime Ministers, which in turn resulted in the Nehru-Noon Agreement of September 10, 1958. The people had expected that Indian Prime Minister would demand an expression of regret from the Pakistani Prime Minister for the aggressive activities of his country and would emphasise the demand for compensation. But neither did Pakistan apologise nor was compensation demanded from her. In fact Tukurgram and Lakhimpur were not even mentioned and they were allowed to remain in the illegal occupation of Pakistan. As if this was

not bad enough, the Indian Prime Minister did something much worse. He allowed Pakistan to raise such new issues as had never been subject to discussion since the time of partition. They were the transfer of a region adjoining the Ichhamati river in 24-Parganas, the Berubari Union in Jalpaiguri district and regions of Cooch Bihar, as a result of which the territory of India was to diminish. In addition to this, Pakistan was given territory on the border of Tripura to lay a railway line, as also a portion of the reserved forests in Patharia region of Assam. Although 12 police posts in the Sylhet district of Assam and the hilly areas of Chittagong, in which 90 percent population was non-Muslim, were allowed to go to Pakistan under the Redcliffe Award, no question about them was raised by India. All these details of the Nehru-Noon Agreement were kept back from the people of India and they were made known only when the Pakistani Prime Minister Shri Pheroze Khan Noon, made them known in the Pakistani National Assembly. The people of India were, stunned to hear them. A wave of public resentment swept through Bengal. Under this Agreement India had accepted to transfer to Pakistan areas about which there was never any doubt nor they were under any arbitration.

Under public pressure the President sent the issue of transfer of Berubari to the Supreme Court for its opinion. Pondering over it from all points of view, the Supreme Court gave the unanimous decision that according to the Constitution it was illegal to cede any Indian territory to any foreign country. After this verdict the country had hoped that the Prime Minister would give up this illegal and anti-national Agreement. But he persisted in giving it a legal form by his brutal majority in the Parliament and now the Bill is awaiting the Presidential consent. If it becomes law not only Indian territory will have to be handed over to Pakistan but 10,000 Indians of Berubari will have to be either displaced or deprived of their citizenship and left to the dictates of the military dictatorship of Pakistan.

Bad Agreement—So far as the merits/demerits of the Agreement are concerned they have been discussed at length. It may be said in short that there is nothing good about the Nehru-Noon Agreement. It is thoroughly bad. From the political viewpoint it is against Indian interests and suicidal, because it provides for the transfer of Indian territory to another country. From the moral point of view it is improper because neither were the people of Berubari consulted on this issue nor the

unanimous decision of W. Bengal Legislature was respected. From the Constitutional point of view it is illegal, as the Supreme Court has said in its verdict and from the legal point of view it is ineffective because it does not contain precise description of the area which is to be transferred to Pakistan and all points have been left vague for the future. In view of the anti-national content of the Constitutional (Ninth) Amendment Bill, Jana Sangh urges the President, with all respects, to refuse to give his consent to this Bill.

Jana Sangh feels that although this transfer of territory will directly affect W. Bengal, Assam, Tripura and Punjab, it relates to the entire nation and should be looked upon as a national issue. Ever since the Nehru-Noon Agreement was signed, Jana Sangh has opposed it on an All-India level. Nationalist India will have to fight the present policy of the Nehru Government which is given to appeasement and attempt to purchase peace by giving away Indian territory. Similarly Ladakh and NEFA would be surrendered by the Nehru Government to Communist China and one-third Kashmir to Pakistan. If the integrity of India is to be preserved, such transfers will have to be stopped at any cost. Jana Sangh is determined to rouse public opinion all over the country on this question of life and death so that the integrity of the Motherland is preserved. Jana Sangh urges all patriotic citizens to stand as one man in this cause.

[January 1, 1961; Lucknow, IX AIS]

61.07. GROWING SEPARATISM

The growing fissionary tendencies and separatist forces, have further deteriorated the situation in the country during the last one year. Instead of taking psychological steps to contain the rising tide of these tendencies the Congress Government has rather aided in worsening of the situation. As a result grave danger of growing separatism is at present facing the country.

The armed rebellion of the Nagas on the eastern border and the Government decision for a separate Naga State (taken under pressure of this violence), the demand for a separate Hill State in Assam, Akali Dal agitation for another partition of Punjab under cover of language as also the tactics employed to pressurise the Government in this regard, the increasing activities and influence of Christian Missionaries (the object of which is to establish Christian majority States in different parts of the country) and also the new upsurge of Muslim communalism (the

resurrection of the Muslim League, activities of the Jamait-i-Islami) a revival of the pre-partition days Muslim separatist activities—all these are the outer symptoms of the growing danger for India as a nation. Furthermore, the misguided policies of the Government are systematically destroying those cultural traditions and values of life which maintained the unity of India for thousands of years in the face of many aggressions and calamities and are trying to weaken those forces which can successfully fight separatist tendencies.

The deteriorating economic situation in the country, with rising prices, increasing unemployment, maladministration corruption, public resentment and fall in moral standards, has further contributed in making the situation still more serious.

The policy and conduct of certain political parties have given strength to this process. The Ruling Party which was formerly considered a force for political stability, is at present consciously or unconsciously engaged in fostering separatist forces. In Kerala appealing the Christian minority at the cost of the Hindu majority resulted in an increase in Communist influence, which in turn ultimately resulted in a Communist Government there. The unholy alliance of the Congress with the Kerala Muslim League in order to topple the Communist Government has resulted in giving the Muslim League a new lease of life, and this has reactivated Muslim communalism all over the country. The establishment of a separate State of 3.5 lac Nagas under pressure of an armed revolt, has encouraged violence everywhere and given strength to separatist elements. The Akali movement in Punjab is one more direct proof of the appeasement policy adopted towards communalism. In the South, the separate Dravidan movement is being directly or indirectly encouraged by the Congress administration of Madras.

Casteism, linguism, regionalism communalism and power-lust have created groupism in Congress the adverse effects of which are seen in the politics and the society of this country. As a result of erosion of its base in the society the Congress is now, depending more and more on the Prime Minister, thus fostering Hero worship. Lust for power is making the Congress adopt such policies as are against democracy and wider interests of the nation. Instead of using the situation created by the aggressions of China and Pakistan to rouse the latent nationalist feelings the policies of the Congress Government are breaking up now the high morale of the people. The will of the nation to successfully combat the

internal as well as external dangers to the integrity and security of the nation has become weak.

The greatest benefit of this situation has gone to the Communist Party. On the one hand it is preparing for an armed revolt in the country with the help of Chinese arms obtained from across the borders and on the other it is busy infiltrating into the Congress and enlisting the Prime Minister on its side by creating differences between the Prime Minister and his Communist supporters within the Congress on one side and the rest of the Congressmen on the other. This second strategy has the dangerous potentiality of enabling the Communist party to come to power from the back-door.

Under such circumstances, Jana Sangh is the only organised political force which is making efforts to rouse in the public mind devotion for the Motherland and for the dynamic, powerful and ancient culture of this country in order to roll back this wave of separatism. This is not an easy task. Time factor is crucial in this matter. The results of the General Elections of 1962 will influence the future course of events.

The workers and sympathisers of Jana Sangh have a heavy responsibility. Their efforts in the days to come will decide how far Jana Sangh would succeed in checking an internal disruption and nullifying the Communist intentions of forcing dictatorship on this country. This Session appeals to its workers to prepare themselves for all sacrifices in order to take the message of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh to every village and every home. With sacred sentiments of national unity and glorious future of India in their hearts let the workers of Jana Sangh take inspiration from the great martyrdom of late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji and engage with a new vigour in the task of spreading the light of the Deepak further and further. Bharatiya Jana Sangh appeals to all nationalist forces to be aware of the situation and cooperate with Jana Sangh to successfully meet this challenge.

[January 1, 1961; Lucknow, IX AIS]

61.10. BERUBARI PRATIRAKSHA SAMITI

The Central Working Committee has considered the memorandum sent by the *Berubari Pratiraksha Samiti* and the report submitted in this regard by Shri Nana Deshmukh, the Jana Sangh organising secretary for the Eastern Zone. The Committee welcomes the determination of the people of Berubari to resist by all peaceful means the transfer of half of Berubari to Pakistan, and

assures them all possible support on the part of the Jana Sangh.

The Working Committee directs all Jana Sangh branches to be ready to assist in the *Pratiraksha Samiti's* movement to maintain Berubari within India.

[February 5, 1961; Delhi, CWC]

16.16. TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

Certain directives were laid down in the Constitution (Ninth Amendment Act (of 1960) concerning the lines of demarcation along with the proposed transfer of Berubari that would take place. In April last, there was a meeting of the representatives of both the Governments to settle the matter, but they could not agree as there were serious differences regarding the demarcation lines. That meeting proved infructuous.

Dacca Agreement—In July last, however, another meeting was held at Dacca, where after initial disagreement, the Indian representatives are reported to have accepted the views of the Pakistani representatives. It is reported that in this latest Agreement, there have been serious departures from the directives laid down (regarding the demarcation) in the Act. Still, the actual physical transfer is proposed to be carried out in November next, though the Dacca Agreement terms have not been made public until now.

The Central Working Committee feels that this state of affairs is most undesirable and that the Government should publish the full text of this latest Agreement with Pakistan (regarding the demarcation of lines) without delay, so that necessary reactions of public opinion might be taken into consideration.

As to the episode of the Berubari transfer itself, it has been a scandal to hand over the Indian territory to a foreign State and the manner in which it has been attempted to be carried out by amending the Constitution itself through brute majority in Parliament in the teeth of almost universal opposition in the country. Bharatiya Jana Sangh has always condemned this suicidal policy.

Jana Sangh calls upon the Government of India to desist even at this late stage from this disgraceful and suicidal attempt of handing over Berubari to Pakistan, particularly in view of the frankly hostile attitude taken up by Pakistan towards India. If, however, the Government of India persists in its folly, Jana Sangh assures the people of Berubari of its full support to any peaceful and legitimate measures that they may take to prevent this transfer.

[August 25, 1961; Jammu, CWC]

62.07. ABROGATE ARTICLE 370

Kashmir Issue in UNO—The Central Working Committee expresses grave concern over Pakistan's renewed endeavours to revive the Kashmir issue in the UN Security Council and to use that world forum for malicious and misleading anti-India propaganda. The manner in which some permanent members of the UN Security Council have acquiesced in Pakistan's designs has hardened popular feeling in India that the UNO cannot be expected to do justice in this matter. Pakistan has no *locus standi* in the Kashmir imbroglio except as an aggressor, guilty of wanton aggression, and yet these western powers, prompted by considerations of sheer cold war politics, have all along sought to equate India with Pakistan. Kashmir has always been part and parcel of India, and constitutionally, legally and politically its accession to the Indian Union is final and irrevocable. In good faith, India had sought UN intervention to put an end to the aggressive activities of Pakistan in Kashmir but instead finds this august body seeking to pronounce judgement on the validity of Kashmir's accession and thus assuming a role and attitude repugnant to India's sovereignty. Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, feels that the time has come when India should make it clear that the only function that the UNO has to perform in respect of Kashmir is to help in securing vacation of Pakistan's aggression, and that if the Kashmir issue is to be kept alive at the UNO simply to oblige Pakistan with a slanderous whip-hand with which to lash at India, India on its part refuses to be a party to it and so would be constrained to dissociate completely from all UNO discussions on Kashmir.

This time, our UN delegate's categorical enunciation about the finality of Kashmir's accession and the aggressive designs of Pakistan, is a complete vindication of the view that Jana Sangh has held since its inception about the Kashmir problem.

Pak Deal with China—A still more serious aspect of the Kashmir problem is Pakistan's sinister sabre-rattling on our frontiers, its bid to whip up a war-frenzy in occupied Kashmir, recurring violations of the cease fire line, sabotage activities carried on inside Kashmir by Pakistani fifth-columnists, and over and above all this, Pakistan's move to strike a deal with China in respect of Kashmir. The Working Committee feels that the Government of India must be fully alive to the dangers of any foolhardy venture by Pakistan resulting from a combina-

tion of all these factors. Incidentally, Pakistan's overtures to China should serve to enlighten its allies abroad (who have been relying on Pakistan to act as a prop for their objective of containing Communist expansionism) about opportunistic character of the Pakistan regime.

Furthermore, our Kashmir policy at home needs to be re-oriented. We must take early steps to abolish the special status of Jammu-Kashmir State by repealing Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Active steps must be taken to liberate the one-third portion of the State which is under the illegal occupation of Pakistan. Failure of the Government to bring its internal policy regarding Jammu-Kashmir State in line with the stand it has now taken in the Security Council will be self-contradictory and will continue to be responsible for the development of a situation in that State which suits the purpose of Pakistan and will retard the return of normalcy there.

[May 24, 1962; Kota, AIGC]

62.08. PAK INFILTRATION IN THE EAST

Large-scale infiltration of Pak Muslims into Assam, W. Bengal and Tripura poses a grave threat to the peace and security of these areas. This influx is totally different from the normal intercourse that goes on between India and Pakistan. It has nothing to do with the economic explanation given by Prime Minister Shri Nehru in this context. The fact is that these persons have been pouring into the border areas of Assam, W. Bengal and Tripura under Pakistan's definite designs to convert them into Muslim-majority regions. This is also confirmed by the fact that while on the one hand Pakistan has squeezed out all Hindus from its side of the border, on the other, Muslims coming into India have been settling down in some particular pockets in Assam all along the border. It is regretful that the Indian Muslims living in these parts, instead of handing over these illegal immigrant Pakistanis to the police, have been assisting them to settle down here. The Government has neither been able to appreciate the gravity of this problem nor has it taken any effective steps for its solution. The responsibility for the security of the borders has been left to the States by the Centre when the actual situation is that the States are politically, administratively and financially incapable of undertaking such a burden.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands:

- (i) that the responsibility for border security be taken over by the Centre;
- (ii) that border regions be completely freed from all doubtful elements; and
- (iii) that all Pakistanis who have entered India illegally or who in various parts of the country are overstaying the period of their permits, be evicted.

[May 24, 1962; Kota, AIGC]

62.12. INTEGRATE KASHMIR

The Central Working Committee welcomes the statement of the Prime Minister that there is now no question of a plebiscite in Kashmir and that there remains no uncertainty about the future of the State. It vindicates the Jana Sangh stand. The Committee, however, feels that there still remains much to be done to complete the process of integration of the State with the rest of the country. It is surprising to note that Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and his associates instead of helping this process, now seem desirous of perpetuating the separatist and discriminatory character of the present constitutional arrangement, which does not conform to the principle of one nationhood and the spirit of India's political and administrative set-up. It appears that some vested interests have developed and the rulers of the State find it difficult to relinquish them. Some of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed's recent statements have shocked the nationalist sentiment. The facts of aggression by China and Pakistan too demand immediate integration of the State.

The Committee hopes that the Government and JK Legislature will rise to the occasion and demonstrate their patriotism and complete identification with national ideals by demanding 'abrogation of Article 370' which today is simply an anachronism. This step will be the fulfilment of the long-cherished ambition of the people of Jammu-Kashmir to be one with the nation.

[September 29, 1962; Rajamundry, CWC]

62.13. PAK INFILTRATION IN THE EAST

Two-pronged Conspiracy—The squeezing out of Hindus from East Bengal and the infiltration of Pakistani nationals into Assam, Bengal and Tripura are two prongs of the same conspiracy. India can be indifferent towards this conspiracy only at her own peril.

The campaign of violence and loot let loose on East Bengali

Hindus before partition has been continuing. Lately, there have been widespread riots there against the Hindus and heavy losses of life and property have been reported. As always, Pakistan has found some pretexts for this new wave of repression. This time it has been using this threat of violence against East Bengali Hindus to dissuade India from expelling the Pak nationals who have illegally infiltrated into Tripura and other areas.

Deportation of Pak Infiltrators—It is a matter of extreme regret that instead of standing firm against these blackmailing tactics of Pakistan, the Government of India seems to have yielded to its coercion and has slowed down the work of deporting the infiltrators, already considerably delayed. The problem of the security and honour of East Bengali Hindus and this issue of widespread infiltration by Pakistani Muslims—these two are separate matters to be tackled separately. The Hindus of East Bengal are citizens of Pakistan who have the right to demand security and non-discriminatory treatment from the Pakistan Government whereas Pakistanis who have managed to get entry into India by means of faked or illegal passports or continue to stay put here illegally are aliens here. India would be perfectly justified under international law to deport them to Pakistan.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh urges upon Government to speed up measures to send Pakistani Muslims from Assam, Tripura and W. Bengal back to their home, and also to take effective steps to check further infiltration. Besides, Government should be prepared to accord shelter to East Bengali Hindus and should claim compensation and land from Pakistan in order to rehabilitate them. Arrangements should be made to ensure that East Bengali Hindus desirous of coming to India are able to secure migration certificates etc. without difficulty and that their safe passage up to the border is guaranteed.

[September 29, 1962; Rajamundry, CWC]

63.10. UNCERTAINTY IN KASHMIR

The whole of Jammu-Kashmir State is an integral part of India. Its accession to India is full, final and irrevocable. Pakistan has committed aggression and occupied one-third part of the State by force. The Central Working Committee reiterates its resolve to get back the occupied area from Pakistan.

The Indo-Pak talks have added to the already prevailing uncertainty about the future of the State among the people of Jammu-Kashmir. This is being exploited by Pakistani agents to

the detriment of India's interests. Some of the Pakistani agents have joined the Communist Party and are carrying on pro-China propaganda as well. The failure of Kashmir Government to take action against any Communist in the State, in spite of the emergency, amounts to indirect encouragement to such elements.

The situation has been aggravated by the prevailing mal-administration and corruption in that State. The responsibility for these acts of omission and commission of the Government is being shifted on to the Government of India by the Pakistani agents to malign India among the people of Kashmir.

This is a serious situation and if the policies responsible for it are not changed Indian interests may suffer a serious setback in that strategic region. It has, therefore, become imperative that some thing spectacular be done by India to end this atmosphere of uncertainty and set things right in the State. The following three things are imperative necessity in this connection :

(1) Talks on Kashmir, whether direct or through some third party mediation should not be reopened again.

(2) Article 370 of the Constitution should be immediately repealed and the state should be brought in line with other states of India.

(3) Effective steps should be taken to end the prevailing corruption and mal-administration in the State. In view of the emergency and Jammu-Kashmir being a theatre of war, special responsibility devolves on the President of India in this respect. He must rise to the occasion and take steps to dispel all illusions about Kashmir.

[June 13, 1963; Allahabad, CWC]

63.14. PAK INFILTRATION IN THE EAST

Pak Influx and National Security—As a result of the Government of India's indifference towards the problem of infiltration of Pakistanis into Assam, Tripura and W. Bengal, this problem has assumed serious dimensions. According to well-informed sources the number of Pak infiltrators in Assam alone is more than 10,00,000. In Tripura, their number is not less than 2½ lacs. The border areas of W. Bengal have been so swamped by these Pak nationals that they have already become Muslim-majority regions. The influx of these Pakistanis into India is not due to any economic reason but is the result of a

well-planned Pakistani conspiracy. Pakistan has strategic and political reasons for injecting these nationals into the border areas of India, so that they could help in the long run to bring these areas under Pak control. It is a matter of regret that the Government of India has not only failed to realise the gravity of this threat, but has, in furtherance of its policy of appeasing communal elements, tried to play it down deliberately or ignore it altogether. Any practical measures taken by local officials in this regard have had to be abandoned at the instance of the Centre. This question of Pak influx is inter-linked with the issue of national security and so ought to be tackled at that level. The Sino-Pak axis that has been recently forged has made this threat all the more real and serious.

As usual, Pakistan has been using even this issue to malign India by representing the Pak Muslims evicted as Indian Muslims, and has threatened to raise the issue in the UNO. On the other hand, harassment of Pak Hindus with a view to squeeze them out continues unabated. It is imperative that our External Affairs Department makes conscious efforts to educate the World opinion about Pakistan's designs.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh therefore demands :

- (i) All Pakistani Muslims who have entered into India illegally should be evicted forthwith.
- (ii) Those harbouring Pakistanis and abetting infiltration should be sternly dealt with.
- (iii) Persons of doubtful loyalty should be weeded out from the border areas.
- (iv) The responsibility for the security of the Indo-Pak border should be undertaken directly by the Centre.
- (v) Territory and due compensation should be demanded from Pakistan to settle the Hindus squeezed out from there.
- (vi) President's Rule should be promulgated in the State of Assam.

[August 12, 1963; Delhi, AIGC]

63.15. CHINA ACTS, INDIA ONLY REACTS

Heavy Chinese Concentrations—This All India General Council expresses deep concern over recent reports of massive Chinese concentration on our northern borders. In fact, even after their so-called cease-fire, the Chinese have at no time relaxed their army activities. Over all these months they have been busy

building Tibet as their powerful military base. But lately, there has been an unprecedented spurt in troop movements, and Chinese armies have been reported dangerously poised over our Himalayan frontiers. The situation calls for extreme vigilance on the part of both the Government and the people.

Incidentally, these latest developments have sharply highlighted the sorry fact that in respect of the Sino-Indian involvement, the military initiative continues to rest with Peking. It is China which acts, India only reacts. This has been true on the diplomatic level as well. For months now, New Delhi has been looking forward to the acceptance of Colombo proposals by the Chinese—but in vain. Instead of foreclosing its offer and exploring other remedies for the situation, India continues to mark time indefinitely over this compromising posture, while China has been actively engaged in confusing the Afro-Asian opinion in respect of the very facts of its aggression. Jana Sangh is of the confirmed view that circumstances being what they are, a negotiated settlement with China is entirely ruled out. Only on the basis of this stern realisation, can a sound China policy be formulated. It is 9 months now that China launched its major offensive on India and seized huge chunks of territories. The solemn Pledge taken by the Parliament not to rest till every inch of occupied territory was recovered remains unfulfilled. The General Council calls upon the Government to take determined steps to wrest the military initiative from China's hands and march forward towards the redemption of the sacred Pledge. Severance of diplomatic ties with China should be the first indication of the Government's resolve.

It is evident that for this purpose India needs vigorous military assistance from friendly countries. The General Council takes note of the efforts being made by the Government of India in this regard and endorses its policy of securing assistance from whichever quarter it is available. The Council particularly welcomes the Government's decision to hold joint air exercises with the US and the UK over Indian skies. It, however, regrets that the GOI repeatedly tends to relapse into attitudes in which concern for pet shibboleths takes precedence over considerations of the country's substantial interests. Government's reactions to the recent AIR-VOA Agreement provides an instance in point.] Jana Sangh has not been happy over some of the terms of the Agreement but it is of the definite opinion that in an overall view the agreement is in positive furtherance of

national interests. In the matter of building up of our defence potential there can be no scope for any ambivalence whatsoever.

NEFA Reverses Enquiry—The nation is still smarting under the humiliation of NEFA reverses. It would like to be informed about the full facts of the debacle. Bharatiya Jana Sangh deprecates the hush-hush about the NEFA Enquiry and urges the Government to publish its report.

[August 12, 1963; Delhi, AIGC]

63.19. TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

In principle Jana Sangh has been always opposed to the secession of any portion of Indian territory to a foreign State. For this reason, Jana Sangh opposed the proposed transfer of Berubari (in Jalpaiguri district) to Pakistan under the so-called Nehru-Noon Agreement of September 10, 1958. This proposed transfer was later on (in December 1958) unanimously opposed by the, W. Bengal Legislature. The question was then referred to the Supreme Court, which advised that the transfer could not be effected under the Constitution. Then the Constitution itself was amended (in November 1960) to make the transfer effective. Then there was popular resistance to the efforts for the transfer of Berubari. Later came the Chinese invasion and declaration of Emergency. Naturally, the nation expected that in view of these developments the proposal of transferring of Berubari would be dropped. But surprisingly, now again operations for the transfer have been resumed, and popular resistance to the same is being suppressed by lathi charges and large-scale arrests. Besides, another neighbouring area, named Chilahati, in India is also sought to be transferred to Pakistan.

Jana Sangh feels shocked at the renewed attempts to transfer Indian territory to a hostile foreign State. It demands that this proposal of transfer be dropped, and all operations in this connection be stopped forthwith.

[December 3, 1963; Delhi, CWC]

63.29. TRANSFER OF BERUBARI

In principle, Jana Sangh has always been opposed to the secession of any portion of Indian territory to a foreign State. For this reason, Jana Sangh opposed the proposed transfer of Berubari (in Jalpaiguri district, W. Bengal) to Pakistan under the so-called Nehru-Noon Agreement of September 10, 1958. This proposed transfer was later on (in December 1958) unanimously

opposed by the West Bengal Legislature. The question was then referred to the Supreme Court, which advised that the transfer could not be effected under the Constitution. Then Constitution itself was amended (in November 1960) to make the transfer effective. This was followed by popular resistance to the efforts for the transfer of Berubari. Later came the Chinese invasion and the declaration of Emergency and Pakistan entered into a virtual *entente* with Communist China in order to spite India. Naturally, the nation expected that in view of these new developments, the proposal of transferring of Berubari would be dropped. But surprisingly, operations for the transfer have been resumed, and popular resistance to the same is being suppressed by lathi charges and large-scale arrests. Besides, another neighbouring area, named Chilahati, in India is also sought to be transferred to Pakistan.

Jana Sangh feels shocked at the renewed attempts to transfer Indian territory to a hostile foreign State and demands that this proposal of transfer be dropped, and all operations in this connection be stopped forthwith.

[December 30, 1963; Ahmedabad, XI AIS]

64.02. ABROGATE ARTICLE 370

The recent developments in Kashmir have made it absolutely clear that full integration and a clean administration are the basic and immediate needs of the Kashmir situation. Change of Government in itself will be of little avail if effective and immediate steps are not taken to meet these two needs. Shri G. M. Sadiq was quite vociferous in regard to abrogation of Article 370 till he assumed office. But his latest pronouncements about modification in Article 370 instead of its total abrogation have created the doubt that he has begun to shift his ground. The Central Working Committee reiterates its considered view that abrogation of Article 370 in toto and full application of the Constitution of India as a whole to Jammu-Kashmir State is the first requisite of the Kashmir situation and it must be done without any further delay. The attitude of Jana Sangh towards the new Kashmir Government will depend on what it does regarding this vital need.

Immediate abrogation of this Article is also necessary to stop all speculative moves by some foreign diplomats about the 'Autonomy of the Kashmir Valley' alone or along with a part of the Pakistan held territory. The Committee wants to make

it very clear that any move to separate the Valley from the rest of the State and India in any shape or form will never be acceptable to the country.

[March 1, 1964; Delhi, CWC]

64.09. NAGA PROBLEM

Some 12 years ago a few thousand Naga tribals—armed with weapons left by the Japanese during their invasion—staged a revolt. That revolt has been simmering all these years—due to the half-hearted policies of sometimes suppression and sometimes appeasement adopted by the Government of India. The result has been that the Naga rebels have felt encouraged and emboldened. They have procured arms from Pakistan. They are now contacting Communist China to seek their help. Now a petty tribal revolt is fast assuming an almost international character. And the pretensions of the Naga rebels have risen so high that they now style themselves 'Federal Government of Nagaland'—treating on equal terms with the Government of India. And these pretensions notwithstanding, the Government of India has sent out a demi-official 'Peace Mission' consisting of Rev. Michael Scott, Shri Jaya Prakash Narain and Shri B. P. Chaliha. This Peace Mission (blessed by the Government of India) is going down on its knees to persuade Naga rebels to come to the conference table for talks with them, and the Naga rebels are replying with fresh shootings and murders. That is the curious spectacle just now—most nauseating and degrading.

Jana Sangh demands that these disgraceful overtures to the rebels must be stopped at once, that the 'Peace Mission' be withdrawn and that effective military measures be immediately taken to crush the revolt.

[August 10, 1964; Gwalior, AIGC]

64.10. ABDULLA'S RELEASE

All these 17 years since the Pakistani invasion of October 1947, the policy of the Nehru Government has been uncertain and vacillating and naturally has caused a great deal of confusion in the public mind. The release of Sheikh Abdulla and withdrawal prosecution against him under charges of high treason has made confusion worse confounded; more so, by the latitude that has been given to the Sheikh ever since his release.

Revival of Plebiscite Front—On the one hand, the Government of India, from the Prime Minister downwards, have

definitely declared that the accession of Kashmir to India made by the Ruler of Kashmir in 1947 is full, final and irrevocable, that the question of plebiscite has become obsolete by efflux of time, that the present arrangements cannot be upset, so that the idea of plebiscite cannot any longer be entertained and that Kashmir is an integral part of India and will remain so. Yet the action of the Government is not quite consistent with the tenor of its unambiguous declarations. Sheikh Abdulla, for instance, is permitted to revive his 'Plebiscite Front' and stump Kashmir up and down with furious propaganda for plebiscite and self-determination, denouncing the accession as only 'provisional'. Yet another gentleman, Maulana Farooq, is openly preaching accession to Pakistan. But nothing is being done to stop these mischievous activities which go directly against the definite stand taken by the Government of India. Even in the matter of repealing the transitory provisions of Article 370 of the Constitution regarding Kashmir, which almost all parties in India are now unanimously demanding, the Government of India seems unable to make up its mind and is, as usual, letting things drift.

Uncertainty in Kashmir—Jana Sangh demands that this uncertainty and drifting must not be allowed to continue any longer. It reiterates its demand that Article 370 be deleted at once, and that in view of the Government of India's definite declaration that the accession of Kashmir to India is firm and final, all activities challenging the accession and full integration of Kashmir with India be at once curbed and the culprits brought to book.

[August 10, 1964; Gwalior, AIGC]

64.17. NAGA PROBLEM

Invitation to Balkanisation—Central Working Committee expresses its deep concern at the recent developments in and about Nagaland. To carve out a small and virtually theocratic State of 3 lacs on the Eastern frontier of the country for appeasing the (foreign missionaries inspired) Christian Nagas of Assam without ascertaining the wishes of more numerous Hindu Nagas of the area, was itself a grave blunder. That has given encouragement to other separatist and disruptive forces in Assam and threatens complete *Balkanisation* of the Eastern region of the country.

The demand for separate Hill State by Khasi and Garo

Tribes and the reaction of Rani Guidello can be directly attributed to the policy accepted by the Government in regard to the creation of Nagaland. Once that blunder was committed, realism demands that the elected Government there be extended full cooperation to suppress the rebellious elements which had gone underground. Instead of doing that Government of India has started negotiations with such elements and in doing so has virtually given them the status of an Independent Government. No wonder, therefore, that it has raised the stock of the rebels who are now demanding complete independence and are utilising the so-called 'cease-fire', to consolidate their position in respect of supplies and recruitment and training of fresh insurgents and procurement of arms for them *via* Pakistan and China, etc.

Ominous 'Peace Mission'—The official recognition given to the so-called 'Peace Mission' of Shri J. P. Narain and the Baptist Mission on whose behalf Rev. Michael Scott is taking part in the negotiations has further worsened an already difficult situation which is the creation of Government of India. The open advocacy of Shri J. P. Narain for acceptance of the demands of Naga rebels and the widespread impression that he represents the views of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, has made all these developments more ominous and dangerous.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that this policy of surrender to separatist and rebellious elements in Nagaland be forthwith ended and immediate steps be taken to repair the damage that has already been done and show the rebels their place. To that end the Working Committee demands that :

(1) All negotiations with the rebels be terminated, the so-called 'cease-fire' order be withdrawn and security forces should be allowed to handle the situation without any political interference and inhibitions.

(2) Ten-mile-security-belt along the Nagaland border with Burma be cleared of all population and effective steps be taken to prevent any movement of the rebels to Pakistan for training and arms purposes.

(3) The Prime Minister must publicly disassociate himself with the doings and utterances of Shri J. P. Narain about Nagaland and a restraint must be put on his activities which are clearly against the national interests. No individual, however influential he may be, should be allowed to advocate secession and separation of any part of the Motherland.

(4) Reverend Michael Scott should be asked to leave the country forthwith and all official patronage to and recognition of the Baptist Mission in Nagaland be withdrawn. Hindu Mission and Sadhus should be given equal facilities to carry on their moral uplift activities in that area.

(5) The present policy of ignoring the Hindu Nagas who are more numerous than the Christian Nagas must be reversed. To identify the Nagas with Baptist Church is not only incorrect and impolitic but also is an encouragement to communalism and separatism at the cost of nationalism.

[December 4, 1964; Patna, CWC]

65.09. SCRAP SEPARATE CONSTITUTION

The Central Working Committee expresses appreciation of the Jammu-Kashmir Jana Sangh's resolve to launch an agitation for the abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution and scrapping of the separate Constitution of the State. It, however, directs the State branch not to burn copies of the State Constitution as envisaged and manifest its opposition to the State's separate status in some other form.

[January 24, 1964; Vijayawada, XII AIS]

65.17. SAVE ASSAM

Assam has always been a very important part of India both from geographical as well as strategic point of view. Muslim League tried its best to get this strategic State included in Pakistan. Cabinet Mission almost obliged the Muslim League in the matter. But the timely efforts of Shri Gopinath Bardolai with the help and cooperation of Dr. S. P. Mookerji and Sardar Patel saved Assam for India. What was then saved was later on endangered by the wrong policies of the Nehru Government.

Pak Infiltration into Strategic Assam—The rulers of Pakistan having made planned efforts to grab Assam during the last 17 years, they got lacs of Pakistanis infiltrated into Assam. It is a matter of regret that some members of Assam Cabinet have been cooperating with Pakistan in this regard. These Ministers have helped in getting certain elements (sympathetic to this design of Pakistan) entrenched in Assam administration as well. Some of them now occupy high positions there. Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner's office at Shillong has also been a centre for furtherance of such designs of Pakistan.

These Pak infiltrators have not only been trying to convert Assam into a Muslim majority area but what is worse, they are establishing their settlements in key areas from where they might endanger the very existence of Assam as part of India. Their settlements are to be found on both side of Assam oil pipe line and near railway junctions. They have also set up restaurants and tea-shops near military lands and Cantonments where they indulge in espionage activities with the help of young girls. These infiltrators have mostly settled on Government land.

It is a matter of surprise and regret that the Central Government has neither paid necessary attention nor taken any effective steps to save Assam from these dangerous designs of Pakistan.

Some Ministers of Assam are busy in subverting all the plans of Central Government to prevent illegal infiltration of Pakistanis into Assam. They are behind the opposition of Assam Government to the Centre taking over the border security of Assam. They are also behind the opposition being worked up against the tribunals set up to evict Pak infiltrators. The threatened resignation of 13 Muslim MLAs on this question is a glaring proof of such activities of these Ministers. Even the Central plan to get one mile belt along the border vacated, is being sabotaged and opposed by the Assam Government on an imaginary ground of impracticability.

To cover these dangerous activities, these elements are trying to create and exploit feelings against Bengali and Hindi speaking people among the nationalist Assamese.

Unfortunately, Government of India is ignoring the dangerous activities of such elements. The expectations raised by Home Minister Nanda's visit to Assam have not been fulfilled. It appears that he too was taken in by such Muslim Ministers and Legislators resulting in his glaring failure to do his duty towards Assam.

Integrated Administrative set-up—The resultant situation has become dangerous. The separatist movements in Nagaland and other hilly areas are making this situation even more complicated and dangerous. The aggressive activities of Pakistan and Communist China and the network of their spies in Assam have made this situation a threat for the security, integrity and sovereignty of the whole country. It is, therefore, imperative that this question is tackled as a national question and on national level. It is the considered view of Jana Sangh that a

national policy regarding Assam must have the following planks :

(1) A 10-mile belt along the border must be cleared of all doubtful elements and in their place retired soldiers and Hindu refugees should be settled there. They should be armed and trained so that they may be able to act as the first line of defence. Effective implementation of such a plan demands that the Centre should take over this border area under its direct control with immediate effect.

(2) All Pak infiltrators should be evicted through necessary administrative action.

(3) Assam Cabinet must be reconstituted so as to clear off such elements as are well known ex-Muslim Leaguers. Assam administration also should be cleared of suspicious elements.

(4) Strong action should be taken to suppress espionage activities of Chinese and Pak Agents.

(5) The problem posed by Naga rebels must be tackled through administrative action after giving full recognition and support to the duly elected Government of Shilu Auo in Nagaland.

(6) The so-called 'Peace Mission' must be disbanded. Rev. Scott should be expelled from India and he should on no account be allowed to return.

(7) An integrated efficient and effective administrative set-up be evolved for the whole of Assam including NEFA.

[July 10, 1965; Jabalpur, CWC]

65.20. MASSIVE PAK INFILTRATION INTO KASHMIR

The fact that Pakistan has been able to launch a new invasion on Kashmir through thousands of well armed and trained infiltrators belonging to her regular armed forces 18 years after her first similar invasion of that State in 1947, is at once a confirmation of the persistent hostility of Pakistan towards India and failure of the policy that Government of India has been pursuing in regard to JK State all these years. The policy of maintaining a special status of Jammu-Kashmir State by allowing it to have a separate constitution and softness towards known pro-Pak elements in the name of liberalisation now stands thoroughly exposed. All the sacrifices made by our armed forces who have been defending that State in most difficult conditions and crores of rupees spent during the same period for the defence and development of the State, stand

wasted due to the unrealistic policies which Government has pursued instead of repeated warnings by Jana Sangh from time to time. As a result, anti-national elements have been systematically gaining in strength in that strategic State to the advantage of Pakistan.

The latest reports coming from the State reveal that Pakistani infiltrators are operating in selected areas to the west of the Chenab from where Hindus and other pro-India elements are being ejected with a set purpose.

First Defence-line—The civil administration of the State which is infested with pro-Pak elements has not only facilitated the infiltration of Pak guerrillas but is also a positive hindrance in the way of effectiveness of the steps being taken against them. In the circumstances it has become imperative for the Government of India to review and recast its policies in regard to Pakistan and Kashmir. It is the considered opinion of the General Council that the situation demands immediate action on the following lines :

(1) Pakistan must be told in clear and unequivocal terms that India will not submit to such tactics of pressure and blackmail to reopen the Kashmir question. Pakistan has virtually repudiated the Kutch Agreement which was supposed to ease Indo-Pak tension by launching this unprovoked attack on Kashmir. There is no purpose, therefore, of having any talks with Pak Foreign Minister about the Kutch Agreement. The Government of India, therefore, must call off the talks proposed to be held at New Delhi on 20th August. War and peace cannot go together. Pakistan has deliberately chosen the path of war. India has now no other alternative but to meet the Pakistani challenge and speak to her in the language she understands.

(2) Jammu-Kashmir State and particularly its border areas should be ruthlessly cleared of all doubtful elements. No false notion of secularism should be allowed to stand in the way of national security.

(3) Separate constitution of the State which has been at the root of the psychology of separatism on which pro-Pak elements thrive, must be immediately scrapped and the Constitution of India be made applicable to the State in full.

(4) Steps should be taken to settle refugees from Pakistan and ex-soldiers in the border areas. That is the only effective way to check Pakistani infiltration in Kashmir as also in Rajasthan, Bengal, Assam, and Tripura. Such settlers must be

given training in arms so that they should be able to act as the first line of defence.

(5) By using the occupied territory of Jammu-Kashmir for planning and launching the unprovoked attack on Jammu-Kashmir State, Pakistan has deliberately violated the cease-fire Agreement. There is no sense, therefore, in that India should continue to stand by that Agreement which has become a big hindrance in the way of our security forces doing their duty in defending the country. The Government of India must, therefore, treat that Agreement as dead and take all steps to clear the territory of Jammu-Kashmir of Pakistani aggressors up to the international frontier.

(6) Many well known left Communists are operating in Jammu-Kashmir State in cooperation with pro-Pakistan elements like the Plebiscite Front. Unless drastic steps are taken to suppress these fifth columnists who have been the main prop of the Pakistani infiltrators) the security forces will not be able to deal with the Pak invaders and infiltrators swiftly and effectively. The very fact that top leaders of pro-Pak Action Committee have been left free to carry on their nefarious activities without hindrance proves the utter failure and ineffectiveness of the local administration to deal with the situation. The security of India is the central responsibility and, therefore, it is the duty of the Central Government to tone up the local administration and tighten the internal security set-up there. Military should be given a free hand to deal with the situation in affected areas without any interference from civil authorities. Enough improving of intelligence services in the State is a must.

[August 17, 1965; Delhi, AIGC]

65.23. AKHANDA BHARAT

Cultural Oneness—Since ancient times, Bharat has been one and indivisible. The people living in this land have cherished filial attachment to it and have evolved a common culture and a common way of life which gives them a sense of oneness. From time to time, this national unity has manifested itself on the political plane in the shape of Empires established by the *Chakravarti* Kings. When such unified political authority was missing, foreign invaders were able to do harm to this country. But even then, our cultural, social and national unity sustained, because of which ultimately our struggle for *Swaraj* succeeded.

In pursuance of their 'divide and rule' policy the alien rulers sought to promote fissiparous tendencies by representing the diversities of our national life as differences. The result of this strategy was that the exit of the Britisher was accompanied by the vicesion of India and the creation of Pakistan.

Jauhars Again—Partition claimed toll heavier even than the freedom struggle. The dastardly acts of violence, loot, arson and forced conversions which were witnessed then showed up man at his ugliest. But at the same time this phase of Indian History also saw numerous examples of sacrifice and heroism in defence of Dharma and life-values. The history of *Jauhars* and martyrdom was repeated. We bow in reverence to those who thus immolated themselves so that their children could live with honour. Let us pledge our all for the protection of not only the political aspect of Indian independence, but of those cultural values too, for which these noble souls laid down their lives.

Muslim Problem—With the creation of Pakistan not only was a separate State carved out of India, but a political base has been provided to maintain and promote the perverse Two-culture theory. To keep alive this feeling of separation and to bolster up an artificial unity between East and West Pakistan, Pak leaders have been pursuing rabidly anti-India and anti-Hindu policy. Because of its slogan of Islamic Rule, and because of its historical background, the mere existence of Pakistan prevents many a Indian Muslim from identifying themselves with the mainstream of national life. Prior to independence, Congress tried its utmost to placate the Muslim League, but in vain. After independence also India has been appeasing Pakistan and has been trying to win its friendship by sacrificing its own interests, but Pakistan's bellicosity has been growing day by day. To cause damage to India, on holds are barred for it. It struck a military alliance with America and now it has been going all out for an axis with Communist China. While on the one hand it has been preparing to launch on India an invasion from without, it has been using its fifth-column inside India to foment Muslim communalism and to plan large-scale riots and subversion. Unless effective steps are taken to checkmate these designs, the peace and the security of our country will be in jeopardy and any day we may find ourselves thrown into a major conflagration.

Indianisation of Outlook—So long as partition lasts, Indo-

Pak peace will continue to be elusive. By truckling to Pakistan's goondaism, we only embolden it. Its political ambitions go on expanding. A section of the Muslims in India experiences an emotional tie-up with Pakistan. In fact, both derive strength from each other. In these circumstances a two-fold programme is necessary :

(1) Our Pakistan-policy should be firm. By surrendering to Pak bullying and appeasing it, we only embolden it to pursue its mischievous designs. The day Pakistan realises that its dreams of re-establishing a Mughal *Sultanat* in India are not going to be realised and that India was determined to follow a tit-for-tat policy against it, it will be compelled to do some introspection. The rulers and people of Pakistan would then be able to appreciate the folly of partition.

(2) There should be no political bargaining with Indian Muslims. They must be guaranteed all constitutional rights due to them in this secular State. But all separatist tendencies and attitudes betraying a pro-Pak bias must be curbed and such outlook and atmosphere must be Indianised.

Modern Islam—Muslim masses can become nationalistically oriented only after both Pakistan as well as the separatist and communal Muslim organisations in India are given a political dressing down. Indian tradition and nationalism are not hostile to any form of Worship. And Modern Islam need not be an impediment in the building up of national integration. The real trouble has been separatist politics. If this trouble is removed, the Indian Muslim will feel one with the mainstream of Indian life and India and Pakistan will be united to form *Akhand Bharat*. Without this emotional integration, concepts of confederation, etc., would be superficial and impractical.

[August 17, 1965; Delhi, AIGC]

66.93. ABROGATE ARTICLE 370

Jammu-Kashmir State is an integral part of India. Pakistan has aggressively occupied one-third part of the State since 1947. To get that aggression vacated and secure the liberation of Pak-occupied part of the State is the duty of the Government of India. That is and will remain the only topic of discussion with Pakistan in regard to Jammu-Kashmir State till the requisite end is achieved.

The question of constitutional integration of that part of Jammu-Kashmir State (which is in our hands) with the rest of

country is a purely internal affair of India. The temporary and transitional Article 370 of Indian Constitution on the basis of which Jammu-Kashmir State has a separate constitution of its own is a big hindrance in the way of such integration. It has created psychological barrier between the people of the State and their counter-part of the rest of India which has been exploited all these years by anti-national elements and Pak agents to the detriment of vital Indian interests. Its abrogation is an essential pre-requisite for the normalisation of the situation within Jammu-Kashmir State. The Central Working Committee, therefore, urges once again upon the Government of India to abrogate this Article forthwith and take steps to apply the Indian Constitution in full to Jammu-Kashmir State also.

[January 15, 1966; Kanpur, CWC]

66.12. RELEASE OF MOHAN RANADE

During the struggle for Goa's independence, Shri Mohan Ranade, a leading freedom-fighter, was sentenced to 28 years rigorous imprisonment and incarcerated in the Lisbon Jail. Following Goa's independence, an effort should have been made to secure the release of Shri Ranade. It is a matter of regret that neither at the time of exchange of prisoners nor during the long period that has followed, has any such effort been made. Brave patriots like Shri Ranade who staked their all for the freedom struggle are thus rotting and being forgotten. Jana Sangh strongly urges upon the Government of India to take all necessary steps and bring pressure on the Portuguese Government to release Shri Mohan Ranade.

[May 1, 1966; Jullundur, XIII AIS]

66.16. NO NEGOTIATIONS WITH NAGA REBELS

Bharatiya Jana Sangh regards it unwise that the cease-fire with Naga rebels should have been extended for another 3 months. It is evident that the rebel Nagas have availed of the cease-fire period to consolidate their position, and are preparing for a show-down. The Government's willingness to hold parleys with these rebels has encouraged the Mizos and other hill tribes to press their separatist demands. Fact is that if the Government continues to negotiate with Nagas who have been demanding secession from India and who have been trying to achieve their goal by force of arms, the recently promulgated anti-secession ordinance would have no meaning whatsoever.

Jana Sangh demands that there should be no further round of talks with the rebel Nagas unless they categorically renounce demand for secession from India. The creation of a separate Nagaland State should satisfy the urge for autonomy in the Nagas. But if a handful of Nagas persist in waging a rebellion, that should be firmly suppressed. If at the earlier stage, the army had been given a free hand to deal with the hostiles, the present situation might not have arisen.

Pakistan and China's interests in the goings-on in the Eastern Region have made the situation there all the more grave. Despite the Tashkent Declaration, Pakistan has been helping the rebels with arms and military training. Communist China also is actively exerting to foment trouble there. Government of India therefore must handle the situation with strength and statesmanship.

Reorganisation of Eastern Region—Jana Sangh demands that a high power Commission be set-up to consider the question of reorganising the eastern sector keeping in view all varied aspects, such as national integration, defence, development, regional autonomy, administrative efficiency, etc. Meanwhile, the rebels should be dealt with sternly. Any weakness betrayed in these border areas would not only promote secessionist tendencies but would encourage our enemies across the border to further their nefarious designs against India's territorial integrity.

[July 12, 1966; Lucknow, CWC]

66.18. MYSORE-MAHARASHTRA BORDER DISPUTE

Following the reorganisation of States, the political boundaries of various provinces should have been deemed finally settled. It is a matter of great regret that instead of accepting them as such, the Government, working under various pressures or prompted by considerations of political expediency, has been altering them off and on. Reorganisation of Punjab is a recent example of this kind. Bharatiya Jana Sangh had warned the Government that such steps would revive another chain of disputes. The Maharashtra-Mysore dispute in regard to Belgam has been accentuated. It is surprising that the Prime Minister on the one hand should have reopened the matter by agreeing to set-up a Boundary Commission and on the other, she should have failed to implement her decision and thus herself invited a public agitation. The result of this has been a strong wave of popular unrest in both, Mysore as well as

Maharashtra. The agitation touched off, betrays parochialism and provincialism of a very narrow order.

Boundary Commission for Binding Awards—Differences and disputes between provinces can often arise. But to seek to resolve them through public agitations would not be conducive to nationalism and the unity of the country. They should be straightened out by recourse to some sort of arbitration, by referring them to a three-member Boundary Commission headed by a Judge of the Supreme Court. The Commission must settle the disputes on the basis of the principles laid down by the States Reorganisation Commission. Its award in this case should be given early that is, before the General Elections, and implemented as a boundary award. Jana Sangh appeals to the people of both the provinces to refrain from an agitation on this issue and thus avoid creating any bitterness and animosity.

[July 12, 1966; Lucknow, CWC]

66.19. PEKING, PINDI AND MOSCOW WINDS IN KASHMIR

The Central Working Committee regrets to note that influx of Pakistani infiltrators (these include even Officers of the Pakistani Army) has continued in Jammu-Kashmir State in spite of repeated assertions of the Government to the country. Apart from thousands of infiltrators who have entered the Poonch district during the last 5 months, there has been an organised penetration of Pak agents and infiltrators in the Baramulla-Seopore areas of Kashmir Valley as well. The recent raids of such elements in Bymai Village of Seopore in which several people were killed and property destroyed, are pointers to the seriousness of this menace. What makes things even more dangerous is that many of these Pak agents and infiltrators are being enrolled as Congress members which makes their detection and arrest by the security forces all the more difficult. The fact that Pak and Chinese agents are being sheltered by the Sadiq regime and the State Congress, which have become happy hunting grounds for Communists and communalists, has given a new and ominous twist to the already difficult situation in the State.

NAHAL Settlements along Cease-fire Line—The Working Committee reiterates its demand that effective steps should be taken to completely seal the cease-fire line against entrants from Pakistan and that a 5 to 10 miles-deep belt along this line should

be cleared of all civil population and be resettled by colonies of ex-soldiers on the model of 'NAHAL' settlements in Israel. At the same time the Kashmir administration must be cleared of all doubtful elements. The chits of approbation being issued in favour of Shri Sadiq and his Government by Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, will help nobody except those who are trying to serve Chinese and Pak interests under the garb of the Kashmir Congress. In order to create a sense of security and certainty in the minds of the people of the State, it is necessary that the Government should stick firmly to its oft repeated declaration that Kashmir is not negotiable. The reported statement of Smt. Indira Gandhi that Government of India was prepared to talk with Pakistan about Kashmir is bound to have an unsettling effect on the minds of people there and help Pak agents to win new adherents for Pakistan in that State.

The role which is being played by the Communist Party, both left and right, regarding Kashmir inside as well as outside Jammu-Kashmir State needs to be carefully watched. In keeping with their role as Chinese and Russian agents, they have trimmed their sails according to the winds coming from Moscow and Peking. The fact that the American lobby in India is also playing the same game as Russian lobby in regard to Kashmir is a matter to be taken note of. The Working Committee warns the people of India to beware of their activities and also urges upon the Government of India to resist their pressures at all costs.

[October 1, 1966; Calcutta, CWC]

67.11. PARTITION OF JK

The Central Working Committee strongly denounced the move to partition Jammu-Kashmir State on pseudo-linguistic grounds, and to grant the so-called regional autonomy to Jammu Region and to the Kashmir Valley.

The move was initiated by some elements belonging to Jammu region ostensibly with a view to remedy the painful discrimination being practised by the State Government against the people of Jammu. But it is significant that the most ardent supporters of this autonomy-cry today are sections who have never made secret of their separatist designs and who look upon such an arrangement only as a stepping stone for the fulfilment of their dreams of an independent Kashmir Sultanet.

While Jana Sangh has been waging a sustained battle against

the State Government's discriminatory attitudes against Jammu in services, education, development, etc., and will continue to do so, it would like to warn all nationalist elements, both inside the State and outside, that any encouragement given to this autonomy demand will seriously undermine the national interests in Kashmir, and benefit only the Abdullaites and the Pro-Pakistanis. On its part, Jana Sangh is resolved to resist any attempt to partition the Kashmir State.

[June 30, 1967; Simla, CWC]

67.15. TERROR IN KASHMIR VALLEY

The Central Working Committee considered the report on the situation in Kashmir as presented by the Jammu-Kashmir Jana Sangh secretary.

The Committee expressed concern over the deteriorating law and order situation in the Kashmir Valley and on the increasing Muslim communalism. Kashmir administration's partisan attitude has rather helped the incidents of June 7, in which two Churches were set on fire in Srinagar and tourists were man-handled to assume ugly dimensions. It becomes clear that either the Sadiq Government is ineffective or is encouraging Muslim communal elements deliberately in order to secure their support. In view of the importance of Kashmir from the Defence point of view it is necessary that effective steps should be taken to improve the administrative situation there.

Km. Handu Episode—So far as the affair of Kumari Parameshwari Handu is concerned, the Working Committee is convinced that the situation would not have deteriorated if Kumari Handu had been presented in the court and had been entrusted to a third party till the time of judgement or if the goondas had been brought to book and the judgement of the court had not been suspended under their pressure.

The Kashmir Government is also adopting a similar attitude towards Shri Chavan's understanding with the Hindus of Kashmir. In spite of Shri Chavan's assurances neither Kumari Handu has been entrusted to a third party nor a directive been issued for a probe into the police excesses. On the contrary Kashmiri Hindus are being harassed. Naturally it has resulted in the anti-India elements feeling encouraged and they have stepped up their anti-India and anti-Kashmiri-Hindu activities. The murderous assault on Seopure District Jana Sangh President Shri Fateh Mohammed Zai, and the activities of Congress

leaders including Ministers have resulted in further deterioration in the situation. Hence the Working Committee demands that the Government of India should take prompt and effective steps to end this terrorism in the Kashmir Valley and to implement assurances of Shri Chavan.

The Working Committee has appointed a three-member sub-committee consisting of Shri Yagya Datt Sharma, M.P., Shri Umashanker Trivedi and Dr. Mahavir, which has been directed to visit Kashmir and study the political and law and order situation there and submit its report in the next meeting of the Working Committee.

[September 19, 1967; Baroda, CWC]

67.27. UNCERTAINTY IN KASHMIR

The restrictions on the movements and activities of Sheikh Abdulla are being progressively removed. And simultaneously with it, widespread apprehensions are being voiced that Abdulla's release would only be the first in a series of steps contemplated by the Government of India which would lead to conferment of an autonomous or quasi-independent status on Kashmir. Recent utterances by Abdulla's close associates have been lending credence to these suspicions.

Suggestions are being freely bandied around that to appease the Sheikh, Kashmir should be given a status resembling that of Sikkim, or similar to that it had prior to 1953, when Dr. Mookerji's great martyrdom touched off a train of events by force of which many of the barriers, which separate Kashmir from the rest of India have been pulled down one by one. Continuation of Article 370 in the Indian Constitution and by virtue thereof a separate constitution for the Kashmir State and a dual citizenship in that State still continue. The people of India eagerly look forward to the day when even these barriers would be demolished.

Meanwhile, all speculations hinging around Abdulla's impending release have created a climate of suspense and uncertainty in the Jammu-Kashmir State. Indeed, periodically recurring spells of uncertainty have been the bane of Kashmir's politics. They upset the economy and benefit no one except Pak agents and those interested in disruption. Jammu-Kashmir State is presently passing through one such phase. We wish New Delhi realised how dearly its intermittent experimenting with Kashmir's affairs has cost the people of that State. The

situation calls for an immediate and unequivocal declaration by the Central Government that it has no intention of reversing the process of Kashmir's full integration with India.

On its own part, Bharatiya Jana Sangh would like to warn the Government that the people will not tolerate any such retrograde move. Jana Sangh would strongly resist it. The sacrifice of Dr. Shyama Parsad Mookerji will not be allowed to go in vain.

[December 26, 1967; Calicut, XIV AIS]

68.08. REORGANISATION OF ASSAM

Peking-Pindi Interests in Assam—Long before Pakistan was born, its founding fathers had an eye on Assam. Its inclusion in the East Bengal (formed after the first partition of Bengal in 1901) gave an inkling of their mind. The proposal to cut Assam from Bengal in the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 was also a part of the same line of thinking. The systematic and planned infiltration of Pak Muslims into Assam since 1947 (which has increased the Muslim population in Assam from 16% to about 25% between 1947 and 1961) and the Pak role in instigating and supporting rebellions in both the Mizo and Naga areas of Assam, and planned moves to drive out all non-Assamese Hindus from the plains of Assam, point to the continued interest of Pakistan in Assam somehow.

The Chinese invasion of 1962 and the continued hostile activities of Communist China and her agents in and around Assam have given a new dimension to its problems. There are grounds to believe that there is a tacit understanding between Peking and Pindi dividing Assam among themselves with the Brahmaputra as the dividing line.

The foreign Christian missionaries in their bid to have a Christian majority State in the hill areas of Assam have been indirectly playing the game of Communist China and Pakistan. In fact, it is these foreign missionaries, who under British patronage, first sowed the seeds of disruption in the Naga area with the liberal foreign aid placed at their disposal. They have been systematically converting and denationalising the hill tribals by reversing the process of their cultural assimilation with the people of the plains through their common allegiance to Hinduism.

This situation demanded more than usual vigilance on the part of the Government of India for a planned effort to

strengthen national forces in the State. Emotional and economic integration of the people of hills and plains and integrated economic development of both, needed special attention of both, the Government of Assam and the Centre.

But, instead, quite the opposite policies were adopted both at the Central and State levels. Instead of creating a sense of oneness and strengthening the forces of integration the Government of India decided to emphasise over the divisions and to encourage separatism among the different linguistic and ethnic groups. The submission to Naga violence for a separate Nagaland State with a population of 3.5 lacs only marked the culmination of this policy of encouraging separatism. It opened the flood-gates of disruption in Assam and elsewhere. Other hill tribes and ethnic and linguistic groups with population equal or more than that of Nagaland began to aspire for separate States of their own. The failure of the Government of India to deal with the Naga rebels even after the creation of the State of Nagaland and setting-up of a lawful Naga Government there, further encouraged the rebellious and separatist elements, who had been getting all kinds of encouragement and support from Pakistan, Christian Missionaries and later from the Communist China as well.

Assam in 1962—The defeatist attitude of the Government of India at the time of Chinese invasion in 1962, when it almost gave up Assam for lost, gave a rude shock to all patriotic people of Assam. Their faith in the will and capability of the Central Government to defend Assam and tackle its problems was badly shaken. That explains the demand for a Mizo State followed by armed rebellion in Mizo areas. The demand for a separate State for other Hill areas as voiced by the Christian-dominated All Parties Hill Leaders Conference is the logical sequel to the developments in Naga and Mizo hills. The failure of the Assam Government to give due consideration to the hill people regarding Assamiya language and economic development of the hill areas have further contributed to the intensification of separatist aspirations and demands.

The situation demanded a cool, careful and objective assessment by the Government of India and a studied solution which might reconcile the local aspirations and developmental needs of Assam as a whole as also of its different regions with overall unity of Assam and defence needs of the country as a whole. Instead, it began to follow a policy of drift and move from one

position to the other like a shuttle-cock under the pressures and counter-pressures of Hill Leaders and the Assam Congress. As a result an explosive situation has been created which threatens the integrity and security not only of Assam but of the country as a whole. That there has been no collective thinking and concerted efforts on the part of the Government of India to tackle this difficult national problem has been proved beyond doubt by the differences between senior Ministers in the Central Government regarding the Assam reorganisation plan put forth by the Prime Minister.

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh after having considered the problem of the Eastern Region, including Assam, in all its aspects has come to the conclusion that the whole problem needs to be considered *de-novo* in the light of the threat to the national integrity and security inherent in the fast developing situation in this region. The Peking-Pindi collusion with Naga and Mizo rebels has now been conclusively proved by the arms and documents seized from the rebels in recent encounters. The Pak Plan to create anarchy and convert Assam into a Muslim majority State by driving Hindus out of it in the name of 'Assam for Assamese' was also conclusively proved by the happenings in Nowgong in 1961 and in Gauhati and elsewhere in January 1968. In the circumstances, the considerations of integrity and security of the country must take precedence over all other considerations, however relevant and pressing they may be.

The Working Committee is also of the opinion that it would be wrong to tackle the problem in piece-meal underpressures from one pressure-group or the other. There needs to be a co-ordinated approach to the whole of the Eastern region, including Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Tripura and Manipur, in which the requirements of the security and defence of the country are properly adjusted and reconciled with regional needs and aspirations. At the same time concerted and determined steps need to be taken to checkmate Pak-designs and meet the challenge of the armed rebels and other disruptive forces, operating under different cover names like Lachit Sena.

High-powered Commission for Assam—These require a defence-oriented study of the entire area and its problems in a detached manner. It is, therefore, the considered view of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that:

(1) Any plan of reorganisation of only Assam should be

deferred till a high-powered commission including a member of defence-experts goes into the whole question of reorganisation of the Eastern Region. Such a commission should be appointed immediately with a time limit for submitting its report. *Status quo* should be maintained till the findings of this commission are available.

(2) The armed rebels in Nagaland and other areas must be dealt with firmly. There is no justification whatsoever to continue the agreement about cessation of hostilities after the collusion of the hostile Nagas with Communist China has been conclusively proved.

(3) To continue to have negotiations with Pakistan and to go on making concessions to her in different fields, when she is giving aid to Naga and Mizo rebels for disruption in India is repugnant to all canons of diplomacy and international relations. A strictly reciprocal policy should be adopted towards her.

(4) The implementation of the Nanda Plan for clearing out a belt of territory along the Assam-East Bengal border of all people (with a view to put effective check on infiltration of Pakistani Muslims into Assam) should be immediately taken in hand.

(5) All foreign Christian Missionaries operating in Assam hills, NEFA and Nagaland should be immediately expelled and equal recognition and facilities should be given to the National missions of Hindus and Christians working for the cultural and spiritual upliftment of the tribals.

(6) Special attention should be paid to the economic development of Assam as a whole and the sense of being neglected, pervading among the people of Assam should be removed. Being a strategic and sensitive area, its economic and other needs and problems deserve to be looked into from the wider national angle. The failure of the Government of India to extend broad gauge railway to Assam so far and the luke-warm attitude towards the demand for processing of all the oil produced in Assam there itself (through setting up of a second refinery in public sector), are indefensible. Immediate steps should be taken to remove the sense of grievance from the people of Assam in this regard.

Indianisation of Tea Estates—There is need for Indianisation of the ownership and management of foreign owned tea-estates to prevent their becoming the centres of anti-national activities.

At the same time, the Working Committee appeals to the people living in the plains and the hills both, irrespective of their political or religious affiliations, not to fall a prey to the machinations and propaganda of foreign powers and their agents including foreign Christian missionaries, who are all interested in the disruption of Assam.

They must realise that they cannot live in isolation from the rest of the country. The past history when the enemy was able to conquer and enslave us bit by bit should be a lesson for all of us. With Pakistan and China as enemies standing face to face on borders, the safety of every part of this border region of the country lies in strengthening of cultural, social economic and political ties that bind them with one another and with the rest of India, and not in weakening them.

The Working Committee also assures the people of Assam of the solidarity of the whole country with them. The security, integrity and prosperity of Assam are indivisible from the security, integrity and prosperity of the whole of India. Let there remain no doubt or misconception about that.

[June 14, 1968; Gauhati, CWC]

69.08. CENTRE-STATES RELATIONS

For quite some time now all thinking people in the country have been feeling exercised about a disturbing trend in Indian politics—the ascendancy of Regionalism, and the growing dominance of regional forces in public affairs. Results of the recent mid-term polls have served to bring this trend into sharp focus. Regional parties have generally gained at the cost of national parties.

Regional Chauvinism—If regionalism meant simply a positive and genuine concern about the welfare and interests of a particular region there could hardly be any objection to it. Such trends would in fact make for healthy national development. But unfortunately, region-based groups and parties tend to build up their appeal on narrow regional chauvinism so that an invariable outcome of their activities is the generation of regional tensions and the weakening of national unity. Thus, admitting the validity of the reasons for the current agitation for a separate Telangana, Jana Sangh feels concerned about it. No patriot can view with equanimity the deep distrust and bitterness that has been engendered between the people of Telangana and Andhra as a result of this agitation.

However unfortunate though this trend is, it needs to be dispassionately analysed and prudently channelised. The present development owe to a combination of several factors.

First and foremost, of course, is the continuous weakening of the spirit of nationalism over the course of these last 20 years. Except during two brief phases, formerly the Indo-China war and later, the Indo-Pak war, nationalism has generally stood at a discount while there has been a premium on regional or section-based demands.

Secondly, there has been a general breakdown of confidence in the Government of India's capacity to solve regional demand. However perverse they may be if only the requisite political pressure could be built-up for it the Government would submit. When in the year 1961, the Government of India decided to carve out a separate Nagaland State for a population of 3.5 lacs, Jana Sangh had pointed out the utter folly of it all and had warned the Government that it would lead to fragmentation of the Eastern zone and open the floodgates of disruption all over the country. But New Delhi did not heed the warning. It, however, assured the people that there were going to be no more new States; Nagaland would be the last. When in 1966, Government of India decided to split up Punjab into Punjab and Haryana, it once again glibly affirmed that the last word on States-reorganisation had been said. And now earlier this month while commending to Parliament the formation of an autonomous Hill State out of Assam the Home Minister repeated in almost the same words that there were going to be no more new States. Against this background, no one need feel surprised that there are politicians in Andhra telling the youth of Telangana that formation of separate Telangana would depend entirely on the measure of virulence they were able to import into their agitation.

Regional Imbalances—There is also a third and in the context of Telangana, the most important reason for the popular backing secured by regional demands, namely, the imbalances created during the last 20 years between one region and another in the matter of economic development. Had the safeguards, assured to Telangana at the time of its merger with Andhra been earnestly implemented, the disparity between this backward region and the rest of Andhra would have been lessened and the present situation would not have arisen.

Policy of Drift and Surrender—Telangana is not the only

corner where regional imbalances have given rise to intense popular unrest. There are other areas also where people nurse real or imaginary grievances on that count. Any remedy applied to Telangana, therefore, is sure to have repercussions throughout the country. With Himanchal Pradesh and several other Union Territories demanding full Statehood, the question of Union Territories as a whole also needs to be objectively considered. Inter-State border disputes provide an added cause for regional bitterness and acerbity. Jana Sangh feels that the Government of India's present policy of initial indifference and drift, and subsequent surrender to the pressures of mass agitations or violence is doing incalculable harm to the nation's unity.

It would be prudent and far-sighted if instead of piecemeal and political response to these variegated but interlinked demands, a high-powered expert Commission is constituted, on the one hand, to consider all these issues in an integrated manner, and on the other, to review the Constitution so as to make it Unitary not only in content but in structure as well. This Commission should be charged particularly with recommending measures to remove regional imbalances and to reconcile regional aspirations with the paramount needs of unity and security. The States Reorganisation Commission had been rather over-concerned with considerations of linguistic homogeneity. The Telangana episode has highlighted the fact that the demands of economic development override the forces of linguistic unity. The Commission's recommendations, we further suggest, should be in the nature of a binding award, and not even Government should be entitled to change them.

It would be in place to recall that the disturbances which followed in the wake of the SRC's report in 1956 owed in no small measure to the reservations and misgivings expressed about the report by the Government itself simultaneously with its release. More lately, public resentment has been growing in Jammu-Kashmir mainly because of the Government's unwillingness to implement the recommendations of the Gajendragadkar Commission. When Government itself treats the recommendations of such high-powered commissions with contempt, it is futile to expect the masses to show them respect.

Two- and Three-nation Theories—A far greater danger to national unity than that posed by regional forces is that which stems from elements which refuse even to accept the concept of

one nationhood. Those in the vanguard of regionalist movements impair national unity only unwittingly, but these disruptive forces strive consciously and calculatedly to undermine the integrity of the Indian nation.

Shri Jinnah's Two-nation theory resulted in partition. The present Muslim League of India does not talk of Two-nation as overtly as the League of pre-partition days, but its basic thinking has not changed even a wee-bit. The move to create a Muslim-majority Malapuram district in Kerala has no other motivation. In the Kashmir Valley, we have Sheikh Abdulla and his followers, openly challenging the basic tenet of our Constitution that India is one nation and advocating a Three-nation theory, with Kashmir forming the third nation. In the Eastern Region, the sponsors of the separate Nagaland movement have never concealed their belief that Nagas constitute a separate Christian people.

Unholy Combine of Disruptionists—The most sinister, however, amongst these disruptive forces are the Communists who unabashedly propagate that India is a multi-national State. The open alignment of the Communist parties with the Muslim League in Kerala and the pro-League elements in W. Bengal and the firm foothold this combination has contrived to secure in the Governments of these two States have made the threat posed by this alignment a seriously ominous one. In other parts of the country also, a similar alignment is taking shape. W. Bengal UF's support to the demand of formation of an autonomous Darjeeling district is also an example of the Communist game of encouraging tendencies of disintegration.

Communist Game—The situation is a challenge to the strength, unity and wisdom of all patriotic forces who stand for the nation's integrity. We appeal to them to come together and draw up a concerted strategy to isolate and defeat this unholy combine of disruptive forces. Reports from both Kerala as well as West Bengal make it clear that Communists in office are not in the least concerned about solving the problems of the people of these States or about using the administration as an instrument of service to the people. Their strategy all along has been to foment popular unrest, encourage conditions of anarchy and use their vantage position in office only to stage a series of confrontations with the Central Government with a two-fold objective: firstly, to convert public dissatisfaction with their own conditions into anger against the

Centre, and secondly, gradually to denigrate the strength and authority of the Centre.

It is regrettable that the Centre's response to these tactics has been singularly inept and myopic. To use a trite idiom, the Central Government has been prone to strain at gnats but has been willing to swallow camels. New Delhi looked on impassively when the former UF Government encouraged and acquiesced in Naxalbari lawlessness, but decided to dismiss the Government simply for its refusal to convene the Assembly Session 18 days earlier than scheduled. More recently, the Central Government picked up a quarrel with the State Government over the question of the Governor's address but preferred to keep impotently mum when the Communist Government defied its authority, enacted a *Sarkari* Bandh, paralysed all governmental economic activity in the State and disrupted all communications.

The Centre's unwillingness to take early remedial measures to remove genuine Centre-States tensions lends strength to this Communist strategy. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the view that two steps should be immediately taken in this context:

- (i) An inter-State Council should be created under Article 263 to advise the Central Government in respect of all matters arising between the Centre and the States; and
- (ii) The entire gamut of financial relations between the Centre and the States should be reviewed and sources of revenue be so reallocated as to enable States to secure a greater quantum of their financial requirements from statutory allocations, rather than from Centre's discretionary grants.

The Indian Constitution is Federal in form but Unitary in content. The Centre has been armed with ample powers to deal with wayward States. While Jana Sangh is strongly opposed to any weakening of the Centre's authority, it holds that the problem is not centre's lack of adequate powers, but lack of a will to use them on the right occasion and in the right manner. In case of the *Sarkari* Bandh in W. Bengal, for instance, Jana Sangh is of the view that it was the Central Government's bounden duty as defender of the Constitution to issue firm directions to the State Government not to disrupt communications. If the State Government defied the direction, the constitutional consequences should have followed.

Similarly, the Government of India should be firm in respect of its right to station the CRP in any part of the country and

deploy it for the protection of the Central Government properties and should not allow any State Government to abridge this right.

Our democratic Constitution permits all parties, to function freely but this freedom cannot be permitted to be abused to subvert democracy itself and sabotage the unity of the nation. Both the Central Government as well as national public opinion ought to be vigilant in this regard.

[April 26, 1969; Bombay, XV AIS]

The agony that the Jana Sangh felt at the partition of the Motherland is very deep. It considers this event the poisonous fruit of the British imperialist policy of 'divide and rule', and the success of the Two-nation theory (53.06, 65.23).

In the field of foreign policy it has advocated the reunification of Korea, Germany and Vietnam, which were partitioned by imperialists; similarly it stands for the re-establishment of *Akhanda Bharat*. The Jana Sangh holds that the partition of the country brought about on the basis of the Two-nation theory was wrong that it did not have the consent of the people (53.06) and that partition has not solved the problem of Muslim separatism. Indeed, the very existence of Pakistan provides a political basis for the continuance of the distorted concept of two nations and two cultures (65.23). It also assumes the role of a natural protector of Indian Muslims as a result of which the Indian Muslims' identification with the nation's life-stream is being interfered with (65.23).

The Jana Sangh has a very clear view on Muslim communalism. It fully accepts the freedom and diversity of ways of worship (52.25, 53.06, 56.27, 65.23). It is opposed only to separatist politics. Only when such politics is eliminated, the Muslim of India will be able to identify himself with the mainstream of national life (65.23). The feeling of a separate Muslim culture is the basis of separatism. This can in turn again become the basis of the Two-nation theory and consequently lead to a new partition. Hence the Jana Sangh warns all the political parties of the country against accepting and preserving a separate culture for Muslims in the competition for religious impartiality, as it would thereby foster the Two-nation theory (56.27).

The opposition of the Jana Sangh is not limited to Muslim communalism only. It is against communalism in any form. It has condemned the communal and fissiparous activities of the Akali dal, the Naga Parishad and the DMK with equal vehemence. It has firmly denounced the disrespect shown by some of them to national symbols and other insignia of unity (55.21). While expressing complete confidence in the national spirit and patriotism of the Sikhs and refusing to accept them as separate from the Hindu Society (66.10), the Jana Sangh opposed the demand for a Punjabi Suba because it was based more upon communal considerations than upon a sentiment for the Punjabi language (60.12). The Jana Sangh has appealed to the brave Punjabi protectors of the western border of partitioned India to keep away from separatist tendencies and leadership and prevent this border province from becoming weak in any way (66.10).

Continuous neglect of any region or language by the Government creates resentment in the minds of the people and this leads to political agitations which subject the country's unity to great stresses and strains. The Jana Sangh has been alive to the problems arising out of regional imbalances but has held the Government primarily responsible for them. "Government of India's present policy of initial indifference and drift and subsequent surren-

der to the pressures of mass agitations or violence is doing incalculable harm to the nation's unity (69.08). Demanding a High-powered Experts Commission for the blending of regional and national interests. The Jana Sangh has suggested that "This Commission should be charged particularly with recommending measures to remove regional imbalances and to reconcile regional aspirations with the paramount needs of Unity and Security" and "The Commission's recommendations should be in the nature of a binding award" (69.08).

In the matter of Centre-State relations "During the last 15 years, the dependence of the States on the Centre (financially and otherwise) has been constantly growing. For the healthy growth of our democratic set-up, this is not a desirable state of affairs (67.07)."

A situation of tension between the States and the Centre or between one State and another can prove dangerous to the unity and integrity of the country. In order to meet such a situation, in the opinion of the Jana Sangh "two steps should be immediately taken in this context:

- (i) an Inter-state Council should be created under Article 263 to advise the Central Government in respect of all matters arising between the Centre and the States.
- (ii) The entire gamut of financial relations between the Centre and the States should be reviewed and sources of revenue be so reallocated as to enable States to secure a greater quantum of their financial requirements from statutory allocations, rather than from Centre's discretionary grants (69.08)."

Clarifying its advocacy of a Unitary State, the Jana Sangh has said: "while appreciating this need of a decentralised self-government, Jana Sangh would like to stress that even though the form of the Indian Constitution is federal, its spirit is unitary. We must all exert to maintain this basically unitary character of our Constituion. (67.07)" But the Jana Sangh would like the Indian Constitution to be unitary not only in its content but its form as well.

52.11. URDU AGITATION

The agitation being carried on in some areas of Delhi, Bihar and U.P. for recognising Urdu as the official language is, in the view of Jana Sangh, encouraged by anti-national, and separatist tendency. It is this tendency that was responsible for the partition of India on the basis of Two-nation theory. It is the duty of both the people and the administration to eradicate such tendencies which are detrimental to the unity of the Nation.

Trumping up a new language in the name of Urdu by distorting Hindi with foreign words and foreign thoughts was one of the many methods adopted by foreign rulers to weaken the unity of the nation. Spirit of nationalism has always opposed such attempts. After the attainment of Independence it is the duty of this rising nation not to encourage Urdu — a distorted form of Hindi—which is being exploited by anti-national tendencies.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

52.12. MERGER OF HYDERABAD

Hyderabad State has for centuries been a centre of intrigues. Even after the attainment of Independence, Hyderabad has presented the most vicious form of Muslim separatism. After the Police Action of 1948 when the Nizam and his collaborators had to suffer defeat and the Hyderabad State became a part of the Indian Republic but its, separate existence has still been maintained and the same Nizam has been continued as the *Raj Pramukh* of the State. This has not only been against the wishes of the people of India, but it is also contrary to diplomacy. Separate existence of Hyderabad is against the interests of the security of India, administrative convenience, as also the social and cultural rejuvenation of the South.

Hence Jana Sangh demands that in accordance with the wishes of the people of that State, Hyderabad should be merged into the adjoining States, the present Nizam be deposed and the Nizamate be abolished.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

52.18. STATES REORGANISATION

The provinces of India in the present form are the creation of historical and political factors as well as administrative convenience for the solution of contemporary problems. This pattern has no basic principles.

In various parts of the country demands for the reorganisation of States on the basis of languages or some other factors are up-coming resulting at some places in feelings of unnecessary and undesirable bitterness between people of different provinces and districts. This Session considers it necessary that there should be a reorganisation of provinces keeping in view defence and all-round development of the country, administrative convenience, economic viability and linguistic harmony. They cannot be attained by reorganising a particular State under pressure from worked-up regional feelings. On the contrary it would create long-term problems.

Hence this Session suggests to the Government of India that a Reorganisation Commission of three individuals of whom two members should be Judges of the Supreme Court or a High Court, may immediately be set up for this purpose.

[December 31, 1962; Kanpur, I AIS]

54.16. STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION

This Session welcomes the appointment of the States Reorganisation Commission by the Government of India as demanded by Bharatiya Jana Sangh at its first Session at Kanpur. The Commission having been appointed, Jana Sangh appeals to all concerned to desist from ways of agitation for their demands, and place their considered views before the Commission and allow it to function in a cool atmosphere.

It also directs the Central Working Committee to appoint a sub-committee to chalk out a detailed memorandum for the administrative reorganisation of the country.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

55.21. PUNJABI SUBA DEMAND

Bharatiya Jana Sangh views with grave concern the growing menace to India's unity and integrity created by the separatist and communal elements, such as the Akali Dal in the Punjab, the Naga Council in NEFA and Dravida Khazgam in the South.

Some of them have not only been agitating under various

garbs for carving out separate territories under their influences on sectarian and narrow basis but are showing little regard to symbols of National honour and unity.

The Central Working Committee specially draws attention of the people of India to the activities of the Akali Dal which has cleverly cloaked its intentions of establishing a communal and theocratic State by putting forward the demand of a Punjabi speaking state.

Unlike the demand of linguistic states elsewhere this Akali demand is not supported by all the Punjabi speaking people but only a section of the Sikhs led by the Akali Dal.

The Committee regrets that the Congress Government of Punjab under the direction of the Congress High Command, instead of firmly dealing with these separatist elements has followed its usual policy of appeasement by abjectly surrendering before these communal forces. The utterly disgraceful manner in which the ban on linguistic slogans in Amritsar was lifted and the disregard shown to the serious situation of Punjab by the Central Government and Congress High Command, has completely shaken the confidence of the people of Punjab in the efficacy of the Government of India in dealing with these subversive elements.

Jana Sangh calls upon the whole of nationalist India to stand unitedly and determinedly to check this serious menace which threatens to bring about a recurrence of the happenings of 1947. The Committee wants the people of India to understand in clear and unambiguous terms, that if once the Akali demand is conceded, it will encourage the process of Balkanisation of our country destroying its unity.

[August 28, 1955; Calcutta, AIGC]

55.29. SRC REPORT

Unitary form of Government—The Central Working Committee has considered the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. The Committee notes with satisfaction that the SRC has given primary consideration to the unity and security of India. The SRC has rightly warned the country against the fissiparous tendencies that have been at the root of many a demand for separate States. It has done a great service to the nation in acknowledging with appreciation the strong feelings expressed by important section of public opinion for Unitary form of Government. The question of the actual form of

Government in the country was not a specific point of reference before the Commission and even then the powerful expression of public sentiment in favour of Unitary form of Government is a clear pointer to the real solution of the problem of giving an efficient and effective administration to the country.

The Working Committee again reiterates its fundamental stand that the Unitary form of Government with decentralisation of political power up to the lowest level will offer not only a permanent solution to the present problems of conflicting claims and counter-claims on territories but will also be fully consistent with our fundamentals of one country, one people and one culture.

SRC's Rational Basis—The Committee notes with satisfaction that the Commission has rejected the demand for forming states on the basis of languages alone and has instead adopted a rational basis of reorganisation of states keeping in view:

- (1) Administrative efficiency,
- (2) Economic viability,
- (3) Requirements of national development plan,
- (4) Geographical contiguity, and above all
- (5) The security and unity of India.

Jana Sangh, as it had stated in its memorandum to the Commission, is in full accord with the above principles. The Committee, therefore, agrees generally with the proposals of the Commission. It, however, differs on the following recommendations which in view of the Committee, are not in keeping with the principles enunciated above:

(1) Although the Commission has accepted the unanimous demand of disintegration of the present Hyderabad State, it has proposed the formation of the Telegu speaking areas of that state into a separate state to be known as Hyderabad, with option to merge with Andhra, after 5 years. There is no case for such a separate state. Further, uncertainty about the future of an area is always detrimental to its proper development. Therefore, the proposed Hyderabad State should be merged with Andhra, right now.

(2) There is no necessity for the creation of a very small state of Vidarbha. If the Commission wanted to create two states out of the Marathi and Gujarati speaking areas, it should have recommended the creation of separate Gujarat and Maharashtra States, or it should have recommended only one

bilingual State of Pashchim Pradesh—comprising of all the Gujarati and Marathi speaking areas.

(3) The State of Madhya Pradesh as proposed by the Commission will be too unwieldy. There should either be two states, *viz.*, (1) Madhya Bharat with Bhopal, and (2) Mahakoushal with Vindhya Pradesh, or some northern districts of Madhya Bharat be merged with Uttar Pradesh.

The Committee recommends the SRC report with the above amendments for general acceptance of the people and Government of India and suggests that the boundaries between various states be suitably demarcated.

The Committee deprecates the threatening attitude of some sections of the people towards the recommendations of the Commission. It regrets that the atmosphere for cool consideration and general acceptance of the report which existed before its publication has been vitiated by vested interests and top Congress leaders who have reopened issues about almost all states and have thereby created a situation similar to that prevailing before the appointment of the Commission.

The Committee draws special attention of the people and Government of India to the general suggestions of the Commission contained in the last chapter of part IV of the report. These suggestions, if acted upon, would go a long way towards preserving the unity of the country.

While recognising the desirability of every state providing education to every citizen in his or her mother tongue the Committee is strongly opposed to the concept of 'linguistic minorities' because such recognition will perpetuate their feelings of separatism and will endanger the national unity.

The Committee urges early implementation of the report. Delay in arriving at final decision in this matter would only deteriorate the situation and create further complications.

[October 23, 1955; Delhi, CWC]

56.01. REACTIONS TO SRC REPORT

Government's Confusion—The Central Working Committee expresses its grave concern over the developments in Bombay, Cuttack and other places that took place in the wake of the announcement of Government decision on the SRC report.

The Committee strongly condemns the violent and destructive acts at different places. Though linguism and regionalism lie at the root of the frenzy, its immediate responsibility rests

on the Government.

It was necessary for the Government to evolve a national policy on the important question of Reorganisation of States. Any decision about or changes in the SRC report should have been arrived at in consultation with the main political parties. It is a matter of regret that the Government not only totally failed to consult parties other than the Congress, but what was worse, it considered the matter and took decisions from purely party angle. The suggestion about five zones, proposal about Bengal-Bihar merger, talk about bilingual or multi-lingual States and proposals about Regional Councils within the same State clearly show that the rulers of the country neither have a clear and positive concept of Indian unity nor they have evolved any considered pattern and policy about the administrative structure best suited to that end. It seems that they are groping in the dark and their various decisions are nothing but dishonourable attempts at compromises with different pulls and counter-pulls to meet different situations as they arise.

Unitary form of Government—The Central Working Committee reiterates its fundamental belief that unitary form of Government is the only remedy most suited not only to successfully checkmate the present day disruptive tendencies which threaten to destroy our national unity but is also best suited to the natural and positive growth of India as a nation. It is, however, gratifying that (may be because of the developments of the last few months) eminent political thinkers in the country, have now begun to realise the advisibility and necessity of a Unitary form of Government. But it is unfortunate, that the men in power who are never tired of emphasising the need of national unity in their loud talks, lack the courage to take a revolutionary step for creating a Constitution suited to the manifestation and protection of that unity.

Make Constitution's form, Unitary—Even if the present structure is to be continued for the time being, Jana Sangh feels that the need for making amendments in the Constitution on the basis of following suggestions is imperative :

- (i) The words 'Union Government' and 'State' should be substituted by 'Central Government' and 'Pradesh' respectively.
- (ii) The Concurrent list be merged with the Union list.
- (iii) The powers of local bodies be defined in the Constitution itself.

As regards the Reorganisation of the States, the Committee is of the opinion that :

- (i) The recommendations contained in part iv of chapter 4 of the SRC Report be fully implemented.
- (ii) No part of the country except New Delhi be kept under the direct administration of the Central Government.
- (iii) Round-table conference be convened to decide about the future of controversial areas.

The Working Committee appeals to the public as also to all political parties that they should dissociate from all such agitations for the questions of reorganisation of States as may endanger Indian unity and security, create unrest, disturb peace and undermine the spirit of mutual cooperation and goodwill between different sections of the people of our country.

[February 19, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

56.02. GOVERNMENT-AKALI PARLES

The Central Working Committee takes a serious view of the continued parles between the Government and the Akalis to arrive at a unilateral agreement to circumvent the SRC recommendations about the Punjab. The Committee warns the Government that any compromise with Akali communalism will lead to a repetition of the tragic 1947 history of the partition.

[February 19, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

56.06. STATES REORGANISATION BILL : SOME SUGGESTIONS

Bharatiya Jana Sangh had accorded its general approval to the SRC recommendations with certain modifications thereof. But the Government of India made matters worse by serious departure from these SRC recommendations, without any consistent principles and in many cases to appease vested interests and communal groups. As a result, serious agitations and repercussions took place and disorders on a large-scale occurred which were most deplorable.

At present, the situation has improved, large-scale disorders have ceased and a States Reorganisation Bill is before the Parliament. In some areas, particularly, the Eastern Zone, Maharashtra and the Punjab, agitations (of a peaceful nature and) mainly in the form of Satyagraha continue.

Bengal-Bihar Merger—In the Eastern Zone, a new proposal (quite different from the recommendations of the SRC) was

suddenly made in the shape of W. Bengal-Bihar merger. This proposal has met with almost universal opposition in Bengal and it has not been welcomed even in Bihar. In consequence this so called 'merger' proposal has been diluted with conditions like two capitals, two High Courts, two Regional Councils, two Budgets, two Legislatures, unilateral right of secession, etc. Thus the 'merger' proposal has become a mockery and leads to the inference that the original proposal of 'merger' itself had not been a genuine or well considered one at all, but merely intended to serve the ends of some factions of Congress party. Jana Sangh, therefore, feels that this so-called 'merger' proposal should now be buried deep altogether.

As to Maharashtra, now that the Government of India has thrown out the SRC recommendation of the bilingual State and has decided to have two separate States of Maharashtra and Gujarat, there is no reason why the Bombay city (which is indisputably in the Maharashtra area) should not be included in Maharashtra, and be made a 'Centrally Administered' State. Jana Sangh is not in favour of any area being made a Centrally administered State except New Delhi, and accordingly it feels that the Bombay city should be included in the State of Maharashtra.

Four-tier System—The decision to create a Zonal Council for a group of provinces with purely advisory powers, Jana Sangh feels, is a retrograde step insofar as such councils will accentuate inter-provincial bickerings without in any way strengthening the unity of the country. Creation of such zonal units within the Indian Union may also awaken regional loyalties as distinct from national loyalties. Furthermore, creation of Regional Committees within the province and Zonal Councils above, will tend to the constitutional set-up becoming more and more complicated. As envisaged by the SRC Bill the situation in the country and needs of national unity demand Unitary form of Government rather than a 4-tier system. It will create a sort of sub-federation and confederation together with the Indian Federation which might pull in different directions to the detriment of wider national interests of the country as a whole.

[April 21, 1956; Jaipur, IV AIS]

56.17. STATES REORGANISATION BILL

The Central Working Committee has taken into consideration the States Reorganisation Bill, the W. Bengal and Bihar

(Transfer of Territories) Bill and the Constitution (IX Amendment) Bill and decides to instruct its representatives in Parliament to move suitable amendments thereto and take other necessary action in this regard in accordance with the policy and objectives of the Jana Sangh.

[July 21, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

56.22. MISCHIEVOUS BOOK-AGITATION

The Central Working Committee takes a very serious view about the mischievous agitation regarding the alleged objectionable passage of the book 'Religious Leaders' which was written by some American writer and has been in circulation all over the world during the last 15 years. It strongly condemns the use of such anti-national slogans as 'Pakistan Zindabad', 'Hindustan *Murdabad*' insult to the National Flag, hoisting of Pakistani flags, burning of the effigies of the Governor of UP in the course of agitation. The continuance of the agitation even after withdrawal of the book from circulation and expression of regrets by the persons concerned with the publication in India, shows that the object of the agitation is something more than the expression of opposition to the alleged objectionable passage in the book. In this regard the Committee points out that such an agitation is not the first of its kind. It is one more link in a series of efforts that have been made during the last 5 years to keep alive a perpetual feeling of separatism and communalism amongst a section of the Indian Muslims.

The Committee records its deep dissatisfaction over the weak Government policy towards the agitators. A firm policy from the very beginning and instead of a mysterious silence by top Congress leaders particularly Shri Nehru and Mulana Azad about the agitation, their denouncing it in clear and unequivocal terms, would have helped checking the serious and violent form it actually took. The arrests and harrassment of some Jana Sangh workers along with the Muslim agitators shows that the Government is not only following the old British policy of 'Divide and Rule' and of maintaining parity between the Hindus and the Muslims, but is also incapable of distinguishing between the friends and foes of the country.

The Committee strongly condemns the encouragement given to the anti-national agitators by some political parties with the sordid motive of winning Muslim block votes in the forthcoming general elections. This mentality of playing with the

National unity and security to secure temporary political gains is most detestable and suicidal for the country.

The Working Committee congratulates the people for the patience displayed by them in spite of the utmost provocations and their spirit of tolerance in face of the worst type of religious frenzy. The Committee calls upon the people to organise themselves to smash the conspiracies being hatched to destroy the unity and endanger the security of India. It warns the Government that it must adopt effective steps to checkmate the disruptive tendencies underlying such an agitation.

[October 6, 1956; Poona, CWC]

56.23. CONGRESS-AKALI TERROR IN PUNJAB

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh has considered the grave situation created in Punjab by the recent developments.

Akali-Congress Alliance—Congress has finalised its alliance with the Akali Dal. This has clearly revealed the utter unscrupulousness of Congress in the pursuit of its opportunist policy of securing block votes by any means, fair or foul, and throwing to the winds all the ideals of nationalism and considerations of public welfare. During the last General Elections of 1951-52 opposition to Akali Dal was the main plank of the Congress programme in Punjab, when it loudly described the Akali Dal as a communal party with separatist ambitions. Today the same Congress has fully surrendered to the communal and separatist forces in Punjab by forging an Akali-Congress alliance, by accepting the 'Regional Formula' which virtually divides Punjab on communal lines, and by rejecting the proposal of Maha Punjab recommended by the States Reorganisation Commission itself. The Working Committee accordingly condemns the Akali-Congress alliance as against national interests and constituting a complete surrender to the forces of communalism.

Civil Liberties in Punjab—Jana Sangh views with grave concern the recent policy of the Congress Government in Punjab in embarking upon a ruthless campaign of repression of the opposition parties and their workers. The Punjab Government has arrested and prosecuted thousands of Jana Sangh and Maha Punjab workers all over the province on most fantastic charges (like attempt to murder, dacoity etc.). It has unleashed forces of goondaism against opposition parties, has

gagged and muzzled the Press, restricted the movements of leading members of opposition parties, demoralised the Government services throughout Punjab, produced a sense of insecurity amongst the vast non-Akali majority of the people and has practically extinguished all the Civil Liberties in the province.

The Working Committee strongly condemns this repressive policy of the Punjab Government and demands immediate withdrawal of all prosecution and release of arrested persons, so as to ensure fair and free campaigning in the coming General Elections.

Jana Sangh congratulates the Punjab as represented by Maha Punjab Samiti and its co-workers on the heroic fight it is putting up against the combined forces of Congress repression and Akali communalism, and exhorts them to contest the coming General Elections throughout the province on the issue of Maha Punjab, opposition to the Regional Formula and restoration of Civil Liberties in the Punjab, so that the present era of repression and terror could be ended.

[October 6, 1956; Poona, CWC]

58.05. PUNJAB SITUATION

Police Excesses in Punjab—Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses grave concern over the present situation in Punjab. While a strong and widespread dissatisfaction prevails in the masses in respect of official policies regarding reorganisation of the States, language, economic situation, taxation etc., the Government's failure to maintain even law and order and ensure protection of Civil Liberties has rudely shaken the people's confidence in the present regime. Police excesses in Sirsa, the brutal lathi-charge at Hoshiyarpur, the inhuman atrocities perpetrated at Naya Bans and Bahu Akabarpur, the dastardly and murderous lathi-charge on Hindi Raksha prisoners in Ferozepur jail and the Jullundur firing tragedy are incidents which have thoroughly laid bare the despotic character of the Punjab Government. The callousness with which respectable citizens have been beaten up in court compounds or subjected to crude third degree methods of police violence makes it obvious that the Punjab police and their masters not only entertain no respect for law but are ignorant of even the most elementary canons of civilised democracy. The various probe bodies instituted to investigate into these incidents have confirmed that there has been gross

abuse of executive powers and a transgression of its limits by the authorities. Notwithstanding these findings, no action has been taken against the culprits. There is reason to believe that some of the officials who indulged in violence, trampled under foot the liberties of citizens, and verily gambled with their lives, have indeed been rewarded for their 'performance.'

This Government which owes its genesis to compromises made with communalism has been depending for its existence and continuance in power also, on the sustenance it can secure from communalism. With 'divide and rule' as the basic tenet of its policies, the Punjab Government has been systematically trying to create feelings of animosity and ill-will between different sections of the population by pampering one section and suppressing the other. This policy has inevitably affected the Civil Services also, who are finding it impossible to discharge their responsibilities freely and impartially. Serious apprehensions have arisen in their minds regarding their future and the feeling of security is no more there.

The continuance of such a state of affairs in a border State like Punjab spells peril for the security of the entire nation. The Central Government has a special responsibility in the matter. Jana Sangh urges the Centre to take early and effective steps to fulfil its obligations. It also congratulates the Punjab people for the firmness, unity, valour and forbearance which they have manifested all through these grave and provocative circumstances and assures them that the entire nationalist forces in the country are with them in their right-ous struggle.

Veer Sumer Singh—Bharatiya Jana Sangh pays its homage to Veer Sumer Singh and other martyrs who sacrificed their lives in this struggle.

[April 5, 1958; Ambala, VI AIS]

58.15. REORGANISATION OF BOMBAY STATE

At the time of the reorganisation of states, the Jana Sangh had resolved that on the basis of the principles accepted by the Commission, Maharashtra and Gujarat be formed into two separate states. The people of these areas also expressed this view unequivocally through various agitations and elections. It is a matter of regret that the Government not only went against the principles laid down by the Commission, but also ignored the popular sentiments and formed the present Bombay State.

The experience of the last one year has, however, made it clear that this experiment of Bombay State is a failure and that there is great discontent about it everywhere, which is being exploited by various anti-democratic and disruptive forces.

The situation demands that the Government, without standing on false prestige, should review the situation in a realistic way and in the interests of national unity, peaceful progress and for creating healthy democratic traditions, reorganise the Bombay State into separate Maharashtra and Gujarat States without any further delay.

[July 19, 1958; Bombay, CWC]

58.30. MYSORE-MAHARASHTRA BORDER DISPUTE

This Jana Sangh Session deplors that a serious situation should have been allowed to develop in Belgaum and other areas on the border between Bombay and Mysore States. The ordinary question of a border adjustment between two provinces of India has assumed this serious proportion due to dereliction of duty by the Central Government who instead of appointing a Commission to decide the question in accordance with the rationale of the States Reorganisation has left it to be bargained about by the two provinces.

The Jana Sangh demands that immediate steps be taken by the Central Government to resolve the issue and appeals to the people not to do anything which may embitter the feelings between the two linguistic groups in the area concerned.

[December 28, 1958; Bangalore, VII AIS]

59.16. REORGANISATION OF BOMBAY STATE

Bharatiya Jana Sangh has all along been demanding the reorganisation of the present Bombay State, as its formation was opposed by all sections of the people in the State. The Jana Sangh, therefore, welcomes the moves taken towards this end. It, however, deplors the way in which the whole matter is being treated as the domestic affair of the Congress Party, completely ignoring all other elements in the State and even the State Legislatures and the Parliament. Instead of arriving at decisions with the fullest cooperation and in consultation of the various interests and leaders and representatives of the people in the State, the Congress High Command is issuing decrees to be respected and ratified by the Parliament and the State Legislatures, and accepted by the people. Obviously this procedure has failed

to take note of the feelings of the people in different regions. The report of the Congress sub-committee has only created discontent in the people on various counts.

The Central Working Committee urges upon the Government to devise a constitutional machinery comprising of the representatives of the people to arrive at a decision with regard to the new arrangements so that it minimises chances of friction and bitterness between the people of different regions and meets their wishes in the largest possible measure.

[December 6, 1959; Surat, CWC]

60.08. PUNJABI SUBA DEMAND

It has been the considered view of Bharatiya Jana Sangh that the truncated Punjab which has been left to India after partition does not permit of any further partition on any basis whatsoever. Its geographical situation, needs of its economic development, its comparatively small area and population and the intermixing of the Punjabi and Hindi speaking population in every district, town and village as a result of the resettlement of millions of displaced persons from W. Punjab have made any further division of this province undesirable and detrimental to the best interests of Punjab as also of India as a whole. The States Reorganisation Commission arrived at the same conclusion after fully considering the viewpoint of the protagonists of a further partition of Punjab for creating a Sikh majority State in the guise of Punjabi Suba.

Unfortunately the Government of India even after the clear verdict of the SRC that any further partition of Punjab on the basis of language was physically impossible, tried to appease the Akali Dal by arbitrarily dividing Punjab into two regions and giving them separate Regional Committees in spite of the opposition of Bharatiya Jana Sangh. This policy of appeasement of communal and separatist intransigence has had its natural result of further whetting the separatist ambitions of the Akalis.

It is not surprising therefore that Master Tara Singh after his recent victory in the elections, has renewed his demand for another partition of Punjab to create a Sikh State of his conception. But it must be clearly understood that Gurudwara elections were held for a purely religious purpose concerning the Sikh community which as a whole does not constitute more than $\frac{1}{4}$ population of Punjab. Victory in these elections which, at best, shows majority support of a portion of the community (which chose to

enrol themselves as voters for the elections to the SGPC and exercise their franchise) to him in respect of control and management of Gurudwaras, cannot and should not be interpreted as support for a further partition of Punjab which is a purely political issue affecting the entire population of the province. A huge majority of that population including a good section of the Sikhs is unequivocally opposed to this basically communal and separatist demand which has no analogy whatsoever with the bifurcation of Bombay into new States of Gujarat and Maharashtra both of which are distinct viable linguistic areas. Jana Sangh or the Government has never accepted language to be the sole basis of reorganisation of States. Moreover the demand for the so-called Punjabi Suba has nothing to do whatsoever with language. The language is being used only to serve as a cloak for a purely communal demand.

The Central Working Committee, therefore, expects Master Tara Singh to live up to the best traditions of the Gurus and would appeal to him to work for cementing and strengthening the unity of Punjab and its people instead of further dividing them. It also urges upon the Government to adopt a firm and resolute policy against the pressure tactics that might be employed to achieve his separatist objective. It also calls upon the nationalist elements of Punjab in general and the Punjab branch of Jana Sangh in particular to take all possible steps to educate and mobilise public opinion against this nefarious demand.

[January 25, 1960; Nagpur, VIII AIS]

60.12. PUNJABI SUBA DEMAND

Bharatiya Jana Sangh has always been opposed to any further division of Punjab. The demand for a Punjabi Suba made by Akali Dal contravenes the accepted criteria for States Reorganisation, viz., administrative efficiency, economic viability, national security and unity, and linguistic homogeneity. From the language point of view, Punjab is a bilingual State, where bifurcation on a territorial basis is not possible. The SRC too acknowledged this fact.

The truth is that the so-called Punjabi Suba, demanded by Akali Dal is related not to the Punjabi language but to a desire to establish a rank communal and bigoted State. It is regretful that even after the disastrous consequences of the communal partition for creation of Pakistan, neither Master Tara Singh has shed his separatist mentality of the British era, nor the

Congress has changed its policy of appeasement towards communalism. The Sachar and Pepsu formulae, the scheme of regional Committees etc. are steps taken from time to time by the Congress in pursuance of this appeasement policy and for the attainment of party ends. Such steps have only encouraged Akali separatism, and as a result the Akali Dal has today made bold to clash with the Government in a bid to achieve its designs. Threat to national integrity posed by the Akali agitation assumes dangerous proportions when it is viewed against the background of the Akali leader's recent trip to Pakistan and his speeches there, and when one keeps in mind the fact that Punjab happens to be a border State.

It is essential that Akali communalism should be firmly combated. To this end, not only Punjab, but the entire country needs to be enlightened about the real nature of the Akali demand and warned against this new menace to national integrity. Jana Sangh expects the Government to do its duty in this regard and not to betray any weakness in its handling of the issue. Its earlier policies, however do make us apprehensive. We feel it imperative, therefore, that nationalist forces should remain vigilant, and be prepared for the defence of the country's unity. Jana Sangh on its part is pledged to resist firmly under all circumstances a further division of Punjab. It appeals to all nationalist elements in the country to understand fully the reality behind the Akali demand and refrain from doing anything—whether out of misunderstanding or for the purpose of petty political expediency—that may encourage this, demand.

[June 1, 1960; Delhi, CWC]

60.17. ASSAM DISTURBANCES

No Administration for Weeks—Bharatiya Jana Sangh views with great concern the unhappy developments that have taken place in Assam during the last few months. Under cover of a language agitation, what appears to be a regular vendetta has been organised by a section of the Assamiyas there for the wholesale expulsion of the Bengali speaking Hindu population of Assam valley resulting in large-scale killing, looting, arson, and rape etc. The situation was such that for weeks together in July last, there was hardly any administration functioning in Assam Valley—law and order having utterly broken down. Government of Assam was unable and perhaps unwilling to put down this violent campaign for the expulsion of Bengali-speak-

ing Hindus. Central Government too failed in its elementary duty of stepping in to protect the life and property of its employees when the State Government machinery had broken down for weeks together, and was thus itself guilty of gross dereliction of duty.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh does not consider the issue as merely an Assamiya *versus* Bengali question. The issue goes much deeper. In fact, the issue raised is whether in every part of India, every citizen of India is entitled to live and reside and carry on his vocation in perfect safety and honour. If on any pretext, whatsoever, such safety of life and property is menaced, that is a blow aimed at the entire nation's solidarity. Bharatiya Jana Sangh accordingly considers such conduct as a crime against the nation and condemns it as such.

Besides, all agitations linguistic or otherwise, must be conducted in a peaceful and civilised manner, and must not be allowed to degenerate into a campaign of killing, looting, arson, rape and intimidation which is what has happened in Assam.

As a result of these disturbances, there has naturally been a mass-scale migration of Bengali-speaking Hindus of Assam from their homes mainly to the W. Bengal but also to Cachar (Assam) and Tripura. This is most unfortunate. Speedy steps must be taken to restore them to their homes in Assam, and rehabilitate them there in safety and honour. But this cannot be achieved unless and until the confidence of the displaced persons is restored in the bona fides of the Government and its ability and willingness to maintain law and order. In fact, this confidence has been absolutely shattered by the recent disturbances.

For the restoration of confidence and for the punishment of the miscreants, Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels that the following steps have to be immediately taken :

- (i) The Assam Government must be dismissed and President's rule installed.
- (ii) The criminal elements must be rounded up and given deterrent punishments.
- (iii) A judicial enquiry (presided over by a Judge of the Supreme Court) be instituted to make a thorough probe into the nature and extent of the disturbances, the agencies behind them (especially the part played by the pro-Pak elements and different political parties therein), bring out the real facts, and investigate the entire back-

ground; and the findings and the decisions of this Judicial Enquiry Commission be implemented without delay.

[August 28, 1960; Hyderabad, AIGC]

61.11. COMMUNAL THREAT

The way in which the question of debarring communal parties from participating in elections has been raised by the ruling party in the context of the recent unfortunate happenings in Jabbalpur and the indecent haste with which the administration has sought to be equipped with necessary new and vast powers is a matter of deep concern for all lovers of democracy.

Unholy Alliance—There can be no place for communalism, casteism and regionalism in a democratic country in which every adult, irrespective of his religion and sect has been guaranteed the unfettered right to vote. If even after 13 years of freedom these undesirable trends are actively coming to the fore, the responsibility for it must squarely be on the Ruling Party which has failed to create emotional integration and provide a firm and correct basis for the educational and economic progress of the country. It is an unpleasant fact that nothing has been done to destroy the Two-nation theory which directly led to the partition of India and which today lies at the root of Muslim communalism in the country. Unholy Congress alliance with Muslim League in Kerala has not only lent respectability to communalism but has also inspired and encouraged the Muslims living in other parts of the country to organise themselves on communal basis and hobnob with other political parties to gain political leverage.

The situation has been further aggravated by the efforts of Pakistan to become the self-styled protector of Indian Muslims and by the disruptive activities of the Pakistani fifth columnists to prevent Indian Muslims from developing a sense of oneness with the main life stream of India and to create all kinds of difficulties for this country.

Communist Game—It is a matter of great regret that instead of analysing the causes of the communal disturbances at Jabbalpur and elsewhere the Congress and other political parties are vying in twisting them with a view to appease the Muslims with an eye on block-votes for the forthcoming general elections. Communist Party has jumped upon Jabbalpur incident as a long awaited opportunity for creating a fit

in the joint front of all the nationalist and democratic parties against the Chinese aggression and to end its own political isolation. Its propaganda campaign against Bharatiya Jana Sangh in which the truth has been mercilessly butchered and facts have been most unscrupulously misrepresented is a part of this policy. Strangely enough certain political parties and individuals who claim to be well acquainted with the Communist tactics too, are consciously or unconsciously playing the Communist game and are thus helping the Communist Party to re-emerge as a respectable party on national political stage.

Basic Articles of Faith—Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been raising its voice against communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism from its very inception and has been making every effort to counteract these undesirable tendencies. To that end, Bharatiya Jana Sangh has adopted the concept of 'One Country, One People and One Culture' in its basic Articles of faith and has been trying to revive and strengthen true Indian nationalism on that basis. It has firmly rejected every kind of separatism in the field of politics on the basis of religion, sect, language or province.

It is the considered view of the Central Working Committee that a purely negative approach towards the question of communalism will not lead to the desired results. Communalism might be suppressed for some time with the help of police and law but it cannot be uprooted in that way. The real problem is how to liberate the hearts and minds of the people from the narrow grooves of communalism and give them a wider national outlook instead. This task cannot be achieved by force. It demands a positive constructive and emotional approach. It is not enough just to condemn the narrow loyalties but they should be, through a planned effort, replaced by higher loyalties—they should be Indianised. In a way, disruptive tendencies are the outer manifestation of our many sided backwardness. To meet their challenge while it is necessary on the one hand to make rapid progress in Social, Economic and Educational spheres, on the other it is equally necessary to create political awakening and consciousness in the common people. The Working Committee makes the following concrete suggestions to meet this evil:

(1) The conception of 'majority' and 'minority' based on religion is basically opposed to nationalism and should have

no place in democratic politics. It is wrong to make any distinction in the matter of services, trade, education, etc. on the basis of differences in the ways of worship. Every effort should be made to prevent stabilisation of any kind of separatism in the name of protecting the rights of so-called minorities.

(2) All major political parties should affirm that they will not make any compromise with communalism nor will they give any quarter to such tendencies while making selection of their candidates for the elections.

(3) Organisations whose membership is not open to all Indians and whose activities are confined to the protection and advancement of the rights and interest of the people following some particular way of worship, should not be given recognition from the political point of view nor should any heed be paid to the complaints and demands of political nature coming from them. This will force them either to keep away from politics or to shed their communal character and help in decommunalising the national politics.

[April 22, 1961; Patna, CWC]

61.14. MASTER TARA SINGH'S FAST

Bilingual Punjab—The truncated Punjab is a bilingual State in which Punjabi speaking and Hindi speaking people are so much intermixed at all levels that any further division of the State on the basis of language is undesirable and politically inexpedient. This is a factual position and this has been the stand of Bharatiya Jana Sangh which was also supported by the SRC.

Coercive Fast—The Akali Dal's demand for its further division is essentially a communal move which has nothing to do with language as such. Coercive methods like fast of Master Tara Singh adopted by the Akali Dal has further exposed the undemocratic and illogical character of the Akali demand. Such steps can only lead to counter reactions. Recourse to such steps to achieve political ends is reprehensible and must be discouraged.

The Central Working Committee welcomes the firmness shown by the Government and its refusal to succumb to such pressure tactics. But the reported move to increase the powers of the Regional Committees to make them sub-legislatures is disconcerting. Jana Sangh is convinced that such

a step will further complicate the Punjab situation. Any change in the *status quo* to appease the Akalis would be dangerous step and, therefore, must be avoided. Bharatiya Jana Sangh assures the people of Punjab that it will continue to oppose any further partition of Punjab. It appeals to them to maintain their unity and not permit themselves to be perturbed by the developments there resulting from M. Tara Singh's fast.

[August 25, 1961; Jammu, CWC]

61.20. COMMUNAL CHARACTER OF AMU

The conduct of Aligarh Muslim University Union-elections on communal lines, its aftermath, and subsequent aggressive acts by Muslim communalists in several towns of Western U.P. led to a spate of extremely unfortunate incidents in these areas. Even apart from violence, the communal bitterness evinced in the course of these happenings, spells danger both for democracy and nationalism. The All India General Council condemns these trends.

It must also be recorded that notwithstanding the tense and provocative atmosphere at several places, the common folk conducted themselves with utmost patience and restraint and helped to maintain peace. The General Council expresses its appreciation for such conduct.

It is the duty of the Government to be firm in dealing with threats to law and order, and of all peace loving citizens to cooperate in governmental efforts in this direction. It is a matter of extreme regret that the Ruling Party and the Communist Party have been trying to make political capital out of these unfortunate events. While on the one hand, a slenderous and false propaganda campaign has been let loose against the workers of Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh and the Jana Sangh, the BJS candidates for the forthcoming elections are being arrested even now, after the calming down of the disturbances. It is clear that instead of accepting the political challenge posed by the Jana Sangh, the Ruling Party has decided to stoop to low tactics of warfare. The Jana Sangh has demanded a judicial enquiry into these events but the Government has declined to accept it. Evidently it wants to avoid facing facts.

Indianise AMU—This AIGC strongly condemns these attempts of the Government for political oppression and harassment. While on the one hand the Council reiterates

its demand for a judicial enquiry into the riots, it urges on the other that the present communal character of the Aligarh Muslim University be abolished and it be Indianised and run like other Universities of the country.

[November 12, 1961; Varanasi, AIGC]

65.16. ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Birth-place of Pakistan—Aligarh Muslim University was founded mostly with the set purpose to develop and consolidate separatist trends among Indian Muslims to keep them out of the national movement. The ideology of Pakistan was born and developed in this University. After partition most of its students and teachers migrated to Pakistan. It was then generally believed and expected that this poisonous plant will be allowed to die its own death and nothing will be done to enable it to take roots in the Indian soil again. But quite the opposite has happened. The national Government of free India began to rebuild this institution as a Central University. As a result of the crores of rupees given to it as central grants, it soon grew into a much bigger and richer institution than what it was before 1947. New Medical, Engineering and Agricultural colleges have been opened there and new buildings worth crores of rupees have been built during the last 18 years. But while doing all this, no steps were taken to end its separatist and communal character and make it a national institution. What is worse, it was allowed to become once again a formidable base of pro-Pak and anti-national activities. To maintain its communal character not only 3 other colleges of Aligarh were not affiliated to it but it was also made a special preserve of Muslims by reserving admissions to it for Muslim students in the name of giving preference to local students which in effect meant students of the two High Schools run by the University. The resultant communalism in the University has been manifesting itself in communal riots and communal incidents year after year.

The latest example of the rabid communalism dominating this University was the murderous assault in April last on the Vice-chancellor Ali Yavar Jung for his move to cut down the percentage of seats reserved for Muslims from 75 percent to 50 percent. This forced the Government of India to bestir itself. An ordinance has been promulgated empowering the Government of India to nominate a new Court and Executive Council for the University. This step really does not go beyond touch-

ing the fringe of the problem. It leaves the communal character of the University untouched. Even then in the face of opposition to this ordinance, a new wave of Muslim communalism has been set afloat in the country. Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Jamait-e-Islami with the cooperation of Muslim legislators and some Congress ministers are carrying on most poisonous communal propaganda and activities all over the country. They are arousing Muslim fanaticism. July 16 is going to be observed as a protest day all over the country. As has been complained by the Education Minister Shri M. C. Chagla, some so-called national Muslims including MPs and ministers are also supporting this communal opposition to the AMU Ordinance.

This has created a dangerous situation. Formidable communal tension is being created particularly in and around Aligarh. If steps are not taken to curb this communal outburst in time, it may lead to dangerous developments and repercussions.

Communal Character of AMU—It is the considered view of Jana Sangh that all Indian Universities (run by the public money) are national institutions. To connect them with any particular community and to vest their control in that community cuts at the roots of the very basis of Indian nationalism. Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, demands that :

- (i) Aligarh Muslim University statute should be completely changed so as to end the present communal character of this University.
- (ii) All the colleges of Aligarh and its neighbouring areas be affiliated with the University to give it a real territorial character.
- (iii) All the teachers and the officials of the University be thoroughly screened to clear the University of all anti-national elements. In future all appointments must be made on merit alone.

[July 10, 1965; Jabbalpur, CWC]

66.02. PUNJABI SUBA DEMAND

The Central Working Committee congratulates the people of Punjab for the exemplary unity demonstrated by them in the face of the Pak aggression. The Committee, however, regrets to note that immediately after the cease-fire, the Government of India has rushed to reopen the issue of Punjabi Suba that had been considered at length and decided finally by

competent authorities. This move of the Government has been unwarranted, inadvisable, inopportune, and fraught with grave consequences. It is essential to maintain and strengthen the unity of Punjab in order to meet the aggressive designs of the neighbouring hostile countries in the immediate future.

The Committee reiterates its stand on the unity of this border State and urges the Government not to do anything that would divert the attention of the people from the supreme task of national defence.

(January 15, 1966; Kanpur, CWC)

66.10. REORGANISATION OF PUNJAB

In pursuance of the Congress Working Committee's resolution of March 9, 1966, the Government of India has decided to reorganise the Punjab State. This decision goes counter to the Government's declared policy, to its commitments, to expert opinion and to the wishes of the people. Jana Sangh considers this decision as unfortunate.

Brutal Repression in Punjab—In Punjab, there was a sharp reaction to the Congress Working Committee's resolution. Popular sentiments ran high and there were strong public resentment. Instead of trying to understand and appreciate these popular feelings, Government took recourse to repression. Newspapers were censored, meetings and demonstrations were banned, Section 144 was misused and arrests were made on a large scale. Innocent citizens (and even women) became victims to the brutalities of the police, who entered homes of private citizens and beat up the inmates and trampled the sanctity of temples by entering them with shoes on. Persons were killed as a result of reckless police firing in Amritsar, Jullundhur, Ludhiana, Panipat and Bhiwani. Three persons lost their lives accidentally when a shop was set on fire at Panipat.

Even now, the police is trying to involve innocent people in various trumped-up prosecutions, because of political motivations. A large number of persons are still in prison. Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly demands that a three-member Commission headed by a Supreme Court Judge be constituted to enquire into the police excesses and the repression unleashed by the Punjab Government. In the case of the Bastar episode, Congress Government showed surprising haste in nominating an Enquiry Commission, but in the Punjab, the Government has been adamantly stalling this demand for enquiry. This

only shows that the Government does not have the courage to face the truth. We welcome the Supreme Court Bar Association of India's decision to set up an independent Enquiry Commission headed by Dr. C. B. Agarwal, retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court and comprising besides, two other retired High Court Judges.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh congratulates the people of Punjab for the brave resistance they have put up against Government's injustice. This struggle has proved their strength to face all odds and their determination to live with respect. The nationalist leadership of Punjab also deserves praise that in this climate of immense tension and strain, they conducted themselves with exemplary restraint and patience. Despite the efforts of some mischievous elements they have succeeded in running the movement on strictly non-communal lines.

As a result of this struggle Central Government had to acknowledge that in Punjab there is another force also apart from the Akalis and that this force could not be disregarded. Government has also accepted that some special constitutional provisions will have to be made while reorganising Punjab to maintain the basic unity of this region and to allay the justified misgivings of various sections. To this end, the Prime Minister and the Union Home Minister have assured :

- (i) That the reorganisation of Punjab would be strictly on the basis of language, and that no communal or religious considerations would be allowed to influence it;
- (ii) That as many links of unity as feasible between the two new units will be maintained; and
- (iii) That the linguistic and other rights of minorities will be safeguarded. An assurance was also given that all persons arrested in connection with the movement will be released.

Jana Sangh hopes that these assurances will be fully implemented. We appeal to the disciplined people of Punjab to remain vigilant and united, so that it may not be possible for Government to back out of its commitments under any pressure.

Delimitation of Punjab—The question of delimiting State boundaries often gives rise to difficulties. There are areas on the border where determination of language always poses a ticklish problem. A Commission has been appointed to look into these matters. We hope that views in this regard will be expressed only before the Commission and the issues involved

will not be made subject of agitation. If the Central Government and the political parties pre-decide to accept the Commission's verdict as a binding award, much of the heat likely to be generated by these disputes would be eliminated.

Because of the communal attitude of some elements, Punjab's politics is not as yet normal. For the sake of its own partisan interests, the Congress has always encouraged communalism. If even after the reorganisation of Punjab, communalism continues to vitiate the politics of this region, it would mean a continuing danger to the security of the nation. A special responsibility, therefore, devolves on the nationalist forces in Punjab to give a new turn to the State's politics. Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been exerting in this direction since its inception. There is need now to intensify these efforts.

Jana Sangh regards the Sikhs as part and parcel of the Hindu Society. It has full trust in the patriotism of the Sikh community. We hope that they will keep themselves away from the pulls and the leadership, which may strive to sow among them the seeds of separatism.

As the population of a border State, the people of Punjab have always been sentinels of India's frontiers. They have always acquitted themselves with patriotism, bravery and sacrifices. The people of Haryana have shared with them these noble qualities. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is confident that after the reorganisation, leaders of public opinion in these areas will keep up past traditions, do full justice to their new responsibilities, and will continue to work for the preservation and promotion of the basic unity of this region.

[May 1, 1966; Jullundur, XIII AIS]

68.11. COMMUNAL THREAT

Poison Seeds of Communalism—Communal riots, whose origin can be traced to the era when this country was under alien rule, have persisted even after independence. But the sharp increase in the frequency and violence of these disturbances during the past few months has been a matter of grave concern. Only this week, there have been serious clashes in Nagpur between Muslims and Dr. Ambedkar's followers. Generally, these riots used to involve Hindus and Muslims. But, with the recent Muslim-Christian clashes in Kerala and the Shia-Sunni disturbances in Ghazipur, this communal rioting has acquired an added dimension and form.

Prior to 1947, it was commonly argued that communal riots were the handiwork of British Rulers, and that once the third side of the 'communal triangle' was eliminated, harmony and peace among communities would automatically be established. The partition of India itself was sought to be justified on the plea that thereby the country would be freed for ever from these recurring communal outbursts and animosities. Recent events have clearly shown how superficial, mistaken and unrealistic such analyses were. Not that the British Government used to spare any efforts to aggravate Hindu-Muslim tensions and to seek fulfilment of its imperialist designs by keeping them divided. But the bitter truth is that the poison-seeds of communal trouble have been with us since even before British rule, and that even 20 years after the departure of the Britishers, the country continues to have to reap their deadly fruits. Evidently, therefore, the problem needs to be considered in its proper historical perspective and the forces identified which have kept communalism alive and active in this country.

Foreign Inspired Riots—Bharatiya Jana Sangh had appointed sub-committees to enquire into the recent communal disturbances. Reports submitted by these committees (these are to be released shortly) make one thing clear, namely, that it would be wrong to regard these acts of violence and loot as sporadic. It is true that at many places the rioting was initially sparked by some such incident as sprinkling of Holi colour, or cow-slaughter etc. But the rapidity and virulence with which these riots have been spreading reveal that preparations had been going on even earlier and that the rioters were only waiting for some excuse to embark on their nefarious game. That within a brief period of time, riots should occur in as far-flung places as Srinagar and Karimganj, Allahabad and Aurangabad, show that there are forces in the country actively conspiring to create disorder and anarchy by fomenting communalism. The possibility cannot be ruled out that these rioters have been receiving arms and money from some foreign powers. Shouting of slogans like 'Pakistan Zindabad' and parading of Pak flags during the riots lend strength to the suspicion that there is a foreign hand behind these riots. The surprisingly prompt reports about riots broadcast by Radio Pakistan provide another sinister pointer.

It is extremely unfortunate that instead of diagnosing the communal malaise correctly and finding some scientific cure for

it, various political parties have only been trying to exploit the problem for partisan ends. It is astonishing indeed that parties which tom-tom the loudest about secularism are foremost in patronising communalism. All of them are vying with one another to secure maximum possible communal support from Muslim voters. In this bid for Muslim support, not only have these parties shut their eyes to Muslim communalism but in the name of upholding minority rights, they have not hesitated even to back demands and actions which can only undermine nationalism and democracy. An illustration of the dangerous limits to which petty politicians can go in this race for communal harvest is provided by a Central Minister who lately tried to justify accumulation of arms by Muslims on the ground that in several States Jana Sangh had become a partner in governments.

Some years ago in Kerala, the Congress entered into an alliance with the Muslim League. Lately, the Communist Party and several other parties have done the same. Such acts, and the political hobnobbing going on presently with rabid and separatist organisations, like the Muslim Mushawarat, serve only to strengthen those elements who wish to keep the Muslim masses away from the national mainstream and thus lead them herd-like in whatever direction they please. The extraordinary rise in the strength and influence of the Jamat-e-Islami in recent years is an index of the fact that the Muslim masses are increasingly coming under the grip of fanatic mullahs and maulvis who hold that the security and progress of the Muslims can be ensured only under a State ruled by Muslims, and in accordance with the Shariat.

One Nation, One People—Very much like linguism and regionalism, communalism also is a symptom of a dangerous disease which is eating into the vitals of our national life and which if not remedied in time may endanger our very existence. Indeed, it is due to our ill-conceived notion about the concept of nationalism and national integration that disruptive forces have been gaining strength and the country has come face to face with a threat of Balkanisation. To combat the challenge posed by these forces let us reiterate our faith in the ideal of One Country, One people and One Culture. All attempts to divide the country and the people on grounds of religion, region or language must be defeated.

Those who describe India as a multi-national State not only strike at the roots of national unity and integrity but also confer

respectability on forces exerting to disrupt the country in furtherance of their own narrow self-interests. Similarly, those who refuse to accept India as an ancient nation and argue that nationalism is a modern concept and that we are only a nation in the making, are just shutting their eyes to India's great and glorious past and thus becoming blind to those very cords of India's life and unity which have kept the country welded together even in severe ups and downs of thousands of years of India's History.

India's Moorings—Indian Constitution guarantees to every citizen of this Republic, irrespective of his creed, caste or language, equal rights and equal opportunities. The Constitution provides for one common citizenship for all Indians. It has no place for discrimination of any kind against any citizen, and embodies the joint resolve of the Indian people to secure to all citizens full freedom and equality. The President of India and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court today belong to a community which only 20 years back had laid claims on the basis of its religion to being a separate nationality, and which, for the achievement of its objective, had indulged even in mass violence, looting and arson. This fact in itself bears eloquent testimony to our abiding faith in the ideal of a non-communal State. If in spite of all this, some people keep bandying charges that they are being discriminated against or are being treated as second class citizens, they are only guilty of slandering India in the eyes of the world-opinion. The decision to make India a secular State even after partition was not prompted by a desire to placate any one. In fact, Hindu polity has always regarded the State as a secular institution and has never favoured theocracy. But secularism cannot be made to mean that India should cut itself off from its moorings, and snap its links with its age-old golden and glorious traditions and life-stream.

As a modern and enlightened nation, India must avail of science and technology to overcome its economic backwardness. But even while exerting to secure a place for itself in the front ranks of the world's nations, India cannot neglect the ennobling values of our ancient heritage—values, without which, economic affluence leads to crime, military power to oppression and intellectual advancement to conceit. In a world perched atop a pile of nuclear armaments, India has a special and important role to play, and this it can do by upholding and preserving the precious legacy of its traditional values. There are elements

who in the name of secularism are exerting to cut India asunder from its lustrous past and its great heritage. Their efforts should not be allowed to succeed.

One of the main obstacles in the way of national integration is the fact that various religious, linguistic and other denominational groups, instead of merging themselves in the mainstream of national life are prone to lay greater stress on their separate identity. Unity in diversity is, no doubt, a commendable characteristic of our Nationhood. But if we allow diversities to grow to such an extent that the basic unity itself becomes undermined, the very existence of the nation will be imperilled.

Educational Syllabi—Union Subject—In order that India be able to preserve its national unity and integrity, and successfully withstand the dangers posed by communalism, linguism and regionalism, the Committee recommends the following measures:

(1) Every outburst of violence, whether of a communal nature or of any other, must be firmly dealt with. Those who pose a danger for law and order must be dealt with at that level. The police and administration must be encouraged to perform their duties in such situations boldly and impartially. Political leaders should not be permitted to meddle with the processes of law.

(2) The administrative machinery at the district level should be so geared up as to be able to take effective measures even before any mischief breaks out. Authorities should keep themselves well posted about the secret conclaves often held in places of worship. A close watch must be kept on elements suspected to be accumulating arms.

(3) Citizens' Committees should be formed at all levels to help in the maintenance of peace and harmony. The common citizen should be encouraged to assist in preventing the spread of rumours.

(4) Political parties must show a readiness to rise above considerations of party expediency while dealing with the problem of national integration. To encourage communalism for the sake of petty electoral gains or to shield elements really responsible for communal trouble for the same reason or to exploit communal trouble only to slander political opponents is a dangerous game which the political parties would do well to abandon. National unity is a precious legacy which cannot be sacrificed at the altar of party politics.

(5) It is neither desirable nor correct to divide the Indian

people on the basis of their religions into two permanent camps of majority and minority, or to tackle every problem on that basis. The Constitution guarantees full religious freedom. The courts are there to uphold this guarantee. Formation of political organisations on the basis of creeds and then raising of political demands from those platforms militates against the concept of a non-communal State.

(6) The sole criterion for recruitment to services, or entry into trade and industry, should be merit. For historical reasons, the Constitution provides certain safeguards for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. Barring these, there should be no preferential treatment for any section. Nor should discrimination against any section be permitted. The demand being voiced that seats in government be reserved for members of a particular creed on the basis of population is an extremely dangerous one and must be rejected.

(7) Education can play an important role in the process of national integration. It is a matter of regret that in Independent India the potential of education for this purpose has not been exploited. Education is a State subject, but the proposal is worth considering that drawing up of educational syllabi be made a Union subject. It is essential also to see that no educational institution is allowed to inject the poison of separatism in its students in the name of educational autonomy. The general climate of all educational institutions in India, whether they be public schools run by foreign missionaries or like the centrally administered Aligarh Muslim University, must necessarily be Indian.

The recrudescence of communal violence has naturally been causing anxiety to all patriots. But there is no reason to be panicky. The heart of the people is sound. There is need only of giving them the right lead. Workers of Bharatiya Jana Sangh must come forward to fulfil the call of the time.

[June 14 1968; Gauhati, CWC]

69.01. TELANGANA AGITATION

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses its deep concern over the recent widespread Andhra disturbances over the issue of a separate Telangana. While Jana Sangh is opposed to the creation of a separate Telangana, it urges the State Government to rectify the regional imbalances which lie at the root of the present unrest and which certain

political sections are exploiting for their own ends.

Safeguards for Telangana—The separate Telangana agitation has a background which goes back to the time of Andhra's formation in 1956. The then leaders of the Andhra and Telangana regions recognised the backwardness of Telangana and came to a gentleman's agreement in respect of certain safeguards regarding services, domiciles, etc. Parliament later passed the *Public Employment (Qualifications as to Residence) Act of 1957*, legalising the aforesaid gentleman's agreement in so far as safeguards given to the employment personnel were concerned. These safeguards were given for a period of 10 years. As the Act expired in 1964, the Parliament passed an identical Act to be in force for 5 more years. These safeguards are to end in March 1969. A Telangana Regional Committee was formed to see to the working of these safeguards.

Though the Congress has been in power throughout, the safeguards given either under the gentleman's agreement or under the Public Employment (Qualifications as to Residence) Act were not implemented. Added to this, a section of out-of-office Congressmen has been exerting to work-up regional feelings. Using student-unions as their instrument this disgruntled group of Congressmen started an agitation. It is this Congress group that has been encouraging, assisting and financing the separate Telangana agitation. Students Federation, the student-wing of the Communists also has plunged into the fray. Later, rowdies also were drawn into this movement. The ex-Razakars also gave their blessings and support. The result was violence, arson and looting. The trouble provoked a reaction even in the Andhra region.

On 18th and 19th of January 1969, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, convened a meeting of all political parties in the Legislature. All the leaders agreed that safeguards given should be extended for a further period of 5 years from 1969 up to 1974. Several other measures also were agreed upon to allay the grievances of the Telangana region. The objective of providing these safeguards is to enable Telangana to come up to the level of the rest of the State within the stipulated period. It is hoped that this latest agreement will help achieve this objective.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh disapproves of the separate Telangana demand and urges the people of both regions to exert jointly for the welfare of the State. It, however, holds that the main res-

possibility for the recent disturbances rests with the Congress. Firstly, the present mood of discontent owes to the State Government's failure to enforce the safeguards promised to the people of Telangana region. Secondly, the agitation for a separate Telangana State also has been inspired by Congressmen. The State Government should now sincerely and immediately implement the agreement entered into on January 19, 1969.

[February 16, 1969; Delhi, CWC]

69.02. PROPOSED MALAPURAM DISTRICT

The Central Working Committee having considered the question of the proposed Malapuram district in Kerala in all its aspects feels fully convinced that this is a thoroughly communal demand which poses a grave threat to the nation's integrity and security. Jana Sangh, therefore, has resolved to intensify the agitation against it.

Jinna's Mopalaстан—Even though the name Malapuram district has been coined only recently, the demand for a separate administrative unit called Mopalaстан comprising of the same areas, is as old as the demand for Pakistan. The Muslim League in Malabar had from its very inception put forward such a demand. They did not give it up, even after partition. In fact, there is recorded evidence to show that Mohammed Ali Jinnah, when approached by the League leaders of Kerala, had advised them to strive for carving out a Mopalaстан within the Indian Union, "which when the proper time comes, we can link with Pakistan." Accordingly, Muslim League's legislators in erstwhile Madras State had demanded a separate Mopalaстан comprising of the Muslim majority areas of Malabar, including the Laccadive islands, on the ground that they form a distinct cultural unit.

The formation of the present, United Front Government, with Muslim League as a dominant partner led to a revival of the old Mopalaстан demand, with a slightly changed nomenclature, which is intended only to deceive the gullible. The demand was voiced at the Conference of the Kerala State Muslim League. The Muslim League MP representing Calicut has openly stated that the very idea of the formation of such a district has sent a wave of enthusiasm among Muslims all over India. The League Minister for Education Shri Koya has described the question of the district formation as one directly involving the interests of the Muslim community and has threatened to reconsider their

attitude towards the coalition Government, in case this district was not formed. It is strange that not only the Marxists who have obviously been working in close collusion with the Muslim League, but the other parties in the UF Government also who tom-tom loud and long about secularism are either actively supporting or passively endorsing this rank communal demand.

The argument that this new district is necessary for the development of the backward areas has no legs to stand upon. The Taluquas sought to be constituted into the new district, are by no means the most backward ones in Kerala. If this move was really prompted by concern for backward areas, formation of a Tellicherry district with the hill tracts of Wynad or Kasargod district should have been given top priority. The plea that Calicut district is too unwieldy also has no meaning. The hollowness of this argument is revealed by the fact that the relatively small Palghat district also is sought to be cut up. The real intention is quite evident. What the League desires is to tie-up the Muslim majority Taluquas of Palghat and Calicut districts with a view to form a new district in which they will have absolute majority. It is this mischievous design to carve out artificially a Muslim majority district that Jana Sangh is determined to oppose. It would have had no objection if in the normal course a district had a majority of Muslims or any other community, just as for example, there is in the Murshidabad district of W. Bengal.

Communal and Security-risk—The proposed district is not merely communal, it is also worst security-risk. The long sea-coast is highly vulnerable. The proximity of the Laccadive group of islands exclusively populated by Muslims, who have on many occasions exhibited their pro-Pakistan leanings makes it all the more so. The topography of the land, which Shri Namboodripad has described as ideally suited for guerilla warfare, is such as to pose a real security problem in the context of the Communist-League alliance operating in Kerala. Even otherwise, the very idea of carving out a district to create an artificial majority for one community is totally repugnant to the basic tenets of our Constitution and also runs counter to the interests of national integration. Jana Sangh, therefore, hails the effort of all parties, groups and individuals who have come out openly to oppose this dangerous move and urges all patriotic forces in the country to lend full support to these efforts and ensure that this anti-national move is frustrated.

The Working Committee calls upon all Jana Sangh branches to observe March 9 as Anti-Mopalastan Day and mobilise public opinion against the proposed formation of this district.

[February 16, 1969; Delhi, CWC]

69.13. TELANGANA UNREST

Telangana provides the latest (though not the last) instance of the Congress leadership's incapacity to take decisions, its inability to appreciate the intensity of popular feelings on any issue and its unwillingness to regard national interests as higher than the interests of the party or individuals.

It is admitted by all that assurances in respect of services and utilisation of surpluses given to the people of Telangana in 1956 at the time of Andhra's formation have not been fulfilled. The responsibility for this failure lies squarely on the Congress leadership, at all levels—Central, State and Regional. The Telangana Regional Committee was created by Presidential order. It was the special responsibility of the Governor to ensure the success of the Committee. Above all, it was the duty of the legislators from Telangana to protect vigilantly the interests of the region.

So far as the present agitation is concerned the Central and State Governments' handling of the situation has been characterised by a series of blunders, continuing drift and an overriding concern for their party interests—nay, the interest of specific party factions. A proposal to send a Parliamentary Committee to Telangana was thwarted.

The Prime Minister and the Home Minister refused to visit Telangana when requested but went there later of their own accord. Chief Minister Brahmanand Reddy refused to quit office despite public demand and has offered to resign now when his staying or going have virtually lost significance. All these developments indicate that the Congress leadership is incapable of taking the right decision at the right moment and thus has been entirely responsible for complicating the problem.

The Central Working Committee reiterates the suggestion made by the party at its Bombay Session that a High-power Commission be appointed to recommend financial and administrative measures for the speedy development of economically backward regions of the country. The Commission's recommendations should be binding on all.

The Working Committee urges that—Chief Minister Shri Brahmaanand Reddy's resignation should be accepted and Andhra Pradesh be placed under President's Rule for some time. The greater the delay in taking these steps the task of preserving the unity of Andhra has been getting more and more difficult. Jana Sangh was the first to suggest imposition of President's Rule in Andhra. If the suggestion had been accepted then, the present situation would never have arisen.

[July 2, 1969; Raipur, CWC]

69.19. INTERNAL SITUATION

Growing Communalism—The spate of communal riots, rapid erosion of the rule of law, determined attempts to disrupt the unity of the country and subvert democracy and constitutional government in different parts have created an explosive situation which if not tackled promptly and effectively may have dangerous repercussions.

The communal riots, of which those at Ahmedabad, Jagatdal and Varanasi are the latest examples, have set a pattern. They are invariably started by that section of the Indian Muslims which has stuck to the ideology which led to the partition of the country in 1947, with the direct or indirect help and abetment of CPI, CPM and a section of the Congress which have developed vested interests in perpetuating communalism and separatism among the Muslims and keeping them away from the mainstream of Indian life so that they may have the monopoly of their bloc-votes in the elections.

Government's failure to prevent the outbreak of disturbances and later to control them once they got started, has made the situation worse. Rioters, to whatever community they may belong, ought to be dealt with sternly under the law.

The communally motivated West Asian policy of Government of India which impelled it to gate-crash into the Islamic Conference at Rabat and invite insult upon and humiliation of the whole country, its policy of lionising Al-Fatah saboteurs and the planned working up of a communal frenzy all over the country in the name of protest against arson in Al-Aksa mosque in Jerusalem have further roused and strengthened extra-territorial loyalties among a section of the Indian Muslims. Pakistan and her agents are taking advantage of this situation to egg them on to adopt aggressive postures resulting in riots which add grist to Pakistani propaganda mills against India.

That Pakistan is striving for another partition of India has become clear from the recent writings of Mr. Bhutto, Maulana Bhashani and the memorandum submitted by a number of Muslim organisations to the High Commissioner of India at London. The continued infiltration of Pakistani Muslims in the border States of Assam, W. Bengal, Bihar and Jammu-Kashmir (which has been intensified of late) points to the same single design of Pakistan on Indian territory.

The dependence of Smt. Indira Gandhi's Government on the Muslim League and support of other elements susceptible to communal and sectional appeals of Fakhar-ud-din Ali Ahmed and Jagjivan Ram has given a new impetus to the communal problem which cannot be ignored by any nationalist.

The Communist Parties which have never made any secret of their determination to wreck the Constitution, subvert democracy and disrupt the unity of India, are exploiting this situation to serve their ends. With Muslim League and pro-Pakistani elements all over the country they have forged an alliance which has already replaced the Congress-Muslim alliance in the State like W. Bengal, Assam and Kerala.

Formation of Malapuram district in Kerala, the audacity and intransigence of anti-India elements in Jammu-Kashmir and friendliness of Chief Minister Sadiq towards them and the reign of terror let loose by CPM in W. Bengal are some of the poison fruits of this anti-national alliance.

Regionalism and Sub-regionalism—The growing feelings of regionalism and sub-regionalism partly born out of imbalances in economic development have become another major threat to peace and unity of the country. With the weakening of the Central Government attempts are being made to develop and project the personalities of different States even at the cost of the personality of the country. The State boundaries have begun to be treated as more sacrosanct than the boundaries of the country which are steadily shrinking. The formation of a sub-State of Meghalaya in Assam has given encouragement of protagonists of sub-regional States in other parts of the country.

Economic Unrest—The general economic unrest in the country with growing unemployment and frustration among the youth is being further aggravated by the false hopes aroused by Indira Government coupled with policies which are actually retarding production and curtailing employment opportunities. This has created a situation which is ideally suited to the

operation of Communist technique of creating lawlessness and anarchy in the country as a prelude to taking over of the State apparatus by them with the help of an indoctrinated minority. The forcible occupation of land by them in W. Bengal and Kerala and their terrorist activities which have created a general sense of fear and insecurity give a clear inkling of their plans and designs. Naxalites are outdoing them in this regard. They have extended their activities of Kerala, Bihar, Andhra, Orissa and other States. Their emergence as an All India Party with open commitment to violence and Maoism has added a new dimension to the Communist menace.

The situation demands urgent attention and concerted efforts on the part of all patriotic parties and elements irrespective of their differences in regard to other matters.

Foreign Interference—Jana Sangh condemns the increasing interference of foreign powers. Broadcasts relayed by Moscow Radio and Radio Peace and Progress and reports appearing in Russia's government-controlled press regarding happenings in India cannot but be regarded as gross interference in our internal matters.

Western countries also have been exerting to exploit India's illiteracy and poverty by using their economic aid measures, their cheap and provocative literature and above all, their missionaries as instruments for a campaign of mass conversion. Jana Sangh strongly condemns these activities as well. We want to warn these foreign powers not to indulge in activities that violate India's sovereignty and independence and demand that the Government of India take stern measures to curb them.

Indianisation—Bharatiya Jana Sangh being the champion of Indian nationalism and committed to preservation and strengthening of Indian unity feels particularly concerned over this state of affairs, and demands that :

(1) Every effort should be made to revive and strengthen the sense of nationalism which is the sum total of cohesive forces in any country. This requires a clear understanding of the concept of nationalism and its main springs.

(2) Indianisation (by which we mean the subordination of all narrow loyalties like those of religion, caste, region, language or dogma to the overriding loyalty to the Nation) of all fissionary elements, especially of those with extra-territorial loyalties or allegiance (overt or covert) to the Two-nation or Multi-nation theory.

(3) A permanent tribunal should be set up to tackle inter-State disputes of all types. The decision of such a Commission should be firmly binding on the parties concerned.

(4) Immediate steps should be taken to extend the Constitution of India, to the Jammu-Kashmir State to bring it in line with other States and also to implement fully the recommendations of Gajendragadkar Commission in regard to separate Development Boards for the Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh with a clear division of development funds between these three regions.

(5) A High-powered Commission should be set up to look into regional and sub-regional economic imbalances and backwardness and suggest remedies to remove the same.

(6) With the lapse of Preventive Detention Act, the need for enacting a Law of Treason has become more imperative. This law should define treason and treasonable activities and lay down deterrent punishment for all persons and parties indulging in such activities.

[December 28, 1969; Patna, XVI AIS]

70.01. CHANDIGARH

Self-immolation Threat—The Central Working Committee earnestly appeals to Akali leader Sant Fateh Singh to abandon his self-immolation plan. Santji is a highly respected leader who has made an invaluable contribution towards cementing the ties of amity between different sections of Punjab's population and stabilising the State's politics. His life is precious for the entire country. Besides, Jana Sangh holds that such a course of action, as self-immolation, is totally out of place in a democratic structure.

Jana Sangh is of the view that the full responsibility for the present stalemate over Chandigarh lies on the Central Government whose attitude towards the problem (eversince the partisan partition of undivided Punjab) has been marked by drift, ambivalence and expediency. The problem has become particularly vitiated by the ruling faction's attempt to use Chandigarh as an instrument for the furtherance of its partisan ambitions, first at the time of the Presidential elections and later, at the time of the Congress split.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh has permitted its constituent units of Punjab and Haryana to voice popular feelings on the issue and exert to see that the agitation in both the States proceeds in

peaceful channels. The present explosive situation in the two States warrants extra care on the part of the two units to ensure that peace and communal harmony in the region are not disturbed.

[January 14, 1970; Delhi, CWC]

CHAPTER 3

CLEAN AND EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATION

The third pillar of the Jana Sangh's national policy is "clean and efficient administration (60.01)". The Jana Sangh is very much concerned about the canker of corruption that is eating into the administration. Unfortunately this corruption is growing from top to bottom and its main spring lies in power-politics (60.01, 60.09). The Central Government has been conniving at the charges of corruption against Congress Ministers. The rejection of a probe demand against the Chief Minister and other Ministers of Orissa formerly (64.15) and now against Haryana Chief Minister Bansi Lal clearly indicates that the Central leaders themselves were not free from corruption (72.18). Hence if corruption has to be checked, a system will have to be set up which can keep a check on politicians in power and high-level bureaucrats. As a first step in this direction the Jana Sangh had demanded long ago a High-powered Commission (60.01, 60.09) and now it is urging an early appointment of Lokpal and Lokayukta as recommended by the Administrative Reforms Commission.

In order to maintain the efficiency of the administration it is very much necessary that its staff should be contented and active. Hence the Jana Sangh has always urged the Government to increase the wages and other facilities of its employees in proportion to the increasing dearness. It held the obstinate and short-sighted policies of the Government responsible for the Central Government Employees strikes of 1960 and 1968 (60.18). The Jana Sangh has vehemently opposed the suppression of employees' agitations. It has also condemned the idea of banning the right to strike (60.18). It wants that instead of adopting a revengeful attitude towards Government employees organisations, the Government should so change its labour policy as to eliminate the necessity of strikes (61.09).

Even while accepting the necessity of healthy labour agitations in a democratic society (60.18) the Jana Sangh has never hesitated to tell the Government employees where their duty lay. It has clearly asked them also "to extend their fullest cooperation towards increasing productivity and to discharge their duty with sincerity and discipline (68.17)". It has stressed "that the right to strike is an extra-ordinary weapon and should be taken recourse to only as a last resort" (68.21).

55.05. APPOINT ALL INDIA POLICE COMMISSION

Deteriorating Law and Order Situation—Jana Sangh expresses concern over police high-handedness in various parts of the country, such as Punjab, Madhya Bharat, UP, W. Bengal and Jammu-Kashmir. Instead of taking necessary steps to control crime and punishing the guilty, the Ruling Party gives them protection and the police are used not for maintaining law and order but for suppressing political opponents. It is also seen that various groups in power, keep an alliance with anti-social elements and use them for terrorising the common people and for suppressing political opponents. In such cases either the culprits are not caught or if caught they go free because of faulty enquiries or lack of adequate evidence.

The entire administrative machinery and internal security situation are fast deteriorating because of increasing casteism widespread corruption and inefficiency, party politics and political interference in day-to-day administration at high levels. At the same time discontent and indiscipline among the police are becoming a serious problem, as has been evidenced by the recent organised strike of policemen in W. Bengal. It is necessary to draw the attention of the Government and the people towards this situation.

More Powers to the Executive—The worst thing is that in order to hide its own incompetence and to further its partisan ends, as also to be able to easily use the administration and the police for its own purposes, the Ruling Party is attempting to equip the executive and the police with more powers and is eager to amend even the British Penal Laws for this purpose.

The people of India are generally law-abiding. In the interest of social welfare it is necessary to have an honest and disciplined police force and an administrative class which would be free of the interference and patronage of political leaders. This is necessary for re-establishing the people's confidence in the administration.

In the opinion of the Jana Sangh an All India Police Commission should be immediately set up to go into the problems of administration, efficiency and morale of police and the factors adversely affecting them. This Commission should have wide

terms of reference so that it can conduct a comprehensive enquiry into the above-mentioned situation and submit its report.

[January 1, 1955; Jodhpur, III AIS]

55.22. APPOINT ALL INDIA POLICE COMMISSION

Police Conduct—Bharatiya Jana Sangh views with grave concern the recent happenings in Bihar. It is pained that police fired on unarmed citizens and students in Patna and Nawada. In the context of similar occurrences in other States it has become necessary that serious thought be given to the question of police conduct towards the public. While realising the necessity and importance of the responsibility for maintaining law and order in the country, Jana Sangh feels that the question of respect to human life of citizens of free India cannot be treated lightly. The recurring incidents of police firing not only reflect upon the efficiency and capacity of the administration to meet difficult situations but is also a pointer to the continuance of repressive mentality of the British days. It is a painful paradox that a Government which preaches to solve all international problems by peaceful methods, takes resort to use of violence in dealing with its own people. Jana Sangh urges upon the Government to give thought to this matter and take steps to appoint an All India Police Commission which should review the manual of conduct of police towards public and set limits to use of force by it.

[August 28, 1955; Calcutta, AIGC]

56.12. HOSHIYARPUR HAPPENINGS

The Central Working Committee congratulates Veer Yagya Dutta Sharma on his spirit of heroic suffering with which he undertook his penance for the vindication of the honour of Indian womanhood at Hoshiyarpur. It also places on record its deep appreciation of the spontaneous, non-violent and unanimous struggle of various associations and people of the Punjab in general and Hoshiyarpur in particular.

The Committee further records its appreciation of the manner in which the Maha Punjab Samiti has risen above considerations of party interests and prestige and given relief to a difficult and fast deteriorating situation. It feels that the Government's persistent refusal to appoint a full-fledged Judicial enquiry (for which the present Enquiry is no substitute)

reflects on its sense of fairness and impartiality.

The Working Committee notes with concern the continuing partisan and acrimonious tone of the speeches of the Congress President and the Punjab Chief Minister. It feels that this would not be conducive to the maintenance and promotion of the goodwill generated by the Maha Punjab Samiti.

[July 21, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

56.20. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JAMMU

Abrogate Article 370—The Central Working Committee of Jana Sangh notes with regret that even after the accession of Jammu-Kashmir State to the Union of India had been duly ratified by the State Constituent Assembly, the Central Government is insisting upon Kashmir Government for having a separate constitution. This is pernicious and is fraught with grave danger for the unity of India. It is high time that Article 370 of the Indian Constitution (which made some provisional arrangement for Jammu-Kashmir State) were repealed and that State were brought fully in line with other States in India in the new set-up of States Reorganisation. The Working Committee, therefore, demands that the provisional Article 370 be immediately abrogated and the Indian Constitution be applied to Jammu-Kashmir State in toto. This is essential to curb the forces of separatism there and to consolidate Indian unity.

The Committee is also pained to find that the hopes raised by the assurances of the Governments of India and Kashmir (after the Jana Sangh movement and great martyrdom of Dr. Mookerji) to bring the State in line with the rest of India and do justice to the people of Jammu, have not been fulfilled. Discrimination in the matter of recruitment to services, allotment of funds under the Five-Year Plan for the development of Jammu and repressive policy against the Praja Parishad are continuing to the great distress and dismay of the people in general. The Working Committee, therefore, in the interest of peace and unity of the State as integral part of India, urges upon the Government of India, as also upon the Government of Jammu-Kashmir, to take necessary steps to remove the genuine fears and sense of injustice prevailing in the minds of the people of Jammu.

[October 6, 1956; Poona, CWC]

60.09. CORRUPTION IN HIGH OFFICES

Permanent Judicial Commission—The Central Working Committee expresses grave concern at the corruption prevailing in various forms in the administration (including the Central and State Ministries). This corruption has reached such proportions that people have lost all faith in the honesty and purity of the entire administration and a demand has been made for establishment of a permanent Judicial Commission to enquire into the corruption charges against those holding high offices. But the Prime Minister's attitude towards this demand is extremely disappointing. It is reported that as a Congressman, the Prime Minister is thinking of setting up a probe committee of the Congress party which may possibly attempt to rid the Congress of corrupt elements. But Jana Sangh holds that this is not a party problem but a public problem and therefore the people will not be content with a party probe. Bharatiya Jana Sangh supports the demand for the establishment of a Permanent Judicial Commission for this purpose and demands that immediate steps should be taken in this direction.

[March 20, 1960; Delhi; CWC]

60.18. CENTRAL EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

Jana Sangh regrets that an attitude of intransigence on the part of Government and a lack of statesmanship on the part of Trade Union leaders of Central Government Employees should have combined to precipitate a general strike of the employees. The very fact that a series of announcements in respect of the Government's acceptance of the Pay Commission's recommendations should have been made only when the strike became imminent and that subsequent to the strike, the Government should have declared its readiness to neutralise, in part, the rise in cost of living by a corresponding increase in allowances, is testimony of the basic justification of the employees' demands as also of the obtuseness of the Government. Viewed in retrospect, it is an obvious and unfortunate fact that Government appoints a Pay Commission only under the threat of a strike and then implements the Commission's decisions only when the strike actually materialises. Such an attitude is highly reprehensible.

Government's Vindictiveness—Jana Sangh strongly criticises the vindictive attitude adopted by the authorities towards Unions

or employees who participated in or supported the strike. Government must appreciate that by thus allowing feelings of bitterness and antipathy to smoulder in the hearts of employees, they are weakening the State machinery itself. All employees dismissed for participation in the strike must be reinstated. Further, the withdrawn recognition of trade unions should be restored. The Government's action may otherwise be construed as being influenced by partisan considerations.

All those who consider healthy trade unionism an essential element in a democratic society, are sure to feel concerned over the Government's endeavour to exploit the recent strike to smother trade unionism itself. A move is now afoot to impose a blanket ban on the Government employees' right to strike. Jana Sangh is opposed to this proposal. Instead, it urges upon the Government of India to introduce drastic changes in its labour policy and to evolve and work out an effective mechanism for the redressal of grievances, which would make the right to strike a mere superfluity.

[August 28, 1960; Hyderabad, AIGC]

61.06. CENTRAL EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

Jana Sangh regrets that in spite of the assurances given by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister in Parliament a vindictive policy has been adopted towards those Central Government employees and their Unions who had participated in the last general strike.

Recast Labour Policy—In spite of public demand, towards which the All India General Council of Jana Sangh had drawn attention, the Government has neither withdrawn the proposal to ban employees' right to strike nor has it recast its labour policy as would help eliminate complaints of employees by setting up suitable and effective machinery for the purpose so that the employees do not have to utilise their right to strike. Jana Sangh is of the considered opinion that the establishment and maintenance of industrial peace in private as well as public industries is mainly the responsibility of the Government of India and so long as the Government does not behave like an ideal employer it cannot fulfil this responsibility. It is to be condemned that employees are even now being given charge-sheets and action is being taken against them on flimsy grounds. Departmental officials are exploiting the situation to take personal revenges against employees under them. This

is being done in spite of the employees having not indulged in any violent or destructive activities. Even those employees who did not participate in the strike are being penalised. Such steps cannot help develop a congenial psychological atmosphere in the services.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that all departmental action against striking employees should be immediately withdrawn, dismissed employees reinstated and labour Unions recognised again. To delay such steps would be an impediment in the development of an independent Trade Union movement and democratic traditions.

[January 1, 1961; Lucknow, IX AIS]

61.15. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JAMMU

Incomplete Integration—The Central Working Committee reviewed the situation in Jammu-Kashmir State with particular reference to the progress made in respect of its integration with the rest of India. It welcomes the removal of permit-system, extension of the jurisdictions of the Election Commission and the Supreme Court and also its financial integration. But it regrets that much still remains to be done in this respect. Separate Constitution, indirect elections to the Parliament and a separate law of citizenship still continue to be major hurdles in the way of emotional and physical integration of the State with the rest of India to the advantage of Pakistan and her agents in the State. This coupled with the increasing infiltration of Pakistanis into the State in the background of the rise of militarism in Pakistan and threats of military action by its leaders, has created an explosive and dangerous situation in the State which may jeopardise the security and wider national interests of the whole country. It has, therefore, become all the more imperative that these discriminations are removed at the earliest and Jammu-Kashmir State is brought in line with other States in all respects. This is the first pre-requisite for checkmating the dangerously active and separatist forces in the strategic region.

Electoral Rules in JK—Even the jurisdiction of the Election Commission is being sabotaged by the JK Government, by refusing to fall in line with the rest of India in the matter of system of voting etc. This move has already contributed to the revival of fears and doubts of the people about the elections in the State being fair and free. This is a matter of deep concern for all lovers of freedom and democracy. The Working

Committee urges upon the Government of India and the Election Commission not to allow the JK Government to reduce the jurisdiction of the Election Commission to a farce. It is absolutely essential that elections in Jammu-Kashmir are held under full jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India and under the same rules as are applicable in the rest of India. Any discrimination in this matter will seriously undermine the people's faith in democracy and will also compromise the position of the Government of India.

The discriminating treatment towards the Jammu region in respect of economic development and Dogri language is a continued cause of resentment in the people of Jammu who are getting desperate. This situation is fraught with grave danger for the unity of the State and security of the whole of India. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government of India to look into the matter and take effective steps to end this discrimination against the Jammu region.

[August 25, 1961; Jammu, CWC]

61.19. CENTRAL EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

Government's Vindictiveness—The All India General Council condemns the discriminatory policy adopted by the Government towards Central Government employees after the last general strike. The Government had assured that barring those employees who were guilty of acts of sabotage or violence all others who were suspended would be reinstated. But even till the present day there are a large number of employees who have been either suspended or demoted simply because of their participation in the strike. Today when the recognition of all Unions except a few like the Civil Aviation and Audit Employees Union, has been restored there is no justification whatsoever for penal action against individual employees.

Second Pay Commission's Recommendations—During the past one year the price index has shot up by 10 points to touch 127. As such, the dearness allowance of employees requires to be enhanced in accordance with the decisions of the Second Pay Commission.

Notwithstanding the recommendations of the Pay Commission in respect of rise in cost of living, paucity of housing facilities and growth of population Jaipur, Allahabad and Madurai have not been declared B class cities.

The AIGC, therefore, urges that:

- (i) Recognition of Unions not yet restored, should be immediately given;
- (ii) All striking employees should be reinstated in their former posts;
- (iii) Dearness allowance should be increased in accordance with the rise in prices;
- (iv) An early announcement should be made in respect of upgrading of cities; and
- (v) The order forbidding Government employees from participating in election meetings should be withdrawn.

[November 12, 1961; Varanasi, AIGC]

63.04. MISUSE OF EMERGENCY POWERS

Jana Sangh views mounting with anxiety misuse of emergency powers in curbing civil liberties of the people and of the Press. It is time that the Government appreciated the people's solid support for all genuine war-efforts. If there has been any criticism, it has been to further the efforts. Putting honest men behind prison bars does not enhance the cooperation of the people with the Government. We appeal to the Government to release Shri Nanak Ram Israni of Ajmer; Shri Shankar Lal of Digboi, Shri Pritam Ziai, Editor of *Daily Pradeep* and Pt. Lekhraj of Jullundhur forthwith and thereby re-establish confidence of the people in the Government.

We regret that the Government's attitude is becoming soft towards those whose sympathies with China had been exposed during the days of Chinese attack.

[April 6, 1963; Delhi, CWC]

64.15. ENQUIRY AGAINST ORISSA MINISTERS

The Central Working Committee views with serious concern the political situation in Orissa where the Chief Minister and ex-Chief Minister, along with several other Ministers, stand charged with gross abuse of power and numerous acts of corruption and nepotism. A detailed memorandum outlining these charges has already been submitted to the Centre by opposition members of the State Legislature and a judicial probe has been demanded. During recent months the State Government's thoroughly inept handling of the student agitation has gravely undermined the law and order situation there with the result that the people's faith in the Government has been shattered.

The Committee particularly deplores the Centre's dilly-dallying in this matter and its inclination to treat the issue on considerations of party expediency. Things have been allowed to drift so long that only a drastic remedy can restore political equilibrium in the State and inspire confidence in the people.

The Working Committee demands that the Orissa Government be dismissed immediately, President's Rule be clamped on the State, and steps be taken forthwith to complete the investigations into the affairs of the State leadership and necessary action be taken on the basis of the findings.

[December 4, 1964; Patna, CWC]

68.17. CENTRAL EMPLOYEES' UNREST

Constitute Third Pay Commission and Railway Wage Board—The Central Working Committee of Jana Sangh considered the demands of the Central Government employees for need-based minimum wage, merger of dearness allowance with pay, cent-percent neutralisation of price-rise and *status quo* regarding retirement age. The Committee is of the considered view that notwithstanding the commendable work done by the First and the Second Pay Commissions, the pay-scales of the Central Government employees are not yet based upon any scientific criteria. Fixation of the minimum wage in the light of the norms and standards prescribed by the 15th Indian Labour Conference, determination of wage differentials on the basis of the results of the scientific process of job evaluation, and linking of the entire pay-packet with the cost of living index-number—these, according to the Committee, are the ingredients of the scientific way of wage determination. It, therefore, urges for immediate constitution of a separate wage-board for the Railway employees and of the Third Pay Commission for all other employees of the Central Government.

Same Pay for Similar Work—The Committee further regrets to note the disparity between the pay-scales, allowances and other emoluments of the Central Government employees and those of the employees of the various State Governments. Justice demands that the latter should be brought at par with the former. In view of the limited resources of the States the Central Government should assist State Governments in a big way and enable them to take prompt and appropriate action to eliminate this disparity.

Present crisis in the newspaper industry is a sad commentary

on the efficiency of the Labour Ministry. The aggravation of industrial unrest therein is a direct consequence of the Government's policy of procrastination. The Committee demands prompt and effective intervention of the Government in the dispute.

The Committee is of the view that unanimous recommendations of the wage-boards should be given statutory status and the composition of wage-boards should be so altered as to convert them into a tripartite forum for collective bargaining.

The Committee reiterates its support to Bank employees in their fight against section 36 A(d) and Section 54A(a) of the Banking (Amendment) Bill.

On the eve of the fourth Five-Year Plan the Committee recommends that the Government of India should convene a round-table conference of the representatives of all economic interests in the country to evolve a National Income Policy and a National Price Policy during the Fourth Plan period.

Increment of Production and Productivity—The Working Committee assures all employees of the Central and State Governments and all workers in public and private sectors industries that Jana Sangh will continue to exert for the solution of their problems. But Bharatiya Jana Sangh appeals to them also to extend their fullest cooperation towards increasing production and productivity and to discharge their duty with sincerity and discipline so that the nation can at an early date attain its objective of becoming economically strong and prosperous.

[September 7, 1968; Indore, AIGC]

68.21. CENTRAL EMPLOYEES' STRIKE

Anti-labour Bill—The Central Working Committee disapproves of the Essential Services Maintenance Bill now introduced in the Parliament and demands that it be withdrawn.

The proposed Bill not only seeks to impose a blanket ban on the employees' right to strike, it embraces within its mischief even those workers who are otherwise governed by the Industrial Disputes Act, and who under provisions defined in the Act are entitled to go on strike. This Bill is obviously anti-labour, undemocratic and provocative. The right of collective bargaining which workers have won after constant and prolonged struggle cannot be allowed to be annulled by a simple stroke of pen. Instead of trying to ban strikes, the Govern-

ment should create circumstances in which government employees and labour have no need to take recourse to strikes.

Ineffective JCM—It is a matter of regret that the Joint Consultation Machinery set-up in the wake of the indefinite strike of 1960 with a view to resolve disputes relating to Central employees, proved totally ineffective in averting the token strike of September 19, 1968. While representatives of the employees were prepared to refer the question of need-based minimum wage for arbitration, Government refused to do so and shut its doors against any settlement.

Statutory Arbitration—The Working Committee is of the considered view that some statutory provision needs to be made for the resolution of disputes pertaining to employees which make it obligatory for Government to refer for arbitration all such issues that cannot be settled through negotiations. If such an arrangement is made, there will be no need for employees to go on strike. The Committee would like to stress that the right to strike is an extraordinary weapon and should be taken recourse to only as a last resort. So long as other avenues are open for resolving a dispute, there can be no question of a strike.

Central Employees-Government Relations—The Working Committee demands that the cases instituted against employees who had taken part in the September 19 strike, should be withdrawn and that they should be permitted to resume duty. Employees against whom there are charges of violence or sabotage should be subjected to departmental enquiry and necessary action thereupon. There is need to obliterate the memories of the September 19 happenings and to open a new chapter in Employees and Government relations. Wisdom demands that the Central Government should shed its vindictive attitudes and deal with its employees with sympathy and consideration. The Central employees also must resolve to discharge their duty to the country and society with devotion and sincerity.

[December 16, 1968; Delhi, CWC]

69.03. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST-JAMMU AND LADAKH

The people of Jammu and Ladakh regions of Jammu-Kashmir State have been complaining of step-motherly treatment from the Kashmiri-dominated State Government ever since the establishment of a representative Government in that State in October 1947.

Regional Imbalances—A number of agitations have had to be launched by the people of Jammu during this period to spotlight the issues and secure redressal of their grievances. But little was done by the State administration to meet the genuine grievances of the people of Jammu and Ladakh and remove the imbalances in the economic development as also in regard to recruitment in State services and provision of educational facilities to these three distinct geographical regions of the State.

The report of the Gajendragadkar Commission appointed by the State Government after long pressures and persuasion from the people of the State and from the Central Government, has borne out the truth about discrimination against Jammu and Ladakh and has fully vindicated the stand taken by the Jana Sangh in this respect.

Gajendragadkar Commission's Recommendations—It is a matter of deep regret and concern that Sadiq Government has refused to accept the recommendations of Gajendragadkar Commission and is trying to shelve the report under one excuse or the other. This has naturally added to the prevailing resentment in Jammu and Ladakh. It is the considered view of Bharatiya Jana Sangh that any procrastination or delay in the implementation of the recommendations of Gajendragadkar Commission particularly those pertaining to setting up of regional development-boards, regional recruitment-boards, separate Universities for Jammu and Kashmir including separate Medical and Engineering colleges and equalisation of the rates at which rationed goods are sold at Jammu and Srinagar, would aggravate the situation in regard to the existing regional tensions.

It, therefore, urges upon the State Government as also the Central Government to see that the right thing is done at the right time. Justice delayed is justice denied.

It calls upon the Jana Sangh unit of Jammu-Kashmir State to educate and mobilise public opinion about the recommendations of the Commission and take all necessary steps to secure their early implementation.

[February 16, 1969; Delhi, CWC]

72.18. DOUBLE STANDARDS REGARDING CORRUPTION

Bansilal and Central Leaders—The Central Working Committee expresses its surprise and resentment at the attitude the Government of India has adopted towards the corruption charges

levelled against the Haryana Chief Minister. While the appointment of Lok Ayukta was delayed at will, and in Punjab the Enquiry Commission was appointed on a complaint made by two legislators, and the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister was promptly called upon for an explanation after a memorandum was submitted against him, in Haryana, despite a memorandum full of elaborate charges and signed by over 120 MP's and MLA's having been submitted against the Chief Minister, for months and years the Government has been putting up a show of mock-action, and the exchange of papers between Shri Bansilal and the Central Government is being deemed as sufficient an action. In addition to this the Health Minister at the Centre, within two days of the Prime Minister's assurance to take immediate decision about the enquiry, declared the charges against Chief Minister as baseless. These happenings further strengthen the suspicion that the main reason behind no probe being made into the Bansilal scandal is that even Central leaders are likely to be found involved in it.

The Working Committee fears that this pro-corruption policy of the Government will shatter whatever little confidence is left in the people about the constitutional methods. It demands that an Enquiry Commission be immediately appointed to probe into Shri Bansilal's behaviour. It further demands that Lok Ayuktas and Lokpals be immediately appointed both in the States and at the Centre and that the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers be also brought under their purview.

There is no justification for maintaining two different standards for an issue so vital for democracy.

[November 20, 1972; Jaipur, CWC]

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CHAPTER 4

DEMOCRACY
AND
PARTY TRENDS

Along with a Unitary form of Government the Jana Sangh has also advocated a decentralised power-structure from the very beginning. It considers such a structure in accordance with its basic idea of One Country, One people, and One Culture (55.29). The advocacy of decentralisation of power has been born out of the Jana Sangh's deep commitment to democracy. It has always declared that Nationalism and Democracy are the pillars of its entire politics.

The Jana Sangh is confident that "success or failure of democracy in India will determine its future in Asia and, may be in the world as a whole (58.31)." It is convinced that the Indian people have a deep attachment to freedom and democracy and hence it is making continuous efforts to create and foster democratic sentiments and traditions in every field, such as constitutional, administrative, party-politics and elections. It believes that "local bodies constitute the basic units of democracy and it is only through their able and effective functioning that the ideal of Decentralised Administration can be attained" (58.06). In the interests of democracy "freedom of the press must be zealously safeguarded" (62.19). It was the Jana Sangh which first demanded that a Press Council should be set up and it should be entrusted the task of controlling the Press (62.19). The Jana Sangh has always thought that efforts to create and promote the personality cult were detrimental to democracy (62.19). It has warned that "acceptance of the slogan of 'One Country, One party, One Leader and One Policy' would sound the death-knell of democracy and establish in the country the totalitarianism which we are fighting against in our war with China (62.19). Whenever the party in power attempted to transgress democratic traditions, such as in the misuse of Emergency powers, conspiracies to topple non-Congress governments, degrading of the Governors to mere pawns in the game of power-politics, the misuse of official machinery during elections and encroachments into the domains of an independent judiciary or a free press, the Jana Sangh has forcefully and effectively opposed such endeavours.

If Jana Sangh has bitterly criticised the dictatorial tendencies of the Ruling Congress party, it has also not hesitated to condemn the policy of violence adopted by other parties. It has clearly stated that "Jana Sangh condemns the use of violence in public life (66.07)." In connection with riots in Bombay it has said that "it is irresponsible and detrimental to national interests, to seek to resolve inter-provincial border disputes, or for that matter, any political dispute in the streets." (69.04). But agitations are becoming more and more violent because "those in power are inclined to disregard public expression in this regard (popular unrest) through normal democratic process. In fact, wherever, there has been violence the Government has succumbed. This has strengthened the feeling that this Government understands the language of violence only. (66.07)."

The main reason of the Jana Sangh's opposition to Communists is their extra-territorial loyalties and their lack of faith in democracy. The Jana

Sangh firmly believes that the one and only aim of the Communist strategy is to achieve monopoly control of power through violent politics or any other means and to put an end to democracy in India. The Jana Sangh had warned against Communist infiltrators into the Congress as early as in 1958 (58.16, 61.07, 65.02). It has closely watched the Communist conspiracy to dominate the Congress under the guise of praising at first Shri Nehru and now Smt. Indira Gandhi. It has also pointedly drawn the attention of all democratic parties to this two-pronged Communist conspiracy, according to which they want to establish their dictatorship in this country by internally dominating the administration through infiltrating into the Congress and externally by spreading an atmosphere of anarchy and strikes.

57.01. OPPOSITION COOPERATION IN LEGISLATURES

The Central Working Committee of the Jana Sangh directs its members elected to various Legislatures to function as a group there maintaining their identity and try to implement the programme they placed before the electorate and obtained its verdict. They may work in cooperation with other groups and parties in the Legislatures on common issues and also for strengthening the national democratic opposition to the present Government.

[April 20, 1957; Jaunpur, CWC]

57.04. SECOND GENERAL ELECTIONS

The Central Working Committee has reviewed the results of second General Elections in the light of reports submitted by the secretaries of the party units from different States. The Committee feels that the Jana Sangh, in spite of the heavy odds against it, has registered a definite advance both in respect of the votes polled and seats won. It has secured over 72 lac votes for Parliament as against about 32 lacs polled by it in the last General Elections.

In respect of State Assemblies the election results in UP, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab and Bombay have been quite encouraging though they could have been bettered if the Jana Sangh had been less handicapped by lack of financial and other resources. There has been a definite improvement in the pre-election situation in these States.

Jana Sangh, however, has got a setback in W. Bengal, where it has not been able to maintain the position it had secured in the last elections as also in Bihar and Karnatak where its work is there for quite sometime. Lack of resources and of solid organisational base was found to be the main factor responsible for the setbacks in these States.

The Committee feels deeply concerned over the dominant role played by casteism and communalism, particularly the Muslim communalism, in these elections. The party in power and some opposition parties deliberately worked up these feelings for their temporary gains at the cost of wider national

interests. Unless effective steps are taken to curb these forces, they would become a serious threat to national unity and undermine the democracy itself.

Polarisation Trends—The Committee, however, feels gratified to note that trends towards polarisation of the nationalist democratic forces—which were badly needed to meet the developing political situation in which anti-national forces are gaining strength, have begun to manifest themselves. Everything possible need be done to encourage such trends.

The Committee also decides to pay more attention to expand and strengthen the organisational work in the Eastern and Southern regions of the country in the days to come.

The Committee further puts on record its gratefulness to millions of voters who have put their trust in the Bharatiya Jana Sangh by voting for its nominees and assures them that Jana Sangh will do its best to come up to their expectations and justify their trust. The Committee also thanks its workers and sympathisers all over the country for their selfless work and hopes that the Jana Sangh will continue to have the benefit of their active sympathy and support in future as well.

[April 20, 1957; Jaunpur, CWC]

58.06. CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS FOR LOCAL BODIES

Decentralised Administration—Local bodies constitute the basic units of democracy and it is only through their able and effective functioning that the ideal of Decentralised Administration can be attained. It is a matter of regret that our Constitution has omitted making provisions as would have enabled civic bodies to fulfil their role as important and basic planks whereupon the structure of our Republic rests.

Co-ordination between Local Bodies—Consequently (notwithstanding the lapses of a complete decade since independence) local self-governing bodies have failed to acquire any definite shape, evolve a co-ordinated pattern of working and acquit themselves in a healthy manner. They have not been free from the influences of the bureaucracy or the State Governments and are not equipped with necessary means and rights. State Governments have in the past few years enacted several pieces of legislation in regard to civic bodies, but devoid of the groundings of any well thought and concerted policy. These laws have only made the confusion worst confounded. As it

is, there is no clear demarcation of the spheres of work or allocation of the sources of income as between *Panchayats, Janpada Sabhas, District and Municipal Boards* etc., or mutual co-ordination between their activities. Again, no adjustment is visible between these bodies and the various community development schemes or the National Extension Blocks in their respective regions.

Still more disconcerting is the fact that even the existing local bodies have been rendered powerless in all respects by the State Governments. For years, the District Boards in the Punjab and the civic bodies in the KABAL cities of Uttar Pradesh are being run by government appointed administrators. No elections have been held in the UP District Boards since last 9 years. These bodies thus have been deprived of their representative character. Even where elected bodies do exist, their continuance depends entirely on the whims and fancies of the rulers in the State saddles, who have been availing of their powers to remove members and suspend or dissolve civic bodies in the most arbitrary fashion. The reliance of civic bodies on State grants for effective functioning renders them, wholly dependent on the State Governments. Under the circumstances, they can neither function freely nor can they fulfil their obligations of public service. Wherever these bodies are controlled by the opposition parties, the ruling party puts obstacles at every step and creates pretexts for superseding those bodies. In Punjab, without any justification whatsoever, Government unseated a number of Jana Sangh members under the pretext of the 'Save Hindi Agitation', though, there was no inherent internal contradiction between the object of that agitation and their duties as members of the local bodies.

Resources and Elections of Local Bodies—Bharatiya Jana Sangh reiterates that :

- (i) Nature of rights and sources of income of the local bodies be defined by the Constitution, and their elections be conducted under the supervision of the Election Commission.
- (ii) These bodies be made the basis of national development programme and all development schemes be co-ordinated with them.
- (iii) Necessary amendments be made in the existing enactments with a view to prevent improper interference by State Governments. Elected representatives of people

should not be suspended or unseated unless and until the charges against them are proved to be correct before a tribunal; the character of Local Bodies should be completely democratic and there should be no nomination of members by the State Governments.

- (iv) Elections be held immediately wherever they are overdue.

[April 5, 1958; Ambala, VI AIS]

58.14. POLITICAL MURDERS

The Central Working Committee reviewed with deep regret reports of murders and other acts of violence committed against Jana Sangh workers in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Rajasthan and strongly condemns the recent trend towards violence resorted to for political purposes. It draws the attention of the Government to these unfortunate happenings in order that effective steps might be taken to put an end to this deplorable situation.

[July 19, 1958; Bombay, CWC]

58.16. COMMUNIST CHALLENGE

Significant and important developments have been taking place on the political front for some months past. The ruling Congress party in spite of its control over the Governmental machinery at the Centre and the States excepting Kerala and the halo that surrounds its top leaders, has begun to show sure signs of decay and disintegration. Only a miracle can save this heterogeneous omnibus organisation which is fast losing its ideological moorings, if it ever had any, and organisational cohesion, from going to pieces much earlier than many people expect or would wish. The prospects of a political vacuum have, therefore, begun to loom large before the eyes of all politically awake people.

The Communist party after having formed its Government in Kerala is trying hard to spread its tentacles on all spheres of Indian life to be able to exploit a favourable situation whenever it arises. It is following a two-pronged policy. On the one hand it is trying to ingratiate itself with the Congress and other left wing parties through systematic infiltration into their ranks and making loud professions about its faith in democracy and peaceful methods. It has already succeeded in creating a powerful lobby within the Congress. In Prime Minister Shri Nehru

they have found a friend, philosopher and guide who consciously or unconsciously is proving to be their biggest asset in the Congress itself. Other parties of the left, in spite of their loud professions about being anti-Communist are actually preparing the ground for the Communists by trying to compete with them in slogan mongering regarding materialistic advancement of the people.

At the same time the Communists are sowing the seeds of chaos and disruption in the economic life of the country by organising strikes in key industries and strengthening their hold on organised labour. Recent strikes of port workers at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and steel workers at Jamshedpur give an indication of the Communist mind.

Civil War Threat—The Communist mind was recently revealed by the recent civil-war threat by the Communist Chief Minister Shri Namboodripad. The very thought of a civil-war, because opposition parties have formed a united front to oust the Communist Ministry, betrays the fundamental difference in the Communist and the democratic approaches to politics. While democracy recognises it to be the right of citizens and opposition political parties to organise themselves and campaign for dislodging the ruling party by inflicting a defeat on it in an election, the Communists (once in power) want to perpetuate themselves at all costs and by all means.

This approach, to say the least, is inconsistent with democracy. It is clear that if the Communists are once able to grab power through democratic means or otherwise they will first use it for smothering democracy and liquidating all democratic opposition. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance for the survival of democracy in India, on which hinges the future of democracy in Asia that the Communists are prevented from stepping into the shoes of the Congress.

This demands that there should be some other party with the requisite organisational basis, ideological appeal and determination to fill the vacuum. This vacuum cannot be filled by the SP or PSP for obvious reasons. They have nothing fundamental of their own to distinguish themselves from the Congress. Nor have they got the organisational cohesion needed to meet the Communist challenge.

The only party which has the potentiality and equipment of meeting the Communist challenge and fill in the political vacuum which the disintegration of the Congress is sure to

create, is the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. That it has begun to capture the imagination of the people who understand its appeal has been proved by the successful by-elections at Gurgaon, Sehore and Mahawa. The success it has won in the municipal elections in Delhi, Ambala Cantt. and Junagarh—places situated in different corners of the country point to its growing national status and character.

Even its critics have begun to realise its growing strength and look upon it as a possible alternative to the Congress. To come up to these expectations Jana Sangh must redouble its efforts to carry its organisation and message to every nook and corner of India. Southern and Eastern India, which have so far remained comparatively lagging behind should now be given special attention to bring them on the Jana Sangh map of India.

At the same time its workers and sympathisers must gird up their loins for coming up to the expectations of the people. Bharatiya Jana Sangh's workers are its biggest asset and it is on their selfless devotion to the Cause, that it has been able to become a power to reckon with within 6 years of its inception. The Working Committee while appreciating the efforts put in by workers in different States hails them to get ready for greater efforts and sacrifices to make Jana Sangh the fit and true instrument for the rebuilding of India of our dreams.

[July 19, 1958; Bombay, CWC]

58.23. UNITY OF PUNJAB

The Central Working Committee reiterates its stand that in a united and integrated Punjab lie the ultimate welfare and interests of its people.

The Committee directs the provincial Jana Sangh to take constructive and concrete steps to strengthen the unifying forces in the State and to foster an emotional integration of the people who are being sought to be misled and divided on unreal and artificial issues. It hopes that the people of Punjab will successfully withstand, as before, all attempts at disintegration.

[October 12, 1958; Delhi, CWC]

58.28. RIGGED ELECTIONS IN KASHMIR

Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses its deep concern over the growing deterioration in the internal situation of Jammu-Kashmir State in respect of civil liberties and law and order. The people of the State are not only being deprived of the basic

liberties guaranteed to them as citizens of India by the Indian Constitution, but what is worse, elections even to the local bodies are being rigged in a most objectionable manner. According to the reports reaching the Jana Sangh secretariat from Jammu, the defeated candidates of the party in power have in a number of cases been declared elected at the cost of the for winning Praja Parishad and other opposition candidates. Responsible workers of the Parishad have been arrested protesting against this kind of high-handedness.

These happenings have brought out in bold relief disabilities from which the people of the State continue to suffer because of the non-application of the Constitution of India to that State in full. The need for extension of full jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the Election Commission to the State is being increasingly felt by all politically conscious elements in the State.

Jana Sangh, therefore, urges the Government of Jammu-Kashmir as also the Central Government to take immediate and effective steps to stop this kind of anti-democratic actions and policies in the interest of all concerned. Continued flouting of the basic rights of the people involved in this kind of rigged elections is not only bringing the Government of Jammu-Kashmir in disrepute and undermining the faith of the people in democratic methods for getting their grievances redressed through peaceful means but is also giving handle to India's enemies to beat India with. Nor can the people of Jammu-Kashmir be expected to put up with this kind of glaring high-handedness for all times.

It also calls upon all its branches to observe February 8, as 'Kashmir Day' to educate and mobilise public opinion throughout India regarding the internal situation in Jammu-Kashmir and the need of removing all distinctions between that State and the rest of India forthwith.

[December 28, 1958; Bangalore, VII AIS]

58.31. DEMOCRACY IN INDIA

Bastion of Democracy in Asia—With the debacle of democracy in Pakistan, Burma, Thailand and other countries of East and West Asia, the eyes of all lovers of democracy in the world are fixed on India. It is now being increasingly felt that the success or failure of democracy in India will determine its future in Asia and, may be in the world as a whole.

Congress Intolerance—But the conditions in India are none

too flattering for the lovers of democracy. The Ruling Congress party which is never tired of swearing by democracy has actually been setting such conventions and following such policies as can only undermine people's faith in democracy and strengthen totalitarian trends in the country. It is becoming more and more intolerant of the opposition and Shri Nehru has gone to the length of describing all critics of his policies as devoid of sense. The Ruling Party has failed to maintain the necessary distinction and distance between the party and Administration. What is worse, it is making increasing use of official patronage and machinery to raise party funds and suppress the opposition. The way all kinds of consultative and advisory committees have been stuffed with Congressmen to the complete exclusion of Jana Sangh representatives in the Union Territory of Delhi under the very nose of the Congress High Command, gives an inkling of the Congress approach to democracy. The economic policies it has been pursuing are further strengthening authoritarian and totalitarian trends. Appeal to communal susceptibilities of the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs and to similar other communal considerations has become a regular feature of Congress election tactics. In Assam it has gone to the length of systematically bringing Pakistani Muslims from East Bengal for settling them in the border areas just to get their bloc-votes in the elections. All this is cutting at the very roots of the nascent Indian democracy.

Communist Game—The situation has been further aggravated by the activities of the Communists in the country's politics in general and those of Kerala's in particular. The policies that the Communist Government of Kerala has been pursuing are smothering democracy in that strategic State. It has been systematically interfering with the administration and the judiciary to the extent of demoting magistrates who refuse to follow the Communist Party line in respect of Communist criminals. It is steadily indoctrinating the police force which has become a passive spectator of unlawful and anti-democratic activities of the Communist workers and the high-ups. Efforts are being made to secure a place of vantage for Communists in all walks of life by creating various types of committees and stuffing them with Communists and by collecting large party funds through official influence. Elections to local bodies are being rigged and the electoral rolls are being swelled to ensure victories

for the party in future elections. Communal troubles are being raked-up under various pretexts only to oblige one community or the other to win its support. This is particularly the case in regard to Muslims who are conspicuous of being wooed by Congress, Communists and PSP for their support. They are following the well-known Muslim League tactics to raise their price and create an almost new Pakistan for themselves in Malabar. The Communist Party is sure to follow similar anti-democratic tactics in other States too to get itself entrenched, if once it succeeded to grab power through adroit exploitation of democratic elections.

In view of this two-pronged threat to Indian democracy, it would be criminal on the part of lovers of freedom and democracy to remain complacent about the situation. It is time that all nationalist and democratic forces join their heads to face the totalitarian Communist menace in Kerala and elsewhere also to fight the totalitarian trends and policies of the ruling Congress party. Indian democracy is not safe in the hands of Congress. Communists who are planning to step into the shoes of the Congress will completely smother it. There is imperative need of truly democratic nationalist opposition like the one represented by Bharatiya Jana Sangh which should be able to steer the ship of Indian Democracy clear of these two whirls in days to come. It is therefore the duty of all nationalist elements and particularly of Jana Sangh workers and sympathisers to bend all their energies to help in the evolution and strengthening of Jana Sangh as an alternative to the Congress. That demands redoubled efforts to reach every man and woman in the country and rekindle and revive in them the latent love for the country and democracy. Nationalism and democracy are embedded in the long traditions and history of India. Let Jana Sangh become the instrument for their effective revitalisation.

[December 28, 1958; Bangalore, VII AIS]

59.05. KERALA PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

Communist Misrule—At the last General Elections held in India in 1956-57 the Communist Party candidates secured about 35 per cent of the votes and somewhat less than half of the total number of seats in the Kerala Assembly. Later, 5 Independents were roped-in to work with the Communists by the offer of Ministries and other inducements. Even so, the working majority that the Communist Government was able to secure was a very

precarious one—a majority of only 2 in a House of 127. Ever since their getting hold of the Government even in such a precarious position, the Communists, true to their traditions, have been busy consolidating their party hold in the State by all means, fair or foul, and for this purpose, have been misusing and abusing the Constitution to suit party ends. Corruption on a huge scale has been indulged in to swell party-funds, the police have been sought to be demoralised, independent officers brow-beaten, education attempted to be poisoned at the very source, through an obnoxious Education Bill and so on. Matters have now come to such a pass that things have become intolerable. As a result, there has been, under the leadership of Shri Mannath Padmanabhan, a massive popular upsurge in Kerala, the like of which has never been seen there in the living memory. All sections of the people—Hindus, Muslims and Christians—and all political parties (barring of course the Communists) are standing shoulder to shoulder in their struggle for freedom from the Communist misrule.

This people's upsurge in Kerala is a very healthy sign. It shows that the urge for liberty and the spirit of nationalism in the human mind cannot be extinguished. Bharatiya Jana Sangh welcomes this people's movement in Kerala, and will help it with all the support and cooperation of which it is capable.

Communist Firings—During the fortnight, that has elapsed since June 12 last, when the movement was formally launched, many things have happened. The Communist Government has been taking drastic measures to quell the movement; firing without provocation has been resorted to in many places on peaceful citizens, resulting in the death of and injury to scores of people; demands for enquiry into these wanton firings have been turned down by the Communist Chief Minister. But all these have not been able to terrorise the people into submission—as they had been intended to. Practically, normal administration has broken down and the Constitution hardly functions there in a proper manner. Jana Sangh feels therefore that in the circumstances, the Government of India cannot merely be a passive spectator of the scene, where the situation is fast moving towards a crisis, but must take serious notice and appropriate action in this connection.

It is clear that the Government of Kerala has forfeited the confidence of the people—in fact it has betrayed the trust reposed in its Government by its 2 years' misrule. In view of this, the

only democratic and honourable course open to the Communist Government of Kerala is to resign forthwith, and to seek the suffrage of the people anew if they so desire. Bharatiya Jana Sangh accordingly demands that :

- (i) A Judicial enquiry into the firings should be instituted at once.
- (ii) The Communist Ministry should resign forthwith in deference to the wishes of the people of Kerala.
- (iii) All possible support be given to the people's struggle in Kerala for getting rid of the Communist misrule.

The Central Working Committee accordingly directs the Provincial Committees of Jana Sangh all over India to bring home to the people the nature and extent of the Communist Government's activities in Kerala and the necessity of helping the movement there. For this purpose, as a preliminary measure, July 12, should be observed throughout India by them as 'Kerala Day'.

[July 8, 1959; Poona, AIGC]

59.11. CHINESE AGGRESSION AND CPI

Comintern's Branch—In the face of China's aggression and outrages in Tibet and the recent Chinese incursions into India's own soil, the reactions of CPI have been very revealing. In the matter of Tibetan outrage, CPI openly supported China and hailed the Chinese invading forces there as a "Liberation Army". Even when China made incursions into India across the borders, CPI tried to play it down as a mere "border dispute in which much may be said on both sides." In spite of Nation's almost unanimous indignation at China's designs, CPI has not only endorsed the Chinese stand, but has been trying its best to divert the people's attention from the menace of Red China by starting disruptive movements and fomenting disturbances on various pretexts. All this is, of course, not unexpected considering the past history and affiliations of CPI. It is simply the Indian branch of the Communist International; its allegiance is therefore to the Comintern and it knows no patriotism and, therefore, has no hesitation in indulging in anti-national activities. Its record in 1942 was in keeping with the role of a branch of Comintern.

In view of this record and affiliation of Communist Party of India, it is clear that at this hour of National peril, when the security of India is menaced by an on-the-war-path Communist

power out for imperialistic expansion and flushed with might, CPI's activities inside India have to be closely watched both by the public and by the Government. India cannot take any risk of internal sabotage by the CPI when she is threatened from outside by a Communist aggressor.

Jana Sangh calls upon all patriotic sections of the people to isolate this anti-national party, destroy its capacity for treason by educating the masses in respect of its treacherous role and thus accelerate the process of its elimination from India's politics.

[September 20, 1959; Delhi, CWC]

60.01. CO-PARTICIPATION IN NATION-BUILDING

Corner Stones of Political Progress—Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers National unity, Democracy, and a clean and efficient Administration as the three corner stones for the country's political progress. Without achieving these three objectives, politics can ensure neither national independence nor a full opportunity of growth and furtherance of welfare of individuals. India can well be proud of the fact that whereas during the last few years, in quite a few Asian countries democracy has yielded place to totalitarianism, India has given evidence of its inherent democratic character by steadfastly preserving parliamentary modes and constitutional procedures. But we would only be deceiving our ourselves if we smugly concluded that the future of democracy in India was entirely safe and that our country was free from the bane of forces actively exerting for its destruction.

Communist Party deserves foremost mention in this context inasmuch as this party, in principle, disbelieves in the parliamentary government. It is true that at Amritsar CPI deemed it expedient to voice faith in parliamentary democracy and many people in the country were actually taken in by these professions but the manner in which it conspired to undermine democracy after grabbing power in Kerala has sufficiently laid bare its true character. It is a matter of satisfaction that by launching a successful agitation against this conspiracy the people were able to rescue democracy. Jana Sangh hopes that by voting against the Communist party and Communist-supported candidates in the forthcoming elections there, the electorate of Kerala will further contribute to the weakening of the elements who are endeavouring to strike at the roots of our democratic structure.

Congress Intolerance—In forms and formalities the Congress certainly has accepted democracy. But in actual practice, however, they have been becoming more and more undemocratic. Besides, the policies and programmes adopted by Congress have seriously endangered democracy. An attitude of not merely indifference and neglect but positive intolerance marks the Ruling Party's relations with opposition parties. Wherever local bodies happen to be controlled by non-Congressites, the Government not only withholds giving them legitimate help but is ever on the look-out for pretexts to dissolve them. Programmes of nationalisation and cooperative farming undertaken in the name of Socialism seek only to rope in more and more people within the sphere of State control. Even the educational field has not been free from this all pervading interference of the State. University autonomy has been gradually withering and other educational institutions too are being, in some or the other way, brought under State control. Labour laws are being framed in a manner so as to render it almost impossible for any other organisation save the INTUC to function. Enactment of laws in the name of Public Security have circumscribed civil liberties within very narrow bounds. Freedom enjoyed by Government employees to participate in public activities is being considerably curtailed. All this is obviously calculated to foster a one-party totalitarian rule.

Looking at this question from a positive angle, we must understand that in order to strengthen faith in democracy it is essential that democratic governments be successful in promoting the people's welfare. The dismal record of the Congress rule for the past 12 years has today given rise to doubts in the minds of many persons about the suitability and competency of the democratic system itself for national development. As a result while on the one hand suggestions for all-party and no-party governments are being mooted, people are not wanting, on the other, who are led to lauding the achievements of totalitarian regimes.

Opportunism and Communalism—It would be wrong to equate the failures of Congress, its corruption and its internal dissensions with democracy. It is certainly regrettable that by its party bickerings and self-aggrandisement the Congress has vitiated the country's politics. It is these internal schisms of the Congress that have given birth to splinter parties (which have broken away from the Congress) rather than due to any ideological

differences. As such, it is natural that instead of helping in the ideological polarisation of Indian politics, these parties only add to disorderliness and confuse the popular mind. Opportunism is quite often their forte and unprincipled alliances are generally welcome to them. Separatist elements in the country find in them (no less than in the Congress) ready props for the fulfilment of their political designs. Congress and these parties (by aligning themselves with these elements off and on) have been guilty of fostering and nurturing communalism in this country. Thus it is these parties which are responsible for promoting demands of Sikhistan, Dravidistan, Jharkhand, Nagaland and separate Hill State.

Of late Muslim communalism has been manifesting itself in numerous ways. Congress' election alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala, and the appointment of a committee, at ex-Congress President Smt. Indira Gandhi's instance, to look into the grievances of minorities and make recommendations for facilities to be granted to them, are acts detrimental to national interests and which will serve only to impede the integration of these so-called minorities with the main current of national life.

Widespread corruption prevalent in the administration has today assumed the shape of a terrible malady. Unless this is eradicated, not only will all our development plans be impossible of achievement but the Government would be unable to fulfil even its elementary obligations towards the people. Revolutionary methods ought to be adopted to check corruption. The suggestion to adopt a high-powered Commission to investigate cases of corruption is extremely timely and appropriate. By rejecting it the Prime Minister has allowed free rein for corrupt persons to continue their sinful pursuit.

While on the one hand India's national unity is imperilled by elements working up caste, linguistic, sectional and parochial feelings for their selfish ends, we have on the other the Communist party seeking to strike at the very roots of national unity by insidiously building up an extra-territorial loyalty. Chinese aggression on Tibet and India has served to expose once again the anti-national character of this party. The tremendous outburst of popular feelings over the Chinese issue have led the party to indulge in verbal acrobatics in a vain endeavour to conceal its ill-intentions. It is necessary that the people understand their true character and successfully foil their subversive,

anti-national and fifth columnist activities.

Unity, Freedom and Democracy—Jana Sangh is of the opinion that it is only on the basis of India's traditions and inherent genius that politics can effectively safeguard the country's unity, liberty and democracy and ensure happiness and prosperity to its people. Opposition or reaction to some particular policies of the Government cannot be an enduring basis of politics. Parties with such kind of feeble foundations have sprung up quite a number of times during the past few years but have rarely survived long, nor have they contributed anything to the people's welfare. Threat to freedom, democracy and national unity has to be faced. While it is true that by creating confusion in the people's mind many persons may have sometimes succeeded in achieving their evil ends, but this is also true that by and large whenever occasion has arisen, the Indian people have manifested their unflinching faith in both these values of life. During the past 12 years Kashmir and Goa evoked the same reactions all over the country. Today with our territorial integrity menaced by China we find the whole nation from Kashmir to Kanyakumari ready to meet this challenge. In various elections the people have been giving positive evidence of their democratic loyalties. The situation demands that they be made aware of the existing dangers, that they be given proper guidance, and that they be mobilised to face the threat in an organised manner and also to plunge themselves voluntarily and whole-heartedly in the constructive tasks of nation-building.

Polarisation of Politics—It is polarisation of politics on the basis of the above values of national life that can create confidence and dispel the growing political frustration in the country. Momentary reactions to particular policies of the Government will not take us far. Again, opposition which has for its object the safeguard of regional, or sectional interests, will only weaken the national attachments.

It is with this viewpoint that Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been endeavouring to organise the people on the political plane for the past 8 years. Its efforts have been crowned with success in ample measure. Jana Sangh calls upon all elements who abide by this endeavour and help in making the nation truly happy and prosperous.

[January 25, 1960; Nagpur, VIII AIS]

61.12. BASTAR FIRING

The Central Working Committee considered the report placed by the Madhya Pradesh Jana Sangh of the Bastar situation. It feels that the whole episode right from the externment of the Raja of Bastar to date, has brought to light two glaring facts. Firstly, that the Central and State Governments have grossly mishandled the issue and have acted with utter high-handedness. Secondly, the government policies were formulated to serve party ends. The way in which the popular demand for judicial enquiry into the firing incident, wherein 12 persons lost their lives was turned down has further strengthened the suspicion that the Government hands are not clean in the matter and that it does not dare to face the truth. It is most unfortunate that there be such suspicions about the Government and if they are not removed in time, it can lead to grave repercussions. It might be possible to terrorise the Vanavasis for some time through indiscriminate use of Preventive Detention Act and other repressive measures but certainly stable peace cannot be established in this way. The Madhya Pradesh Government should appoint an enquiry Commission under the chairmanship of a Judge of a High Court to enquire into the firing incident and the part played by the district officers in the affair.

The Working Committee urges upon the Central and State Governments to reconsider their policies regarding Bastar and to take proper steps to remove the rising dissatisfaction amongst the Vanavasis.

[April 22, 1961; Patna, CWC]

62.01. THIRD GENERAL ELECTIONS

The Third General Elections have once again testified to the faith of the nation in democracy and the democratic method of Government. No doubt there have been some stray incidents of violence here and there but by and large the elections have been peacefully conducted. The Indian people deserve congratulations for this.

Barring Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, the ruling party has been able to secure a majority in all the other States. But the upsurge of popular dissatisfaction against the Ruling Party evidenced in the sharply reduced support to it makes it clear that the people are yearning for a change in the present set-up and the present policies.

It is a matter of regret that instead of availing of these elections as a medium for mass education and as an instrument for probing the nation's will, the Congress resorted to illegalities and irregularities, and abused, power on a massive scale in order to continue in office willy-nilly. This has to some extent distorted the image of the people's will reflected through the ballot-box and besides, has strengthened anti-democratic elements and trends.

Unholy Congress Alignments—The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is extremely thankful to the electorate for the large support extended by it. While in some States the results have been unexpected, in an overall view, the effective headway made by the Party in these elections, inspires confidence and hope. At many places, in its bid to meet the challenge posed by Jana Sangh's growing popularity, the Ruling Party not only took recourse to unfair means, but did not hesitate even to align with anti-democratic and anti-national elements. This alignment of power-hungry politicians with anti-national forces in the present elections should serve as an ominous pointer to the perils ahead. Nationalist and democratic forces in the country must not remain indifferent to it.

Hoping for the people's increasing support, the Jana Sangh assures them that its representatives in the Legislatures will zealously safeguard their interests and strive perseveringly for the fulfilment of the programme to which the Party is pledged.

[March 3, 1962; Delhi, CWC]

62.19. AFTER INDIA-CHINA WAR

Pledge of Parliament—The Indian people's reaction to Chinese aggression is evidence of their basic unity, innate nationalism and ardent patriotism. The enthusiasm with which citizens at all places have risen to meet the threat, and the inspiring examples of sacrifice witnessed in the course of mobilisation of resources, have shown that India is resolutely determined to defend its freedom. The nation has accepted the challenge posed by Communist China. The resolution adopted by the Indian Parliament echoing the sentiments and wishes of the people has become a sacred Pledge for every Indian citizen. It is the duty of the Indian Government to take steps for its fulfilment. Bharatiya Jana Sangh assures the Government its full support in this task.

Emergency Powers—It is an extraordinary situation that has

developed because of the war. The President in exercise of his constitutional powers declared an emergency and the Parliament has armed the Government with special powers. The people's first reactions to the crisis give evidence of an adequate awareness of the gravity of the situation, and judging from these, we can be sure that due restraint and discretion would continue to be exercised by them. There should be no need therefore to use these special powers against any one except the fifth-columnists and the anti-national elements.

It is to be regretted that the Government has not as yet drawn up any effective and satisfactory plan to keep alive the mass enthusiasm aroused and to channelise it into profitable war activity. This actual work appears to have got lost amidst the plethora of committees and sub-committees. Besides, partisan considerations are evident in the constitution of most of these committees with the result that they fail to reflect the unity of the people. Nor can they therefore inspire the people to purposeful endeavour.

Critics of Nehru, 'Traitors'?—The Ruling Party has been trying to exploit the present situation by strengthening its own position and by undermining the influence of the opposition parties. This attitude is detrimental to national unity as well as to democracy. Justification of the same Governmental policies which have been proved wrong continues while critics of these policies are being accused of impeding the war-effort and are sought to be gagged. The AICC circular which dubs critics of Pandit Nehru as 'traitors' and calls upon Congressmen to launch a campaign against them, is an index of the growing intolerance in the Ruling Party ranks. Acceptance of the slogan of "One Country, one Party, one Leader and one Policy" would sound the death-knell of democracy and establish in the country the totalitarianism which we are fighting against in our war with China. Communists and their fellow travellers have joined chorus with this tune because it serves their two-fold interests. On the one hand, taking cover behind the Prime Minister's name they are able to carry on their anti-national activities and on the other this policy aids them to drive a wedge in the nationalist ranks. Jana Sangh warns the people, particularly Congress, against these sinister manoeuvres of the Communists.

Soviet Influence—At a time when India is engaged in war with a Communist country, it is not at all prudent to allow the

Communists (or Government employees having sympathies with Communists) a license to act as they like. Despite widespread popular indignation against the Communists the Government has neither banned the Communist Party nor drawn up any effective scheme to contain its mischief potential. At many places, Communists have been included in Citizens Defence Committees, thus almost defeating the very purpose of these committees. If this soft attitude towards the Communists is prompted by our friendship with Soviet Russia, it is surely wrong and is tantamount to acceptance of a foreign country's influence in our home policies. Our home policies ought to be formulated solely with a view to ensure India's security and order.

It is surprising that a Government which is so lenient towards the Communists should misuse the powers conferred on it by the Defence of India Rules to imprison persons whose patriotism is unquestionable and who have been in the vanguard of the campaign to mobilise public opinion against Chinese aggression. The arrest of three public workers of Delhi, and the Secretary of the Digboi (Assam) Jana Sangh unit bears out the apprehensions expressed in Parliament when these extraordinary powers were being given to the Government. These workers should be released immediately and the Government should ensure that there is no recurrence of such happenings.

Chinese aggression has also exposed the ill-effects of the policy of isolation we have been pursuing vis-a-vis NEFA since the time of the Britishers. This policy needs to be changed. Politically as well as administratively, NEFA should be made part of Assam, and the restrictions on Indians outside this area in respect of entry into NEFA or settling in that region, should be withdrawn.

Press in Emergency—Freedom of the Press must be zealously safeguarded. Some stray exceptions apart, the Press has played a very patriotic role in arousing the resistance-potential of the people and strengthening of it. The Government must respect the Liberty of the Press and leave the function of imposing due restraints on it to a Press Council.

To protect Assam from the two-fold danger of Chinese aggression and Pakistani peril, it is imperative that the administration of Assam be taken over by the Centre. The present Government of the State is so dominated by a particular community that the confidence of the people has been badly

shaken. To restore popular confidence it is necessary that President's Rule be imposed and the services be reorganised there.

The security and development of Ladakh also demand that this region be administered directly by the Centre.

[December 30, 1962; Bhopal, X AIS]

63.08. OPPOSITION UNITY

The Central Working Committee welcomes the recent pronouncements of important leaders of various nationalist parties and groups regarding the desirability of acting in close cooperation to face the critical issues before the country like foreign invasion, internal corruption and the like, in order to compel the Government to take immediate and effective action in respect thereof. The Jana Sangh is prepared to respond to these efforts.

The Working Committee however regrets that at this hour of national crisis, the PSP should have thought it fit, by its Bhopal resolution, to mar this spirit of cooperation.

[June 13, 1963; Allahabad, CWC]

63.09. CONGRESS VIOLENCE

The Central Working Committee feels shocked to hear about incidents of political violence and gangsterism committed recently in Uttar Pradesh by Congress workers. On May 15, 1963, Shri Chandradeo Mishra, Chairman, Badhalganj Town Area Committee, was murdered at the Hata Bus Stop in District Gorakhpur in broad daylight by a group of Congress workers. Shri Mishra had been elected head of the committee two months ago and ever since had become an eyesore to local Congress leaders who had been bidding their time to wreak political vengeance against him.

A similar thing occurred in Sambhal on May 19 in the evening immediately after completion of the Lok Sabha polls for Acharya Kripalani's election. Shri Mahesh Kumar, Jana Sangh leader in Sambhal and in charge of Kripalani's election campaign for the area, was most brutally assaulted by Congress election workers right in front of the local Congress election office. A most reprehensible aspect of this episode is that the Deputy Home Minister (UP), was present in the said election office when this deplorable incident occurred. Worse still, to this day not a single arrest has been made in this connection. The Working Committee strongly condemns these trends and urges upon the UP Government to take stern steps to

check this growing lawlessness. It is imperative that in these two cases, the wrong doers be immediately brought to book.

[June 13, 1963; Allahabad, CWC]

63.25. CONGRESS VIOLENCE

The Central Working Committee feels shocked over the continuing reports from Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Jammu-Kashmir about political gangsterism thriving with the active collaboration, or passive connivance of the party in power and the custodians of law. As in all these States, political opposition to the Ruling Party is spear-headed by the Jana Sangh, it has had to pay the heaviest toll to this outburst of goondaism, manifested lately in a series of murderous assaults on Jana Sangh workers.

Not many months ago the Jana Sangh Chairman of the Badhalganj Town Area Committee in Gorakhpur district was murdered in broad daylight by persons known to be associated with the Congress. Last month Shri I. D. Saxena, Advocate, a prominent BJS worker of Kanpur, was similarly killed in cold blood by a gang of Congress workers. In Sunam (Sangrur dist., Punjab), the wife and infant child of a BJS worker were kidnaped and done to death by his political opponents. In the Doda district of Jammu, Sheikh Abdul Rehman and Shri Mast Nath, BJS zonal and district organisers respectively, have been victims of brutal assaults by goondas hired by the National Conference. In all these cases the police authorities have either actively abetted in the commitment of these outrages or have been guilty of criminal connivance in this regard.

Police Excesses—The conduct of the police has been particularly scandalous in Lalitpur and Dehradun, where respected Jana Sangh leaders of these regions, Shri Raghunath Singh and Shri Nityananda Swami respectively, have been victimised for the sole crime of leading popular resistance to official excesses. Shri Nityananda Swami was actually subjected to physical torture while in police custody.

No one can view all these incidents with equanimity. Isolated instances of misconduct or criminal behaviour by individuals can possibly be condoned but this spate of ugly incidents taking place under the aegis of those in authority are extremely distressing. These trends undermine respect for the rule of law and sap the foundations of public safety. The Working Committee draws the personal attention of the Union Home Minister to

these disturbing episodes and urges him to enquire into these happenings and to ensure that the guilty are brought to book.

[December 30, 1963; Ahmedabad, XI AIS]

65.02. DIVISIVE FORCES

Legacies of Nehru Era—Widespread corruption, growing inefficiency and laxity in administration, soaring prices and unemployment, revival and revitalisation of anti-national forces like the Communists and the Muslim League, the pestering sores of Kashmir and Nagaland, and similar other legacies of Nehru era have continued to bedevil the internal situation of India during these 8 months that have elapsed since Shri Nehru's death. Hopes that his successor would bring some touch of realism to the handling of these problems have been belied. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri has failed to make a reappraisal of the situation and to take bold steps to remedy matters. The Prime Minister's ineffectiveness has emboldened his Cabinet colleagues and State Chief Ministers to act as independent potentates of the departments and States put under their care. The resultant lack of co-ordination between the Centre and the States on the one hand, and one department and another of the Central Government on the other, has made the confused situation worse confounded.

Both the factions of the Communist Party as well as their fellow-travellers inside the Congress (acting as the most vociferous protectors of the Nehru heritage) have been systematically exerting to ensure that the situation not only does not improve but goes on getting worse. The slightest move to correct past follies is denounced as 'deviation from the Nehru line'. The rulers have been betraying lack of moral courage and conviction to accept the truth.

Meanwhile, splitting of the Communist party into the so-called Left and Right factions has enabled Communists to run with the hares and hunt with the hounds. With the patronage of the Government, the 'right' Communists have been posing as nationalists. The 'left' Communists on the other hand have entered into alliance with the Muslim League and other pro-Pak elements, and jointly they have been playing the role assigned to them by their mentors in Peking and Pindi. Lately, Government has arrested some pro-Pekingers. But many of them have gone underground. Besides, the Government is unwilling to take action against their collaborators.

○ **Patriotism and Sedition**—The distinction between patriotism

and sedition has been further blurred by utterances of Shri J. P. Narayan and the dubious attitude of the powers-that-be towards him. Continued talks with the rebellious underground Nagas even when they have made it amply clear that they want nothing less than complete independence, and the attitude of helplessness in regard to the communal and anti-national activities of Sheikh Abdulla and his henchmen in Kashmir have created serious misgivings about the real intentions of the Government of India regarding these vital questions which have a direct bearing upon the security and integrity of the country.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh warns the people and the Government of India that this explosive internal situation, viewed against the background of the mounting threat of armed aggression from Communist China and Pakistan, is dangerous for the very existence of India as an independent, united and democratic Republic and can have far-reaching effects on the future of democracy in the world as a whole, if effective steps are not taken to meet it in time. It is the considered view of Jana Sangh that apart from reorientation of our economic and foreign policies and stepping up of defence preparations, the following steps need be taken immediately :

(1) **Border Policy**—Firm and effective action must be taken against all anti-national elements with extra-territorial links and loyalties. There is no justification for drawing a distinction between Peking-patriots, Pindi-patriots and Moscow-patriots. It is suicidal to allow those who are out to smother democracy to exploit democratic liberties guaranteed by our Constitution for the furtherance of their totalitarian and anti-national designs. Nothing less than a complete ban on the Communist party and the Muslim League can effectively curb their growing threat to national security and integrity. No false notion about secularism should be allowed to stand in the way of such necessary security steps.

Pakistani infiltrators and such Pak citizens who have been overstaying in the country must be immediately ejected. A 10-mile belt along the borders should be so created as to make it impossible for Pak infiltrators to succeed in their schemes, and with a view to make this region act as the country's strong line of defence.

A clear, well-planned and co-ordinated border policy needs to be drawn up. This policy should take into account all considerations—communication requirements, composition of the

population, need to provide the border population with necessary defence training and equipment, the economic development of the border regions, and the imperative necessity to guarantee these areas an honest and efficient administration.

(2) *Naga Policy*—It was a folly to have created a communal State of 3.5 lacs on our strategic Eastern frontier. It is greater folly to enter into negotiations with elements who have been persisting in their rebellious activities even after the creation of this separate State of Nagaland, particularly when their foreign connections and real intentions are well known.

All talks with these rebels must be stopped and the security forces must be given a free hand to handle the situation created by them. The so-called 'Peace Mission' must be disbanded and Rev. Scott be dispatched home.

The Government's Naga policy has been giving strength to the demand for a Hill State. This demand must be given no quarter. It is wrong to hold that the people in these regions have a separate culture of their own. The pattern of life we see there is only a diverse manifestation of Indian culture itself and our effort should be to strengthen the unity underlying it. The policy of isolation pursued with regard to NEFA must be ended.

(3) *Second Class Citizenship*—By its refusal to abrogate the temporary Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, which is the basis for a separate Constitution and Flag for Jammu-Kashmir State, the Government of India has been denying citizenship rights to the people of that State. This has enabled anti-national forces led by Sheikh Abdulla to step up their separatist activities. The weak-kneed policy of the Sadiq Government towards such forces in the name of liberalism has further worsened the situation. Patriotic elements in the State are naturally getting restive with this state of affairs. How long are they to suffer second class citizenship in their own country?

Sheikh Abdulla and his friends do not want Indian citizenship at all. To allow them to thwart the desire of the nationalist people to become equal citizens of the country is both unrealistic and impolitic. It has, therefore, become imperative that Article 370 be abrogated without any further delay. Effective curbs be put on the activities of Sheikh Abdulla who has now come out in his true colours as a rabid communalist. It would be unwise to allow him to go out of India on any pretext whatsoever. The people of Jammu-Kashmir should not be

made to suffer for the whims of some of their Kashmiri compatriots and the follies of the Government of India.

(4) *Corruption Problem*—Immediate efforts should be made to make the administrative machinery efficient and honest, and to create confidence in the administration's capacity to implement its policies. A high-powered Commission should be constituted to probe into all allegations of corruption in Ministerial ranks and to ensure that necessary follow-up action is taken. The present policy of having separate enquiries instituted in various matters, or of dealing with the problem on the political plane, is wrong.

[January 24, 1965; Vijayawada, XII AIS]

65.11. FIRING ON KERALA BJS WORKERS

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses its sense of deep shock and anguish over the post-election tragedy in Tanur (Kerala) in which a Jana Sangh worker Shri Subramaniam fell a victim to police bullets. According to reports received, the firing was totally without provocation and was perhaps an act of personal vendetta. The Working Committee mourns the death of Shri Subramaniam, conveys its heartfelt sympathies to the relatives of the deceased and demands that the Government should order a judicial probe into the outrage.

[April 3, 1965; Jaipur, CWC]

65.12. COMMUNIST GAME IN KERALA

By dissolving the Kerala State Assembly even before it has met, the Governor has acted contrary to the provisions of the Constitution and against democratic traditions.

The Government's steps in regard to Kerala have been so unwise that they have jeopardised both national security as well as democracy. Jana Sangh has been demanding that a law of treason be enacted and action be taken under this law to curb the activities of Communists, but Government has not only failed to take steps in this direction but has rounded up Communists in a manner which has been exploited by them to political advantage. Today they propose to whip up popular feelings and launch an agitation against the President's Rule. Evidently they seek to use this only as a veil to further their nefarious designs.

The Jana Sangh warns the people of Kerala to be on guard

about the Communist game. At the same time it demands that arrangements be made so that elections are held in the State at an early date and President's Rule be ended.

[April 3, 1965; Jaipur, CWC]

66.07. INTERNAL SITUATION

Democratic Institutions and Attitudes—The agitations that have taken place in various parts of the country lately have often occasioned violence, arson and sabotage. The Governments also have been taking growing recourse to repressive measures and force to deal with popular agitations. These agitations and the Government's conduct, have been echoed inside the Legislatures also and there have been many unseemly episodes derogatory to Parliamentary decorum. Jana Sangh condemns the use of violence in public life. It is a matter of regret that there are elements in the country which see no wrong in such recourse to violent means. The Government's policies are becoming more and more unpopular day by day. Those in power are inclined to disregard public expressions in this regard through normal democratic process. In fact, wherever there has been violence, the Government has succumbed. This has strengthened the feeling that this Government understands the language of violence only. For a considerable length of time now there has been in the country a state of emergency. The people have been unable to understand the justification for continuing it even after cessation of hostilities. The general climate is not at all of an emergency. The Central and the State Governments have been widely misusing the Defence of India Rules. Not only Assembly bye-elections but even local elections have been put off. Thus the institutions and the attitudes that sustain democracy are not there. Violent agitations and the Government's obtuse disregard of public feelings pose a threat not only to democracy but even to the country's freedom and peace. Bharatiya Jana Sangh calls upon the Government and all political parties to do some introspection and make conscious efforts to halt these trends. Jana Sangh reiterates its demand to ban the Leftist Communist Party which has links with the aggressor, Communist China.

Democracy is Indivisible—The problem of maintaining dignity and decorum in the Legislatures cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Government as well as the political parties affirm their unreserved faith in and act in a spirit of democracy in all

spheres. Indeed, democracy is indivisible. If there is violence outside, there are bound to be echoes inside, and if inside the Legislatures the voice of the people is sought to be stifled with the strength of a brute majority, or by recourse to and interpretation of rigid rules, outbursts outside the legislatures are inevitable.

Centrifugal Tendencies—It is a matter of concern that the Government has failed to make a correct appraisal of the threats to national unity and to deal with them firmly. By holding negotiations with the rebel Nagas, the Government has given a fillip to all separatist forces. The recent uprising in the Mizo Hills is an evidence of this fact. The Naga rebels have availed of these talks only to strengthen their own position, to make sinister alliance with foreign powers and to secure from them modern arms, equipment and training. During this period they have extended their activities to Manipur also which was hitherto untouched by them. The serious explosions that have taken place in passenger coaches at Diphu and Lunding have made it clear that either the Naga rebels' own intentions are not very honest, or then, they have no control over their followers. In either case, it would be wrong to continue talks with them. The activities of Rev. Scott have been anti-India. The Government of India has blundered by extending his visa. Rev. Scott must be ordered to quit India immediately. Talks with Naga rebels should be immediately stopped and free hand be given to our military to meet the situation.

The manner in which the Government has been repeating over and over again that the solution of the Nagaland problem would be on the basis of Nagaland being acknowledged as part of the Indian Union, has given rise to apprehensions that if only the rebel Nagas accept to concede one or two subjects to the Centre, New Delhi on its part would be willing to grant them complete autonomy in regard to all other matters. This attitude is an encouragement for those elements which are eager to reverse the process of Kashmir's integration with the rest of the country and would like Kashmir to be linked with India only in regard to three subjects and to be independent in regard to the rest. These elements have been creating an atmosphere in favour of Sheikh Abdulla's release and have been suggesting negotiations with him. Bharatiya Jana Sangh warns the Government that if Sheikh Abdulla is released or if

Government bungles into opening talks with him, the ill fruits would be the same as we have tasted once before. Today when there is need to make the Centre stronger and more effective, such steps would strengthen centrifugal tendencies, and gradually lead towards the disintegration of India.

Failure of Intelligence—The massive infiltration of Pakistanis into Kashmir and the sudden outburst in the Mizo Hill areas, evidently preceded by a phase of prolonged preparations, are events which reveal that the Central Intelligence has failed in the performance of its duties. At the time of the Chinese aggression also, the various intelligence agencies, Central as well as State, military as well as civil, were all caught napping. The Government had promised then to gear up our intelligence set-up and make it effective. It is evident that even after a lapse of 3 years the situation has not improved. Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that a high-powered committee be constituted to probe how thousands of infiltrators could successfully penetrate the cease-fire line and even reach Srinagar. To keep a vigilant eye on the fifth columnists throughout the country, Central and State intelligence departments need to be reorganised. Also it is necessary that there should be perfect co-ordination between the military and civil wings of our intelligence apparatus.

Turn-coats—Persons who at the time of the Indo-Pak war had crossed over to Pakistan to join the aggressors have obviously betrayed the country. It is a matter of regret that rather than divesting them of Indian citizenship rights, these elements are being invited back into the country and even welcomed. Jana Sangh demands that all these people in Rajasthan, Jammu-Kashmir State or in other parts, who had then gone over to Pakistan should be deprived of Indian citizenship and permitted to return to Pakistan.

(May 1, 1966; Jullundhur, XIII AIS)

66.11. BASTAR STIGMA

Dastardly Murder—The death of the late Maharaja Parvir Chandra Bhanjadeo and several tribals, in the police firing at Jagdalpur is extremely distressing. The episode is a blot on the face of Indian Democracy. The Madhya Pradesh Government has sought to white-wash the crime by appointing an Enquiry Commission. But from the facts that have come to light one thing is obvious namely that Shri Parvir Chandra Bhanjadeo

commanded the unquestioned loyalty of the Bastar tribals with the result that the Congress had failed to make any headway here. There has been acute discontentment in the tribals, as well as other people of Bastar against the forest, land and rehabilitation policies of the State Government. They had been agitating against these policies from time to time. Shri Parvir Chandra Bhanjadeo was the natural leader of this movement. This year scarcity of food-grains and Government's operations to secure forced levy both accentuated popular unrest and resulted in a spate of agitations. Instead of trying to allay the people's misery in a sympathetic manner, the Madhya Pradesh Government took recourse to repression, and tried to exploit the situation for its own political ends.

Enlarge the Enquiry Commission—The misleading and factually incorrect statements made by the Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister in regard to this episode, the conspicuous haste shown in appointing an Enquiry Commission and the generally intransigent attitude of the Government raise doubts that the State Government's own hands are also not clean. If appointment of the Enquiry Commission is aimed at finding out the truth, there can be no reason whatsoever why association of some outside judges with this probe should be resisted. Such association would indeed strengthen the Commission. We appeal to Justice Shri Kanhaiya Lal Pande (who has become today the subject matter of a controversy) to himself press for the expansion of the Commission's personnel and scope. Demand is gaining strength within and outside Madhya Pradesh that Mishra Ministry should resign in order to enable the enquiry to be conducted freely with no possibility of any pressure or influence.

In this Bastar episode, a powerful political adversary has been eliminated through bullets. Such an attitude on the part of the Ruling Party spells grave danger to democracy; because if it can get away unscathed with incidents like Bastar, the life of no opposition worker in this country can be deemed safe. Those who stand for democracy must accept this challenge. Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, resolves to arouse the people to the serious implications of 'Bastar'. We demand :

- (i) The Bastar Enquiry must be open; the Commission appointed must be enlarged to include two High Court Judges from outside Madhya Pradesh.
- (ii) CBI should be asked to adduce evidence in regard to the Bastar happenings before this Commission.

- (iii) Concerned officials must be sent away on compulsory leave.
- (iv) The tribals under arrest must be released forthwith.
- (v) Police terrorism unleashed in Bastar must be stopped; MP Special Armed Forces parading the villages of Bastar must be withdrawn and confidence be created in the people so that they can tender evidence before the Commission freely and fearlessly.
- (vi) Compensation must be paid to the families of persons killed or wounded in the police firing.

[May 1, 1966; Jullundhur, XIII AIS]

66.21. NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

Taking into account the widespread and deep feeling of the people about ending the maladministration of the Congress and about removing its stranglehold on power

Considering that the best means to achieve this would be an alternative party which could establish a stable Government on a positive basis, and

Having considered the election preparations and organisational progress of the Jana Sangh,

The All India General Council decides that all seats should be contested in UP, MP, Haryana and Himanchal Pradesh. In other States elections should be contested in those areas where the Jana Sangh has been sufficiently active in the last 5 years and is at present in a position to give an effective challenge to the Ruling Party. It extends the hands of cooperation to other national democratic opposition parties in those states where they may strive to form Government. It expects that they will also give their cooperation to Jana Sangh in those States where it is capable of and intends to form a Government.

The General Council gives permission to local units to arrive at adjustments with other parties so that mutual contests may be avoided.

It approves of the co-ordination that has already been arrived at with the Swatantra Party in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Orissa.

It bans any sort of alliance with the Communist Parties, which have nothing in common with the Jana Sangh and which misuse the democratic process only for uprooting democracy.

The General Council thanks the people for their increasing support to the Jana Sangh and gives the assurance that it will try its best to fulfil their expectations. It appeals for their full

cooperation in the task of creating a national democratic alternative.

[November 2, 1966; Nagpur, CWC]

67.01. FOURTH GENERAL ELECTIONS

The Jana Sangh congratulates the people of the country on the successful completion of the Fourth General Elections. While the Ruling Party did make attempts to influence the elections in some areas by unfair means, in general the voters did their democratic duty without fear or temptation. In Jammu-Kashmir the Government machinery has been extensively misused to make a mockery of the elections. The people are to be admired for their enthusiasm, alertness, peacefulness and discipline on this occasion.

As a result of these elections, the Congress has received a big shock. It has failed to secure a majority in 8 States as well as in Delhi. At the Centre too, its majority has a very narrow margin. These elections have shown the people's great resentment against and lack of confidence in the Congress. Clearly it is on the way out. This party, which was once considered invincible has not only been defeated but has proved itself a spent-up force. The Indian voter has recognised his might. His self-confidence has been roused.

Along with the disintegration and the end of the Congress the necessity of an alternative is being felt. With this possibility in mind even before the elections, the Jana Sangh had entered the arena with the object of providing an alternative with a positive basis. The elections have given an important victory to the Jana Sangh. In point of seats to the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assemblies, it leads all non-Congress parties. Not only this, while other All-India parties have either gone down or at best have retained their original position the Jana Sangh has made impressive progress both in votes and in seats. It participated in the elections without entering into an alliance with any other party. Hence its success is an index of the confidence and support that the people have for it. Bharatiya Jana Sangh thanks the people for this cooperation and support and vows that it will make all efforts to create the alternative for which it has received the mandate of the people.

Jana Sangh in Coalition Governments—Because of the defeat of the Congress and the inability of any one of the parties to secure a majority, it has become impossible in many States to form

a Government unless all non-Congress parties come together. To let the Congress form a Government in such States would not only amount to flouting the people's feelings but would also strike at their self-confidence. This situation is not conducive for the development of democracy. It can encourage elements that do not believe in democracy. Hence the Central Working Committee favours the inclusion of the Jana Sangh MLAs in non-Congress Ministries. These members will remain in the Ministry so long as they can effectively serve the people on the basis of the principles and programmes of the Jana Sangh. Even while participating in non-Congress Ministries, the Jana Sangh Legislature Party should maintain its organisation and working according to its Constitution.

Joint Fronts—Where the Congress is in power and the Jana Sangh is in opposition, the Jana Sangh should maintain its independent existence and should put forth its views clearly and effectively. At the same time it should keep contact and consolidate relations with other national democratic parties and endeavour to establish joint fronts on various issues.

[March 14, 1967; Delhi, CWC]

67.04. MURDER OF DEMOCRACY IN RAJASTHAN

Governor's Partisan Role—The Central Government's decision to impose President's Rule in Rajasthan and to suspend the State Vidhan Sabha is a mockery of democracy. The Rajasthan elections had shown clearly that the Congress had forfeited the confidence of the people. It was the Governor's duty to respect this verdict and to invite the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal formed by all the non-Congress parties and the independents on the basis of a common minimum programme and with a common leadership to form the Government. In a House of 183, the Samyukta Dal had the support of 92—a clear majority. It is a matter of regret that the Governor played a partisan role. Entirely ignoring the fact that the Congress was in a minority and Congress Leader Shri Sukhadia was using unscrupulous means to augment his party strength, the Governor asked Shri Sukhadia to form his Government. Later, however, when the Congress failed to form a stable Government, the Governor (instead of adopting the only proper course in the situation—namely inviting the Samyukta Dal to form its Government), recommended to the Centre an imposition of

President's Rule then. The Governor's argument that in assessing the comparative strength of the Congress and of the Samyukta Dal, the independent members are not to be taken into consideration, is untenable and contrary to accepted democratic conventions.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh sternly repudiates the charge that the opposition parties in Rajasthan have fomented disturbances. In fact the responsibility for the brutal firing in Jaipur on March 7, rests squarely on the Rajasthan State Government. By clamping section 144 in Jaipur and arresting the popular Leaders of the opposition parties the Rajasthan Government had choked all avenues of peaceful protest. It is nevertheless significant that nowhere outside Jaipur has any untoward incident taken place and even Jaipur, after March 7, has been completely peaceful, despite the provocative and repressive Governmental acts of that day. Evidently thus, there has been no threat whatsoever to the law and order situation there.

Centre and non-Congress Governments—By imposing President's Rule just on the eve of the Assembly Session, when the Samyukta Dal was all set for a constitutional trial of strength with the Congress on the issue of the Speaker's election, the Government has betrayed that its intention in doing so was none else but to prevent the non-Congress parties from coming into power by democratic means. This decision by the Central Government is bound to affect its relations with other non-Congress Governments. Indeed this act of the new Government at the Centre has created serious misgivings about the Prime Minister's repeated declarations that her Government would honour the verdict of the people and that the Central Government would extend full cooperation to the non-Congress Governments in the States.

The Central Working Committee of Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that :

- (i) the decision to impose President's Rule in Rajasthan be revoked, and that the Governor be directed to convene a meeting of the State Assembly and to invite the Samyukta Dal to form its Government;
- (ii) a new Governor be appointed in Rajasthan; and
- (iii) a High Court Judge be deputed to enquire into the tragic firing episode of March 7, 1967.

The Working Committee calls upon the people of Rajasthan to continue their peaceful struggle for the establishment of a

democratic rule in the State. Jana Sangh assures them its full support, and wishes them all success.

[March 14, 1967; Delhi, CWC]

67.06. COALITION GOVERNMENTS

Basis of Common Programme—The Fourth General Elections have ushered in a new chapter in India's political history. By now, in States and in Delhi, Congress rule has ended and non-Congress governments have taken over. Where no single party has been able to obtain a clear majority, non-Congress parties have combined to form coalition governments. The formation of these governments has been in deference to the popular sentiment, and fully in conformity with democratic traditions. Despite its ideological and policy differences with the other opposition parties, the Jana Sangh has agreed to join the governments with them on the basis of a minimum common programme. Its objective in so doing is to bring relief to the people oppressed by 20 years of Congress misrule, to arouse the common man from the stupor and inertia into which he had fallen, and to mobilise his energies for the great task of economic and social reconstruction.

People's Language—The Jana Sangh is of the opinion that the non-Congress governments should in the first instance concentrate their attention on a 4-pronged programme :

- (i) Remedying the food problem,
- (ii) Increasing agricultural production by trying to bring water to every field,
- (iii) Eliminating corruption, and
- (iv) Effecting economy in administration.

To achieve this, it is essential that the gulf between the rulers and the ruled be bridged. The Governments will have to conduct their work in the language of the people and those in office must set example of simplicity and unostentatious living and conduct themselves with humility.

Taking into consideration the present circumstances and the limitations inherent in the composition of these coalition governments, it would be wrong to expect any miracles from them. We would like to caution these governments also (and their component parties) not to undertake any rash ventures merely for some spectacular effect. To stem the present rot, what is needed is dedicated and relentless toil. It is with this awareness that the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has joined the various coalition

governments, and its policies hereafter will continue to be underscored by this constructive approach.

In the States, where the Jana Sangh is not a co-sharer in the government, it will continue to play its role of a responsible opposition and in cooperation with other forces will also continue its efforts to dislodge the Congress from office. The people must continue to be alert and evince the same vigilance which they displayed during the General Elections. They must keep watch on the governments, whatsoever be their composition, and consciously exert their influence on them so that they remain in tune with the popular will. It is the duty of the Jana Sangh units to be alert and active in this regard.

[April 21, 1967; Delhi, AIGC]

67.07. CENTRE-STATES RELATIONS

Following the Fourth General Elections, the non-Congress Governments have been formed in several States. At the Centre, however, the Congress continues to be in the saddle. In this context, the question of Centre-State relations has assumed special significance.

During the past 10 years, there have often been strains and differences between the Centre and the States. On occasions, either the Centre or the States or both have been guilty of transgressing the constitutional limits, or failing in their respective responsibilities. But as the same one party held sway all over the country, these situations did not lead to political confrontations. Today, however any lapses of this nature are bound to be interpreted in terms of partisan politics and may seriously jeopardise the unity and integrity of the country. It is imperative, therefore, that all parties concerned should be scrupulous to ensure that their conduct is constitutionally correct.

By imposing President's Rule in Rajasthan, even though the non-Congress parties had an edge over the Congress in the Assembly, the Congress Government in New Delhi has betrayed that it has failed to learn a lesson from the elections. In such matters, the Centre has not only to be just but also to appear just. The non-Congress Governments also must avoid the temptation of blaming the Centre for every difficulty or failure.

The recent statement made by Shri E. M. S. Namboodripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, in which he has said that a 'confrontation' between the Centre and the State was 'inevitable' and

another in which he has made a claim on the foreign exchange earnings from exports from Kerala are, in this context regrettable.

Reallocation of Financial Resources—It is true that the States today lack the resources necessary to enable them to carry out their responsibilities under the Constitution. During the last 15 years, the dependence of the States on the Centre (financially and otherwise) has been constantly growing. For the healthy growth of our democratic set-up, this is not a desirable state of affairs. It is essential, therefore, that the financial arrangements between the Centre and the States be so modified as to enable the States to fulfil their obligations. While appreciating the need of a decentralised self-government Jana Sangh would like to stress that even though the form of the Indian Constitution is federal, its spirit is unitary. We must all exert to maintain this basically unitary character of our Constitution.

[April 21, 1967; Delhi, AIGC]

67.10. NAXALBARI MENACE

The Central Working Committee views with great concern the recent developments in W. Bengal. The installation of a non-Congress Government in W. Bengal, as in several other States, had been hailed by the nation as a revolutionary event of historic importance. It vindicated our faith in democracy and demonstrated the capacity of the people to bring about a change in government by peaceful and democratic methods. All the non-Congress parties accepted the implications of the poll verdict and formed united fronts to provide alternative governments. These governments despite the odds they faced have by and large been doing well, and have been exerting to ameliorate the conditions of the people.

"People's Courts" in Naxalbari—In W. Bengal, however, the Communist Party (Marxist), a constituent of the United Front, has behaved differently. In Naxalbari, a strategic area in North Bengal, the party has unleashed a reign of terror and lawlessness, which involuntarily reminds one of the Telengana outrages. Heinous crimes of murder, rape, arson and dacoity have been committed by the Red gangs on rampage. Instances have been reported of "People's Courts", *a la Peking* usurping the authority of the duly established agencies of administration and sentencing the 'accused' persons even to death. While the official machinery

has become immobilised, a virtual parallel government has been sought to be set up by the local Reds with the connivance of their State leaders.

The Communist party (Marxist) has never had any faith in parliamentary democracy. Its recent conduct has only exposed its resolve to use its vantage position in the present democratic set up only to subvert democracy and to usher in the bloody revolution of its dream. Indeed Naxalbari is an eye-opener for all those who had any illusions about the character and intentions of these pro-Peking Reds. Against the background of the renewed threat of aggression from China, their activities have an ominous implication for the nation's security. The Working Committee notes with satisfaction that the nationalist elements in the W. Bengal Government like the SSP, PSP, and the Gorakha League have publicly condemned the conduct of their wayward co-partners in the Government and affirmed their determination to counter their activities. The Committee wishes that Ajoy Mookerji's Bangala Congress also comes out with a bold denunciation of the Pekingers and stopped acting as their apologists and henchmen. It is deplorable that Ajoy Mookerji's Government should have officially acquiesced in the use of the illegal and anti-democratic technique of *gherao* for the settlement of labour disputes. It is extremely regrettable that the West Bengal Chief Minister, evidently acting on the counsel of his Marxist colleagues, opposed the proposed Parliamentary Delegation to Naxalbari.

Jana Sangh is not in favour of any Central intervention in W. Bengal at present. Imposition of President's Rule in the State now, it feels, may only lend strength to the Marxist Communists there and thus defeat its own purpose. The solution to the W. Bengal situation lies in a concerted effort by all nationalist elements both inside the State Government and outside, to isolate the Left Communists, to unhesitatingly condemn their misdoings and to dissociate the Government completely from all that is being done by them. As incharge of the Home Portfolio, it is the Chief Minister's personal responsibility to ensure that law and order in the State is scrupulously maintained, and no person or group who tries to disturb it, gets away with impunity. Not only West Bengal but democratic elements all over the country have been extremely disturbed by the Naxalbari events and by the generally deteriorating law and order situation in W. Bengal. It is hoped that Chief Minister Mookerji with the

support and cooperation of other democratic elements will firmly assert his authority.

[June 30, 1967; Simla, CWC]

67.12. COALITION GOVERNMENTS IN PUNJAB AND HARIYANA

The Central Working Committee has heard the reports from the secretaries of the Punjab and Hariyana Jana Sangh units respectively, in regard to the general functioning of the new governments in these states and also in regard to two specific issues namely recent expansion in the size of these two governments, and the conflicting attitudes of the two governments vis-a-vis, Chandigarh.

The Working Committee is generally satisfied with the working of the two governments but feels that there is need for both to speed up the implementation of the minimum programme they have accepted.

The Committee however views with disfavour the recent expansion in the size of the two Cabinets. The Hariyana Government has been over-sized since its inception and the Punjab Cabinet too, with 17 Ministers in a house of 104, has assumed proportions which has no administrative justification even though it may be politically expedient.

The Committee has had occasion to discuss this matter with the Punjab Chief Minister, Sardar Gurnam Singh, and to convey its views to him. The Punjab Chief Minister fully appreciated the Committee's viewpoint but explained that the sort of Congress tactics his Government had to face both at the State level as well as the Central level had compelled him to enlarge his Cabinet.

While the Committee would like its state units to continue to exert their influence in favour of cabinets commensurate with the size of the state, it feels that the size of the government alone should not be the determinant nor even the main determinant of their attitude towards the governments. The Jana Sangh will formulate its policy vis-a-vis their respective state governments mainly on the basis of how a government is functioning.

Arbitration for Disputes—In respect of Chandigarh, the Working Committee appeals to the Chief Ministers of Punjab and Hariyana to sit down at a conference table and try to thrash out all conflicting claims amicably. The Jana Sangh is of the view that all standing claims which cannot be thus mutually settled should be referred to an agreed arbitrator. It is desirable

that this arbitrator should be a non-political individual. Those who are in favour of *status-quo* being retained in Chandigarh may also represent their claims to that arbitrator. The arbitrator's award must be binding on all parties concerned. The Jana Sangh units in both these states would be free to present their respective viewpoints before this arbitrator. Meanwhile, they should scrupulously eschew an agitational approach in this matter and refrain from saying or doing anything which might create bitterness among the various sections of the people.

[June 30, 1967; Simla, CWC]

67.17. COALITION GOVERNMENTS

The Central Working Committee having heard reports about the functioning of the Coalition Governments in UP, MP, Bihar and Punjab, records the appreciation of the performance of the Jana Sangh Ministers in these Governments. The Committee's assessment of the Working of these governments as a whole varies from state to state, but it is generally satisfied that these governments are moving in the right direction. The Jana Sangh units in these states, the Committee feels, should continue to support the governments in their efforts to tidy up the mess created by 20 years of Congress misrule and at the same time exercise a vigilant check on the wayward tendencies betrayed by any constituent of these governments. In this context the Working Committee expresses its satisfaction over the firm stand taken by the UP and Bihar units of the Jana Sangh against the move to make Urdu the second official language of these states.

Democratic Revolution—The Working Committee wishes to reiterate on this occasion its earnest desire to make the coalition governments an effective instrument for the service of the people and the betterment of the common man's lot. Even when this coalition experiment was being launched, the Jana Sangh had clearly pointed out the difficulties inherent in the working of the governments formed by as divergent units as presently constitute these governments. The pace of achievement also, it had further stressed, would be inevitably slower than it could be if the Congress had been replaced by a homogeneous government. An imperative condition for the success of such coalition governments is that the units should scrupulously confine themselves to the agreed minimum programme, refrain from trying to cast the entire government in their respective party moulds and avoid playing to the gallery. In UP and

Bihar during the past two months, the failure on the part of some constituents to heed this evident fact has resulted in strains which could have been easily avoided. It needs to be realised after all, that the democratic revolution of February-March 1967 which has overthrown the Congress regime in 9 different states (and which can, not in the very distant future, even engulf the Centre as well) would appear meaningful to the common man only if the changeover brings him appreciable relief from the corruption and maladministration, he has had to suffer in the earlier 2 decades. The failure of these governments, therefore, can result in a sense of general frustration, a corresponding weakening of faith in the efficiency of the ballot-box, and thus give comfort only to those elements who would like democracy in India to fail. Parties in these coalition governments who have an abiding faith in democracy must make a concerted endeavour to avoid such a situation.

[September 19, 1967; Baroda, CWC]

67.22. NON-CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS

The Fourth General Elections marked the opening of a new chapter in India's political history. The common man recognised the importance of his vote and evinced a high degree of political consciousness by exercising it to smash the Congress monopoly of power. The poll results have served to underscore the fact that it is possible to change a Government by means of the ballot box, and further, that any Government which disregards public opinion cannot remain in office for long.

It is a matter of satisfaction that in this election Jana Sangh received wide support from the people. Both in terms of seats won as well as votes polled, Jana Sangh stands highest among the non-Congress parties. However, except in Delhi and Madras, in no State did any non-Congress party secure a clear majority. In deference to the wishes of the people longing for emancipation from Congress misrule, Bharatiya Jana Sangh decided to help in the formation of coalition governments on the basis of a common minimum programme. This was the first occasion when coalitions composed of parties subscribing to diverse ideologies had been launched on such a wide scale. Wherever the constituent units of these Joint Front Governments showed an awareness of the limitations of the set up and behaved with a sense of responsibility and restraint, the Governments achieved some success in fulfilling the expectations of the people. But

wherever any of the constituents sought to impose their views and decisions on the entire Government, it led to strains and instability and thus reduced the efficiency and utility of these governments.

So far as W. Bengal is concerned, it has to be noted that the left Communists there have been guilty of instigating an armed revolt in Naxalbari in the name of land-reforms, of creating industrial unrest and injuring the interests of workers by encouraging *gherao* and of unleashing subversion and lawlessness by immobilising the police. As a result of these activities the Marxists were becoming more and more unpopular with the masses. But dismissal of the Ajoy Mookerji Government has only enabled the Reds to hide their own crimes, strut about as defenders of democracy and at the same time embark on a fresh spell of violence.

Cong's Toppling Game—It is to be regretted that the Congress has failed to reconcile itself to the post-election situation and instead of acting as a responsible opposition in the States won by other parties, it took recourse to all sorts of undemocratic, unconstitutional and corrupt means to topple these Governments. The Congress Government at the Centre did not hesitate even to (mis)use Governors as its pawns for this purpose. In Hariyana, floor-crossing was made a cause for imposing President's Rule even while the joint front commanded a majority, while in Punjab and Bengal floor-crossing has been encouraged and blessed to foist minority Governments on these States. Jana Sangh is of the view that in both Punjab and W. Bengal, President's Rule should be promulgated and mid-term elections held.

Foreign Interference—Ever since the last elections, foreign powers have been taking a growing interest in our internal matters and have been exerting to influence our politics. The slanderous campaign against some Indian national leaders and Indian political parties, particularly the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, made by the 'Radio Peace and Freedom' run and controlled by Soviet Russia amounts to an open interference in our internal matters. Similarly, the reports published in the American Press itself about the activities of the US-run Central Intelligence Agency have made it clear that the United States is systematically organising espionage and fifth column activities in our country. There have been charges and this fact has been corroborated by the Union Home Minister, Shri Chavan, that both these countries have spent large sums of money to influence the Fourth

General Elections. This points to a real danger for India's freedom and sovereignty and unless immediate and effective steps are taken in this regard, the efforts to convert India into a convenient battleground for the clash of conflicting ideologies and interests may well fructify. Jana Sangh demands that a Commission headed by a Supreme Court Judge should be appointed to investigate the serious charges made in respect of the use of foreign money in the elections. The CBI probe is entirely unsatisfactory. It has failed either to do justice to those who are allegedly involved or to allay the widespread misgivings.

The disastrous defeat of Congress in the General Elections, and its subsequent conduct and attitudes have made it clear that this party has no future. It has lost all its idealism and now remains just a conglomeration of self-seeking and opportunist politicians. Considering the rapid pace of Congress's decline, it must be said that no other single party is emerging as a country-wide alternative as rapidly. This has made some people apprehensive about India's unity and the future of democracy in this country. Jana Sangh is not unaware of these apprehensions. But it is confident that the people's faith in this country's unity and democratic values is so deep and well-rooted that the rise and fall of one party is not going to affect it. What is needed is that all those people and sections who subscribe to the ideals of nationalism, democracy and social justice must appreciate the demands of the situation and make Bharatiya Jana Sangh such a formidable force that it would replace the Congress in office and should be able to frustrate the designs of those elements who are keen to exploit the instability, uncertainty and discontent of this transitional period to create anarchy in the country and lead India to totalitarianism.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh calls on the people to gird up their loins in order to preserve what we have achieved to date and to build up a glorious future. This is not the time for indifference or lethargy. The future of India is beckoning to us. With confidence in ourselves and readiness to exert tirelessly, let us resolve to carry the Jana Sangh's message and organisation to the lowliest hut. That is the only way we can help the country tide over the present dangers.

[December 26, 1967; Calicut, XIV AIS]

67.25. COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNALISTS IN KERALA

During the past one decade the people of Kerala, in search of a political leadership which can help solve their manifold problems, have seen the rise and fall of numerous Governments. The search, however, still continues. In 1959, disgusted with the undemocratic ways of the then Communist regime, the people ousted them from power and gave Congress yet another opportunity to serve the people. The Congress once again belied their expectations and failed miserably to solve any problem. It was this that led to the strange spectacle in which we witnessed those very parties who were responsible for bringing down the Communist regime, joining hands with the very same Communist Party to fight the elections and ultimately becoming its co-sharers in power.

The 1967 elections, however, did result in a stable Government. Naturally, therefore, high hopes were aroused. The people began looking forward to the EMS Government for taking earnest steps to solve the major problems of food and unemployment caused by the wrong policies of the Congress.

Communist Disruptionist Designs—It is a matter of regret that instead of attempting to solve the food problem, the Kerala Government has been using the issue only as a political weapon to fight the Central Government in furtherance of their disruptionist designs. No doubt the policies pursued by the Congress Government at the Centre also have been unhelpful. But the Kerala Government's own policies have been no less responsible for the acute food problem which confronts Kerala today. In a year of unparalleled bumper crop, the ration has been reduced to a bare 3 oz. of rice. The farmer is being harassed by the system of the compulsory levy, requisition, declaration, movement restrictions and artificial controls. He is compelled to sell at an unremunerative price, the consumer is made to pay a high price and the difference between the two prices goes into the pockets of the corrupt officials and the professional smugglers.

In the matter of providing relief to the unemployed the Government has failed completely. Industrialists who offered to start industries were sent away for political considerations. The people have thus been deprived of employment opportunities.

Government Organised Bandh—Not only has the Government failed to solve existing problems, it has created many new

ones, besides in these 9 months. Worst is their calculated move to undermine the Rule of Law. The law and order situation has sharply deteriorated. On September 11, 1967, the Government of Kerala organised a *bandh*, immobilised the police and let loose Communists and goondas on a spree of violence and intimidation against the people. It is gratifying to note that the people of Kerala resisted this Communist intimidation even though the police did not come to their rescue. The conduct of the people in general that day demonstrated to the rest of the country that the people of Kerala are not only not prepared to dance to the tune of the Communists, but can even effectively resist violence organised by the Communists. Jana Sangh pays homage to the two victims of the police repression in Kasargode on the Kerala Bandh day who became martyrs in the course of this popular resistance to the Communists violence. The administrative machinery is being misused for filling the coffers of the party and to inject partymen into the services. The so-called popular committees are being used as instruments to spread the influence of the Communist Party among the rural people.

The Government of Kerala is doing everything possible to help the growth of Muslim communalism in this State. The proposal to constitute a separate Muslim-majority coastal district in Kerala revives ominous memories of the old communal demand for a Mopalaстан heard along with the cry for Pakistan.

The people of Kerala are naturally apprehensive for all these developments. But they are now convinced that these threats cannot be met by the disintegrating Congress. After all, the Congress itself has been primarily responsible for bringing the State into the present mess.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels that the problems facing the people of Kerala cannot be solved by a negative approach of either anti-Congressism or anti-Communism. What is needed is a positive and constructive approach on the twin planks of Nationalism and Democracy. It is indeed the realisation of this fact that is manifesting itself in the unbounded enthusiasm with which the people of Kerala have cooperated in making this Jana Sangh Session such a grand success.

Jana Sangh on its part is resolved to mobilise this tremendous upsurge of enthusiasm to make the party organisation in the State a powerful instrument for the fulfilment of Kerala's aspirations.

[December 26, 1967; Calicut, XIV AIS]

68.07. COALITION GOVERNMENTS

When in March-April 1967, coalition governments comprising of non-Congress parties with extremely divergent views were launched in Bihar, Punjab and UP, the Jana Sangh had pointedly drawn public attention to the inherent limitations of these governments, and its All India General Council Session at New Delhi cautioned the people that "it would be wrong to expect any miracles from them". Later, at Baroda, the Jana Sangh Central Executive had stressed that "an imperative condition for the success of such coalition governments is that the units should scrupulously confine themselves to the agreed minimum programme, refrain from trying to cast the entire government in their respective party moulds and avoid playing to the gallery". The experience of the United Front governments during the past fifteen months has only borne out the validity of this realistic approach.

In Punjab, where the coalitionists generally evinced an appreciation of this fact, the United Front Government, constituted though it was of as heterogeneous elements as the Jana Sangh, the Akalis and the Communists, functioned better. For the 9 months that it lasted, the Gurnam Singh Government virtually demonstrated what a good government should be. The corruption and jobbery rampant in the preceding regimes began perceptibly to give way to a refreshing climate of honesty and integrity in public life. An even more boonful result of this change in political set up was the melting away of the communal animosities which had plagued Punjab's life for the last 20 years and which the Congress had assiduously tried to perpetuate for its own selfish political ends. For the people of Punjab, therefore, it was a very sad day when local Congress leaders, aided and abetted by Central Government, engineered split in Akali ranks and contrived to displace the United Front Government by a minority government of defectors headed by Shri Gill. The good and wholesome work initiated by the UF Government was abruptly halted and the State has relapsed to its pre-General Election conditions. Punjab wants today a mid-term poll so that it can enable there resumption of the halted process.

In UP and Bihar, the experience about coalitions has been different. In both these States, some of the constituent parties failed to conduct themselves as responsible units of a multi-party government, and started exerting pressure on the governments to adopt postures conforming to their respective ideological fancies,

The Congress took full advantage of the inter-party strains and stresses thus generated and manoeuvred the fall of both these coalitions. Congress success in Bihar, however, proved short-lived and a new coalition is back in the saddle. Uttar Pradesh, on the other hand, is now heading for a mid-term poll.

Thus, on the basis of its experience, the Jana Sangh thinks it would be wrong to draw just now any generalised conclusions about the utility or futility of coalitions. In Punjab, the experience has been unreservedly happy, in UP somewhat unhappy, while in Bihar it has been mixed.

The Madhya Pradesh coalition belongs to a class different from the above three. The government does not include Communists, and so ideological heterogeneity has much lesser relevance. But if, nevertheless, the government has been facing difficulties, it is once again due to the failure of some constituents to realise the limitations of coalitions and to function accordingly.

In the wake of the recent Hariyana elections, the Kerala civic polls and the by-election of Krishnanagar, Congress leaders have been frantically exerting to project these election results as evidence of a swing-back in public opinion in favour of the Congress. While these elections do reflect the common man's disappointment with the performance of the non-Congress governments of Hariyana, Kerala and West Bengal, Congressmen would be indulging in sheer self-delusion if they interpret these as revival of faith in themselves. Twenty years of Congress misrule have so thoroughly discredited the Party that only its positive performance at the Centre or in the States where it is still in power can help rehabilitate the Party. During these past 15 months since the general elections, the Congress has nowhere given the slightest indication of being ready to mend its ways. It cannot be overlooked that out of the 5 Lok Sabha by-elections held after the February 1967 poll, the Congress has lost 3 and won only 2. The biennial elections to the Rajya Sabha and various State Councils also have revealed the Congress as a hopelessly divided house.

Congress success in Kerala and West Bengal indicates only that the common man in these states is disappointed with the Communists no less than with the Congress. The brilliant civic victories scored by the Jana Sangh in Palghat and Kasargode are in this context particularly significant inasmuch as they clearly suggest the direction in which Kerala has started looking

for a satisfactory alternative both to the Congress and the Communists. In the forthcoming West Bengal poll the Jana Sangh's strategy will be to help emergence of such a third alternative, and to secure for itself a firm foothold in the State Legislature. The Jana Sangh has suffered some temporary setback in Hariyana and Lucknow, but UP Corporations election results on the whole have been satisfactory for the Party. In Varanasi, the Jana Sangh has trounced the Congress, in Agra too it has stolen a swift march over the Congress strategy and in Kanpur it has increased its strength in the corporation three-fold.

In a Parliamentary democracy, coalitions can be accepted only as a matter of political compulsion. Every political party naturally aspires to gain strength enough to rule by itself. It hardly needs be emphasised that the Jana Sangh can serve the people best where and when it is in a position to man a government by itself. So, in the forthcoming UP poll, the Jana Sangh has decided to strive for an absolute majority and thus be able to shape the destinies of this largest State in the country in accordance with its own plan and programmes.

[June 14, 1968; Gauhati, CWC]

68.13. POST-1967 SITUATION

In the political history of Independent India, February 1967 may be regarded as a major landmark. Till then, that is for full 20 years, the Congress enjoyed an absolute monopoly of power both at the Centre as well as in the States. The Fourth General Elections radically transformed the scene. Congress' two-decade old monopoly was shattered and in as many as 6 different States (Punjab, Bihar, Orissa, Bengal, Madras and Kerala), besides the Union Territory of Delhi, non-Congress Governments took over. The process of change did not end here. In the following few months, 3 more States—Hariyana, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh—joined this tally, so that by mid-1967 nearly two-thirds of the country's population was being governed by the non-Congress regimes.

Coalition and Minority Governments—One year has elapsed since then, and 5 of these 10 governments—Hariyana, Punjab, Bengal, UP and Bihar—have fallen victim to their internal weaknesses and/or Congress machinations, with the result that today the country stands poised for a mini-General Election. By February-March 1969, mid-term elections would have been

held in W. Bengal, Bihar, UP and Punjab. It is but natural that the voters' decision in these polls will be influenced among other factors by his evaluation of the post-Fourth General Election developments.

On trial during this period of 18 months have been two political phenomena, coalitions and minority governments, the first tried by the non-Congress parties and the second by the Congress. Congress' experiment in minority governments, during the post-1967 General Election period attempted first in W. Bengal, next in Bihar, and lastly in the Punjab, has been an utter disaster. In W. Bengal and Bihar, the experiment was fortunately short-lived, but in Punjab where it lasted somewhat longer, it has done incalculable harm to the State. Under the Congress-backed puppet government of Shri Gill, corruption and jobbery assumed dimensions before which the misdeeds even of the Kairon regime paled into insignificance. The Punjab Governor has done well in staying implementation of the Gill Government's resignation-eve decisions. But the interests of healthy public life demand that the memorandum submitted by Jana Sangh, Akali and other opposition leaders to the President be accepted and a Commission of Enquiry be instituted to probe the mis-doings of the Gill Government.

Unlike the minority government experiment which has been an unmitigated failure, the coalition venture of non-Congress parties has been like the proverbial curate's egg, an admixture of happy and unhappy experiences. Jana Sangh's approach to this question of coalitions has been very clearly outlined in the three resolutions on the subject adopted first in Delhi (April 1967), then in Baroda (September 1967), and lately in Gauhati (June 1968). It can be said :

(1) Jana Sangh aspires to man governments both at the Centre, as well as in the States, all by itself; it does not subscribe to 'non-Congressism' as a creed.

(2) Coalitions are born out of political compulsions. Jana Sangh realises that the relative strength of various political parties being what it is for some duration in some States, these compulsions are likely to remain.

(3) The success of coalitions depends mainly on the readiness of its constituent units to appreciate their limitations, to concentrate on giving to the people an honest and efficient government and to scrupulously avoid imparting ideological overtones to the coalition's policies.

In this context, it also needs to be noted that while the formation of coalitions, even where they failed, was prompted by an earnest desire for public good, minority governments were the result sheerly of Congress' unprincipled opportunism and its incapacity to tolerate any non-Congress regime.

Also on test during these last 18 months have been all the major parties of the country severally—including the Congress. For the first time the Congress Government at the Centre has had to deal with a number of non-Congress governments, and for the first time, the Congress in several States has had to sit in the opposition. On both counts the Congress' record has been a shame. The manner in which Government of India has been using Governors as instruments to topple non-Congress governments, has not only brought odium to the office of Governor, it has strengthened forces which are eager to weaken the Centre. Jana Sangh's own experience in Delhi bears out that in its approach to non-Congress governments, the Central Government is unabashedly partisan. And as to the Congress' role in the Opposition, the example of Delhi again has proved that 20 years of untrammelled authority have temperamentally incapacitated Congressmen from being able to behave responsibly and soberly when out of office. The record to-date is that.

Communist Governments—Of the other parties, the Communists, not unexpectedly, have earned the people's wrath by using their government in Bengal to subvert the Rule of Law and democratic processes. No one can ever forget or forgive Naxalbari. In Kerala, the Communists have completely belied the people's expectations in the matter of their economic well-being and honest administration. An ominous upshot of Communist rule in this State has been the recrudescence of the Muslim League's communal activities with a virulence never seen before. The CPI's role in two recent international events—Soviet Russia's arms aid to Pakistan and the aggression on Czechoslovakia by Russia and its Warsaw Pact allies—has served only to highlight the fact that this party is incapable of breaking free from the apron strings of Moscow.

Jana Sangh on its part is resolved to seek the people's support in these mid-term polls on the basis of its own ideology and on the basis of its performance during this post-General Election period. In Delhi, where Jana Sangh has an absolute majority, its record has been praiseworthy. In UP it has been, and in Madhya Pradesh it is yet the major partner in the

coalition. In Punjab and Bihar, it has been an important constituent of the United Front Governments. However one may view the performances of these Governments as a whole, Jana Sangh's own record has been unblemished and above reproach.

In the forthcoming mid-term poll in UP, Jana Sangh will set up candidates for all seats and strive to secure a clear majority in the State Assembly. In Bihar where our work till recently was not very extensive but where there has now been a tremendous upsurge of pro-Jana Sangh feelings lately, the party will set up candidates for a large majority of the seats and seek to become the largest single party in the State. In Punjab, in adjustment with the Akalis and other nationalist groups we would like to contest all the seats. In W. Bengal, our objective in these elections would be to secure a firm foothold in the Assembly and to become the nucleus of a third force which in course of time, can become an alternative both to the Congress and the Communists. In all these elections, Jana Sangh will not enter into any adjustment with the Communists. Local adjustments with other non-Congress parties and candidates may, however, be permitted.

Two enduring gains of the Fourth General Election have been: firstly, demolition of the illusion of Congress' invincibility, and secondly, establishment of the common man's faith in the efficacy of the ballot-box. Added to this, Jana Sangh has its ideology and programme, and a proud record of service, in office and out of office. With these assets, let us go all out to win the people's support. If February 1967 marked the negative rejection of the Congress, let February 1969 become an index of a positive preference for Bharatiya Jana Sangh in a real big way.

[September 7, 1968; Indore, AIGC]

68.18. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST DELHI

The Central Working Committee strongly deplores the Central Government's discriminatory attitude towards the Jana Sangh-run Delhi Administration and Delhi Municipal Corporation, its repeated and unwarranted interference in Delhi's affairs, and its persisting efforts to abridge even the statutory powers of Delhi's Metropolitan Council and Executive Council—all this with a view to disable the Administration and the Corporation from being efficacious instruments for the service of the people.

Reddy and Morarka Commissions—The Gopala Reddy

Commission appointed by Central Government in 1966 to examine the financial affairs of Delhi Municipal Corporation submitted its report early in 1967 (just before the General Election) in which it recommended, *inter alia*, that an immediate grant of Rs. 2 crores be given to the Corporation to enable it to tide over the crisis it was having to confront because of years of financial mismanagement. When, however, in the February 1967 poll, contrary to the Central Government's expectations, the Corporation returned a Jana Sangh majority, the Centre abruptly withdrew the Reddy Commissions' Report and in April-May appointed a new Commission headed by Shri Morarka to examine the Corporation's finances all afresh. Jana Sangh leaders pointed out to the Government the blatant unfairness of the decision and urged it at least to 'make an *ad hoc* grant, pending the Morarka Commission's report. But the GOI turned down the request.

Delhi Waqf Board—Constitution and management of Delhi Waqf Board is under law the responsibility of Delhi Administration. But when the Lieutenant Governor of Delhi acting on the advice of the Executive Council decided the composition of the new Waqf Board last year the Central Government intervened, and substituted the Delhi list by a list of its own. The manner in which it insisted on the exclusion of the Muslim Jana Sangh member of the Metropolitan Council, thoroughly betrayed its partisan and petty approach to such problems.

Under the Delhi Administration Act, Local Self-government is a transferred subject within the jurisdiction of the Executive Council. New Delhi Municipal Corporation is a Local Body administered by the Local Self-government Department. After assuming the reins of the Administration Jana Sangh has been exerting to tone up the working of the NDMC and to make it responsive to public opinion. But the Central Government, instead of cooperating, has only been impeding these efforts by unwarranted interference at every stage. The recent controversy over the issue of nomination of NDMC's Finance Member has highlighted this interference. By declaring nomination of NDMC members (a Reserved Subject) the Central Government has only made its ill-intentions public.

These are only a few glaring instances of the Central Government's discriminatory and partisan conduct. Jana Sangh set-up in Delhi has nevertheless been conducting itself with restraint. The Congress leaders at the Centre must not forget that Jana

Sangh owes its present position in Delhi to the confidence of the people and is resolved to run the Administration and the Corporation sheerly in the best interests of the people, and not as an appendix of the Central Government. The Working Committee hopes that those leaders of the Central Government who are capable of a non-partisan approach would appreciate this situation and so conduct the Centre's relations with the Delhi Administration that a confrontation is avoided.

[September 7, 1968; Indore, AIGC]

68.19. CENTRE-STATES RELATIONS

A hotly debated issue these days is the issue of Centre-States relations. While there is a talk of greater autonomy for States, it is also being said that the Centre needs to arm itself with enhanced powers to enforce its orders on the States.

It needs to be appreciated that this problem stems basically from the fact that India's is a Federal Constitution. Jana Sangh has never been happy that the Constitution describes India as a Union of States. It holds that India has always been, and is, One Nation, and that the interests of national unity and progress would be best served if instead of the present federal set-up India were to adopt a unitary Constitution.

In a federal structure, Centre-State tensions are in some measure inevitable. Prior to 1967, as the same one party held sway at the Centre as well as in the States, these tensions were resolved at the party level through extra-constitutional processes. The Fourth General Election has radically altered the situation. Divergent parties and elements have been returned to Office in the states. It is particularly imperative, therefore, that all those in office must scrupulously adhere to constitutional norms and proprieties.

Central Manoeuvres through Governors—In the present context, however, the Working Committee regrets to observe that the Central Government's handling of the questions which have arisen between the Centre and the States during the post-Fourth Election period have been characterised largely by expediency and partisanship rather than a concern for the provisions of the Constitution, or even for the unity of the country. It is particularly regrettable that the main instrument chosen by the Centre (for putting into effect its partisan manoeuvres) has been the office of the State Governor. The Constitution contemplates for Governors an essentially non-partisan, non-controversial role.

But, unfortunately, this tendency on the Central Government's part to use Governors as levers for the attainment of ruling party's political gains has involved not only several individual Governors, but the institute of Governorship itself in controversy.

Starting with Rajasthan, where by crude constitutional gimmickry, Congress' elected minority was converted into a legislative majority, and ending up with the very recent Hariyana rigmarole where the Central Government and the Congress High Command cast aside even pretensions of political decency to bolster up the collapsed Bansi Lal Ministry. There have been a string of episodes in UP, Bihar, W. Bengal, Punjab, and Kerala in which the Central Government's conduct has been far from defensible. The one dominant note underlying Congress Government's postures all along has been its incapacity to suffer non-Congress Governments and its irrepressible itch to recapture anyhow the lost power.

Even in its confrontations with Governments dominated by Communists whose interests in weakening the Centre's authority and the country's unity are easily understandable, the Central Government has betrayed a peculiar penchant for wrong issues and wrong timings so that in the end-result, not only constitutional norms have been violated but national unity also has been weakened. In West Bengal, for instance, the Central Government looked on impassively for months together when in Naxalbari and other parts of the State, law and order was systematically subverted with the connivance of the State Government, and decided to intervene on a very flimsy issue and that too when Congress-supported minority Government could not continue. Again, lately in Kerala, the Central Government first joined issue with the State Government over the question of implementing the anti-strike ordinance but failed to follow it up with necessary constitutional action with the result that the Kerala Chief Minister has been able virtually to defy the Constitution, and yet get away with it.

Jana Sangh's own experience about the Central Government *vis-a-vis* the administration of the Union Territory of Delhi, where in the last General Election the people gave a clear mandate to Jana Sangh, has been extremely unhappy. Even though Jana Sangh representatives in the Administration have been conducting their relations with the Centre with scrupulous regard for constitutional and political niceties, they have repeatedly run up against discriminatory and partisan attitudes.

Jana Sangh feels that in the context of the multi-party pattern of Indian politics that has emerged following the 1967 poll, the entire gambit of Centre-State relations needs to be reviewed. As suggested earlier, Jana Sangh on its part would like the present federal but highly centralised Constitution to be replaced by a unitary but decentralised set-up. But until such a radical overhaul of the Constitution becomes feasible, the Working Committee recommends a reappraisal of the existing financial arrangements with a view to ensure that the States get more and more through assured devolutions rather than discretionary grants and that the quantum of finance received by States through such non-discretionary devolutions corresponds almost to their obligations.

Council under Article 263—Also, considering the experience of the past 20 months it appears that time has come when the President should invoke his powers under Article 263 of the Constitution and set up a Council charged with considering issues arising between the Centre and the States and making recommendations in that regard.

[December 16, 1968; Delhi; CWC]

69.04. BOMBAY DISTURBANCES

Shiv Sena's Regionalism—Acts of violence, looting, arson and lawlessness in Bombay between February 7 and 10 have gravely impaired the unity of the country and posed a challenge to our faith in democratic values. Since its inception, Shiv Sena has been dealing in feelings of regionalism and linguism. All through the month of January Shiv Sena leaders had been delivering provocative speeches. But the Maharashtra Government remained mysteriously indifferent.

Because of this the Government was unable to anticipate the events and take preventive measures, or later, when the disturbances broke out, to deal with the situation with firmness warranted by the intensity and spread of the happenings. The disturbances have taken a heavy toll. Crores worth of public and private property has been destroyed and 58 young men have lost their lives in police firings. The indifference of the police in the early stages gives ground for suspicion that perhaps the State Government expected an agitation of this kind to strengthen its hand in its border dispute with Mysore State.

The Central Working Committee is of the categorical view that it is irresponsible and detrimental to national interests, to seek

to resolve inter-provincial border disputes, or for that matter, any political dispute, in the streets. The Committee strongly urges all parties concerned to abjure this attitude and refrain from taking any step that weakens the country's unity.

The Working Committee feels that it is the Central Government's failure to take a decision about the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute for so long. It has provided anti-social elements an opportunity of precipitating this orgy of destruction and arson. It is imperative that the Central Government and the leaders of the two State Governments concerned should find an early solution to the problem and see to it that there is no repetition of the unfortunate and deplorable incidents of Bombay.

[February 16, 1969; Delhi, CWC]

69.05. MID-TERM POLLS

In the General Elections of 1967, the people of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal had rejected the Congress. In the mid-term polls of 1969, the people have reaffirmed their verdict. In all these four states, after the exit of the Congress, coalition governments had come into office. However, all these governments excepting that of Punjab headed by Shri Gurnam Singh, failed to come up to the expectations of the people. If, nevertheless, the people have refused to return the Congress to the office, it is categorical proof that the Congress policies and programmes have lost attraction for the people, and the party's organisation has become incapable of enthusing and mobilising the electorate's support.

Incidentally, these elections have also revealed the depths to which the Congress can descend in order to capture power. With a view to defeat the Jana Sangh in Punjab, the Congress had no hesitation in posing as the protector of non-Sikh Hindus and whipping up narrow sectarian feelings among them. In Uttar Pradesh it projected itself as the sole custodian of Muslims and strove to reverse the healthy democratic trend of 1967 when most Muslim voters voted not out of communal considerations but as enlightened, politically-conscious electors, judging parties and candidates by merits. In Bihar, it felt no qualms even in advocating creation of a separate Jharkhand State. And in West Bengal, to checkmate the advance of the Communists it tried to work up a fear-psychosis among non-Bengali sections. These tactics may have earned the Congress temporary dividends, but they have exposed its opportunist, unprincipled

character.

In Punjab and West Bengal, the electorate has not only rejected the Congress, it has expressed its positive preference also. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, on the other hand, the picture is not clear. The Congress has been denied an absolute majority but the people haven't indicated their preference for any other party or alliance either. It appears the emergence of a clear alternative to the Congress in these states is going to take some time.

So far as the Jana Sangh is concerned, its success in these mid-term elections has been below expectations. In Punjab the Jana Sangh had hoped to bag around 15 seats but it has secured 8, that is, one less than it had secured in the last elections. The losses in Amritsar, Jullundhur and Ludhiana have been particularly severe. It seems our units in Punjab could not educate the urban electorate adequately regarding the broader merits of the Jana Sangh-Akali rapport. The merits however are obvious and are conceded even by critics of the Jana Sangh. In terms of electoral gains and losses the loss of one assembly seat has been more than compensated by the accretion of one Lok Sabha seat. Also, for the first time the Jana Sangh has succeeded in capturing some rural constituencies. On this count, this election marks a break-through. All told, the Session feels satisfied over the Party's performance in Punjab.

In Bihar also, it is encouraging that while all other prominent non-Congress parties have either suffered reverses or just managed to retain their earlier position, the Jana Sangh has improved its strength from 26 to 34. The fact, that in 50 constituencies the Jana Sangh was second, is a pointer that if the Party's organisational base in Bihar had been stronger, and if it had been able to mobilise adequate resources, its success could have been even greater.

In Uttar Pradesh, however, the party has suffered a set-back. In 1967, the Jana Sangh secured 98 seats. Instead of advancing on this, the party has now receded to its 1962 position, and won just 48 seats. The set-back has been unexpected, and does not offer itself to easy explanations. Detractors of the Jana Sangh who have been loudly trumpeting this as an index of loss of popular support ought to take note of the fact that the Jana Sangh's poll percentage, which is a truer index of popularity than legislative strength has declined only by 2 per cent. The number of seats held by the party on the other hand has gone down by 50 percent. Nevertheless, the reasons for the decline

in popular support, howsoever slight, needs to be objectively analysed, both at the central level as well as the state level. *Prima facie* the main reasons for this set-back appear to be:

(1) A sense of over-confidence among Jana Sangh workers, particularly in constituencies where the party had won in the last elections. The complacency arising out of this over-confidence resulted in diminished efforts regarding voter-approach and voter-mobilisation.

(2) A tendency to under-estimate the strength of adversaries. The fact was known that some parties were frantically exerting to arouse caste-sentiment but adequate steps were not taken to counteract these efforts.

(3) Muslim electors were continuously exhorted to cast their votes *en bloc* in a way to thwart the Jana Sangh success.

(4) The party had to battle with very paltry resources. In particular, shortage of vehicles affected our campaign considerably.

The Party's objective in setting up a large number of candidates in West Bengal was to carry Bharatiya Jana Sangh's message to the remotest corners of the State. This has in a way been realised, and the ground has been prepared for the Party's expansion in the future. The main reason for the Jana Sangh's defeat there has been the vicious propaganda of the Congress that a vote for the Jana Sangh would be a vote for Communists.

In respect of these various States, the Jana Sangh resolves as follows:

(1) In Punjab, in cooperation with the Akali Dal, the Jana Sangh will discharge the responsibility placed upon it to give to the people a clean and efficient administration devoted to the task of public welfare, and will further strengthen the bonds of unity between Sikhs and non-Sikhs.

(2) In Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, the people have assigned to the Jana Sangh the role of an opposition. The Jana Sangh will fulfil this obligation and function as a constructive opposition to the Government.

[April 26, 1969; Bombay, XV AIS]

69.12. JUDICIAL PROBE INTO UPADHYAYA'S MURDER

With the acquittal of the accused Bharat and Ram Avadh in the Deendayal Upadhyaya Murder Case, the serious misgivings Jana Sangh has had about the CBI probe, stand judicially

confirmed. The court has completely rejected the CBI story that Shri Upadhyaya was killed by two petty thieves and has proclaimed the murder mystery as unsolved. When at the outset we had suggested that the CBI be associated with the police-probe being conducted at the State level, it was simply to ensure that the investigations could elicit full cooperation from the Railway personnel who were naturally connected with the episode. It did surprise us, therefore, when the Government of India decided that the CBI should completely take over the case from the UP police. Ever since, it has been clear that the CBI has been more keen to prove that the murder is devoid of political overtones than to find out the truth.

The Working Committee wishes on this occasion to reaffirm its suspicion that Shri Upadhyaya's was a cold-blooded political murder, and that the assassin(s) or the elements who had engaged the assassin(s) to perpetrate this dastardly deed, had no other motive except to hurt at the spot where it could hurt most the upcoming political force of Jana Sangh. (महात्मा) *Ajatasatru* Shri Deendayal Upadhyaya had no personal enemies but as the principal author of Jana Sangh's success story, he became the natural target of the murderous wrath of anti-national elements, who regard Jana Sangh as an unsurmountable impediment in the way of their nefarious designs.

While Upadhyaya's martyrdom has made Jana Sangh even more determined in its resolve to frustrate the designs of these elements, it is certainly a blot on Indian public affairs in general and on the Government of India in particular, that the murder of so eminent and distinguished a leader should remain untraced.

The Working Committee demands that a High-power Judicial Commission, with full investigative powers be immediately appointed to find out the complete truth about the murder. All papers, documents and other material about the case with the CBI should be entrusted to the Commission. The personnel of the Commission and its terms of reference should be so determined as to create universal confidence in the Commission.

Jana Sangh urges all sections of political and public opinion to demand a full unravelling of this gory mystery. On its part Jana Sangh hereby resolves to take the following series of steps to press further its demand for a Judicial Commission:

- (i) On July 21, the opening day of Parliament, Jana Sangh will seek to raise the issue through an adjournment motion.
- (ii) On July 22, a memorandum will be submitted to the President.
- (iii) On July 23, all the Jana Sangh Members of Parliament and the legislators from all over the country will gather in Delhi and jointly stage an indefinite *dharna* at the Prime Minister's residence in support of the demand.
- (iv) On July 28, the Delhi Unit of Jana Sangh will stage a massive demonstration in front of the Parliament House to press the demand.

[July 2, 1969; Raipur, CWC]

69.14. OPPOSITION UNITY

The Central Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh after hearing from Dr. Bhai Mahavir a report of the unity talks held on May 26 and 27 between representatives of the Jana Sangh, Swatantra and BKD has decided to wait and watch the outcome of the parleys proposed between the Swatantra, PSP and the BKD.

The Committee reaffirms its view that while the Jana Sangh does not rule out a merger among parties believing in nationalism and democracy, it can agree to a merger only if there is an agreement among the coalescing parties on principles, policies and programmes. The Committee deeply regrets that the BKD instead of appreciating this very valid insistence on such agreement as a pre-condition for merger, had unilaterally decided to break talks with the Jana Sangh. The fact that they had done so after barely 24 hours of their declaration (issued jointly with leaders of the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh) that the preliminary talks to explore the areas of ideological agreement among the three parties were proceeding satisfactorily had made only their own position ridiculous. The task of forging unity among nationalist elements, the Committee feels, calls for much greater patience and sagacity than has been thus far in evidence so far as the BKD is concerned. The Committee is yet unaware as to how the Swatantra has reacted to the BKD's decision.

Basis of Concerted Action and Strategy—The Working Committee also feels that if a merger of the nationalist parties follows in a natural course after a period of concerted action

and shared strategy, it would be far more enduring than if brought about precipitately. The bitter experience of the PSP and SSP which otherwise had the advantage of being the off-shoots of the same parent body, should have a lesson for all concerned. The Jana Sangh, in pursuance of its Bombay resolution, will continue to strive for the evolution of such a common strategy and joint action.

Incidentally, the Working Committee has been happy to note that in the course of these recent developments the PSP has appeared willing to shed the touch-me-not attitude it has since long been adopting towards parties which do not swear by the slogan of socialism.

[July 2, 1969, Raipur, CWC]

69.17. FIFTH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The Fifth Presidential Election just concluded has occasioned for the Congress party its severest upheaval since the historic Gandhi-Subhash clash of 1939. However, unlike the stalwarts who clashed then on purely ideological plane and preferred to part company rather than compromise with their beliefs, the pygmies in the Congress of today, concerned far more in their individual self-interests than in any issue of ideological import, have opted for a hypocritical make-believe truce. Evidently just as the lure of power provokes disruption, the fear of losing power also has cohesive effect.

In the course of the recent Presidential election, the Prime Minister and her supporters have been labouring hard to project the contest as a confrontation between the leftists and the rightists. No analysis can be more fallacious and off the mark. The schism precipitated within the Congress itself provides proof of this fallacy. Surely Smt. Gandhi and her other Congress supporters cannot be regarded more authentic specimens of left Economics than Chavan, Kamraj and Ashok Mehta. Yet these two sets of Congressmen were on opposite side of the fence.

Communist Game—Fact is that the alignments which took shape during this Presidential election owed essentially to two factors:

- (i) The attitudes of various parties and groups towards Communists in general and towards the growing Indira Communist Axis in particular (both of whom

- are resolved to use the Presidential election as a lever to promote their respective political designs), and
- (ii) The personal equation forged by various sections with the Prime Minister.

Jana Sangh decided to exercise its second preference votes for Shri Sanjiva Reddy in view of the first of these above two considerations.

The attitudes of the Akalis, DMK and even the PSP and BKD which at the outset seemed to evince an awareness of the Communist game, were influenced by the second factor.

But notwithstanding the confusion created in the ranks of these above sections, the results of the Presidential poll would have been entirely different, had it not been for the mass defections engineered by the Prime Minister. That indiscipline was thus placed on a pedestal was not the only deplorable aspect of her election strategy. The PM's camp took unabashed recourse to casteism and communalism. The choice of Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Shri Jagjiwan Ram as the PM's chief lieutenants in this campaign was in no way accidental. The bogey of a Congress-Jana Sangh agreement about Shri Reddy, now officially retracted, was also created with deliberate communal intentions. The entire machinery of the Central Government, led by All India Radio, was harnessed into the campaign. Even a section of the Press was sought to be bullied and coerced into toeing the official line. The witch-hunting of independent journalists and cartoonists who refused to truckle to official pressure has continued even after the election. While all controversy regarding the Person of the new President should cease with his election to the august office, and Shri Giri must be assured the unreserved support and cooperation of all sections, democrats in the country would be failing in their duty if they do not take serious note of the questionable tactics adopted during the election.

For the Congress itself, this election is going to have incurable after-effects. A formal split has been temporarily patched up but the Congress is never going to be the same again.

In ideological terms, the Congress has always been a heterogeneous rabble. But a generally accepted sense of party discipline and loyalty has compensated for this lack of homogeneity and has enabled Congressmen to function as one political group. With the recent episode, discipline in the Congress

can well be pronounced dead. That even in the Vice-Presidential election in which there was not the slightest controversy over the question of Congress nominee, there should have been as many as 40 to 50 Congress defections is glaring evidence of the fact that the Congress' free-vote chickens are coming home to roost.

Even more disastrous for the Congress can be the Prime Minister's open bid to denigrate the authority of the Party and assign to it a position subservient to that of the Legislative Wing. The Prime Minister is herself a member of the Congress' Central Parliamentary Board, which has for years now been dictating to Congress Chief Ministers over and above the heads of their respective State Legislatures in respect of all major matters of government making and policy formulation. It is, therefore, amusing to hear the PM invoking the British precedent involving Clement Attlee and Harold Laski and on that basis sermonising against extra-legislative control. Let it not be overlooked that in determining relations between the party and the government, British precedents have little relevance to Indian political conditions. In England, political parties originated inside the Parliament while the organisations outside took shape later and were virtually their creatures. Some party constitutions, for example that of the Conservative party, formally acknowledge this position. In India, the equation between the party and the government, constitutionally as well as traditionally, is quite the contrary. Indian political parties are essentially mass parties and their legislative wings have never been regarded either superior to, or even independent of, the organisational wings—certainly not in matters involving broad policy or major decisions. It may be expedient for the PM to pursue her personal feud with the Congress President behind the facade of such ideological issues, but let her realise that in doing so she is doing incalculable harm not only to her own party but even to the general health of Indian politics.

'Left' and 'Right' Irrelevant in Indian Context—As pointed out above, Jana Sangh does not regard the recent developments as symptomatic of any 'left' and 'right' polarisation. In fact, Jana Sangh has been of the view that the terms 'left' and 'right' are not quite relevant to the Indian context and the more they are stressed, the easier it becomes for Communists to cloak their extra-territorial loyalties behind the veneer of 'progressive leftism'.

Nationalism and Democracy—Basic Commitments—The Committee is happy to note that even the Swatantra Party, the enthusiastic spokesman of economic rightism, has in its latest resolution admitted the irrelevance of this terminology. The real need of the moment is for all those who believe in nationalism and democracy to appreciate that while parties may disagree in respect of the path to economic progress, the nation cannot afford to be divided in its basic commitment to Nationalism and Democracy. And let no one shut his eyes to the fact that both the Indian Communist Parties refuse to commit themselves to either of these basic values. Only recently we have had three top leaders of the Communist Party (Marxist) publicly declaring their resolve to wreck the Constitution. Jana Sangh will, therefore, continue to spread popular awareness about Communist intentions and also, in the light of its Bombay resolution, exert to bring together all groups which can work in concert to checkmate this anti-national and anti-democratic threat.

[August 30, 1969; Delhi, CWC]

69.20. CONGRESS SPLIT

Impact of Congress Split—The split in the Congress Party has imparted an entirely new complexion to Indian politics, two prominent features whereof are :

- (i) No party commands an absolute majority at the Centre, so that the Government now in Office is a minority one propped up by the *ad-hoc* support of an assortment of certain groups and individuals ; and
- (ii) The Party in Office at the Centre, that is, the Congress led by Smt. Gandhi, is in the saddle in States with less than one-third of the total population of the country.

Congress' disintegration, however, has failed to impart to the political scene the kind of ideological clarity many had been looking forward to. It had been widely held that as the Congress embraces within itself a complete spectrum of economic views—from pure Marxism to unalloyed Capitalism—its break-up would automatically polarise Indian politics into two major groups, the 'left' and the 'right'. It needs to be acknowledged that nothing of this kind has happened and that the schism in the Congress, in terms of economic regrouping, has resulted in further fragmentation rather than polarisation.

This has not surprised Jana Sangh. Firstly, it has always regarded the 'left' and 'right' terminology as little relevant to Indian conditions. Secondly, the Congress split, we hold, is not rooted

in ideological differences. At the outset, the feud owed to a clash of personalities and personal ambitions. The immediate cause of the final rupture was the Prime Minister's bid to establish unfettered control over her Party's organisation and reduce it to the position of a powerless appendage to the Government. Socialist fervour, or lack of it, had nothing to do with the split. But the fact that Smt. Gandhi has been at pains to project this as the rationale of her actions has made her Congress-adversaries become extra-loud in their socialist protestations. The split, thus, instead of clarifying economic issues has only confused them further. At the moment both the Congresses have become prisoners of their socialist jargon.

On the political plane, the split has yielded a significant result. Smt. Gandhi's dependence on Communists, first with a view to sabotage the election of her own Party's candidate for Presidency and lately, in order to maintain herself in office (even though her party has been reduced to a minority) has served to highlight the dangerous role of Communists in India, and to compel all parties to define their attitude clearly in this regard. In this respect, the Congress break-up has positively touched off a process of polarisation in political thinking.

The Congress, led by Smt. Gandhi, has thrown its lot with the Communists. Her statements denying Communist affiliation have all been significant, inasmuch as she has invariably been saying that she did not approve of Communist 'methods'. Communism, we think, is a pernicious doctrine which must be rejected in its totality by every democrat—in its ends, no less than in its means. Communism is a complete negation of democracy. But the Prime Minister obviously sees nothing wrong with its objectives. Nor has she anything to say about the extraterritorial loyalties of Communists and their utter subservience to foreign powers, a sin in respect of which no patriot can afford to compromise.

Price of Communist Support—Communist support to Smt. Gandhi's Government is in no way gratuitous. Already, they have been exacting from her a substantial price in the shape of vantage offices for their own men in Government-controlled institutions and dominant positions for Communists-turned-Congressmen in her new party. The possibility cannot be ruled out that in course of time, Communists will strive to capture Indira's Congress completely. Their more immediate objective seems to be to compel her to share power with them and thus

give them a foothold at the Centre. That, indeed, would be the thin end of the wedge that can one day destroy democracy in the entire country, as it virtually has in W. Bengal today.

Congri-Communist-League Trinity—Smt. Gandhi's undeclared United Front, it needs to be noted, includes not only the Communists, but also the Muslim League. Besides, the tactics adopted by Smt. Gandhi in the pursuance of her ambitions have given a sharp boost to casteism and regionalism.

The Congress split has cast its shadow on almost all major political parties opposed to the Indira Congress, except the Jana Sangh. It has remained unaffected, ideologically and organisationally. We are fully alive to the responsibilities cast on us by the situation. By themselves, Indian Communists are a discredited and temporary force. But their alignment with the Party in office at the Centre makes them a real danger about which the country needs to be aroused. Jana Sangh is resolved to spearhead this campaign and to work for the consolidation of all patriotic forces.

We appeal to all the nationalist and democratic parties to appreciate the gravity of the Communist threat and, as among themselves, to substitute their politics of competition with the politics of cooperation.

Jana Sangh's own strategy in the new situation will be governed by the following factors :

- (i) In view of the Indira Government's alliance with the Communists, a major objective of Jana Sangh will be to try to dislodge existing Governments controlled by her Axis and to prevent the formation of any new Government under her aegis;
- (ii) Jana Sangh will endeavour to form coalition governments both at the Centre and in the States in cooperation with nationalist democratic parties and individuals on the basis of a minimum common programme of public welfare measures;
- (iii) The possibility of a fresh poll for the Lok Sabha being inherent in the present situation, Jana Sangh units will be required to gear up their organisational machinery and keep it in trim for an electoral trial of strength at short notice.

[December 28, 1969; Patna, XVI AIS]

70.05. OPPOSITION UNITY

At its Patna Session, Jana Sangh had alerted the country to the grave implications of the alliance struck by the Indira Congress with Communists and the communalists and had appealed to all nationalist and democratic parties to put their heads together and hammer out a concerted plan of action to stop the damage that was being done to the country's interests in general and to the cause of national integrity and democracy in particular because of the continuance in power of this unholy triple alliance.

Cooperation instead of Competition—As we had pointed out at the time, by themselves Indian Communists are a temporary and discredited force but their alignment with the Central Government has made them a real menace. Muslim League also, after remaining moribund for years, has now suddenly become active and has started revitalising and extending its old base rapidly. Nationalist and democratic parties, we felt, should take note of these trends and as among themselves, substitute their politics of competition by the politics of cooperation to contain this threat.

Developments during the 7 months since the Patna Session have confirmed our worst fears regarding the evils likely to flow from this undeclared but very much alive Congi-Communist-League Axis. The existence of this axis has paralysed New Delhi against the violence and anarchy let loose in several parts of the country by Naxalites and has incapacitated the Government from performing even its primary function of maintaining law and order. It has made the Central Government extremely vulnerable to foreign influence. The Government of India's subservience to Moscow's dictates has become almost complete. On the other hand, Indira Congress' alliance with the Muslim League has totally perverted its approach to the question of communalism. In a way, the Government of India's callous indifference to the distress of Hindus evicted from East Bengal and its utter inability to deal firmly with Pakistan in this regard can be traced to this political line-up.

It appears only a matter of time for this covert alliance to become overt, and for Communists and Leaguers to be openly invited by the Indira Congress to share power with them at the Centre. The way is being gradually cleared for such a denouement. Congi's ex-President Shri C. Subramaniam has strongly pleaded for such an open alliance. Union Minister Khadiolkar

has publicly certified that the Muslim League is not communal. Smt. Gandhi's scrupulous silence about Naxalite terrorism, about Marxist Bandhs and about CPI's 'land grab' is more than eloquent.

It would indeed be a dark day for the country, if this forboding materialises and Moscow, Peking or Pindi agents are able to secure a foothold in the Central Government. Nationalist India must spare no effort to avert this calamity.

It is gratifying that at its recent Conference in New Delhi the Organisation Congress has expressed similar views on the Congi-Communist alignment and has formally taken the initiative in this matter by writing to various parties, including Jana Sangh, urging them to work for the consolidation of nationalist and democratic forces both inside the Parliament and outside.

National Democratic Front—The All India General Council welcomes this appeal and feels that a beginning in this regard may be made inside the Parliament. A powerful legislative front committed to nationalism, democracy and to the establishment of an economic order, free from exploitation, can be forged. The minimum common programme drawn up by this National Democratic Front should be broad-based enough to subserve the requirements of a viable alternative.

The General Council hereby authorises its President Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee to carry on a dialogue with the concerned parties and take necessary steps in the above direction.

However, Jana Sangh units all over the country should not permit any let up in their own programmes of extending and intensifying the organisational base because of this front-building activity at the national level. In fact, the gravity of the present crisis imposes a special responsibility on Jana Sangh to go all out to broaden its mass base. It should not be forgotten that because of its large and dedicated cadres, no party is organisationally better equipped than the Jana Sangh to thwart anti-national designs. It is for this reason that during these last few months Jana Sangh has been the primary target of attack from all the partners in this unholy Trinity. This concerted attack, incidentally, has served to strengthen confidence in the masses also that it is the Jana Sangh alone which can successfully foil the danger posed by these anti-democratic and anti-national forces. The sharp pro-Jana Sangh swing in public opinion noticeable lately needs to be converted into stable political support. The situation, therefore, does not admit of

any relaxation on the organisational front.

[July 18, 1970; Chandigarh, AIGC]

70.07. INTERNAL SITUATION

Democratic Front in Parliament—Since the Jana Sangh's All India General Council's Session in Chandigarh in August last there have been three events which can be regarded as of major significance in the appraisal of the current political situation—(i) the Congress (Organisation)'s failure in following up its own initiative in the matter of forming a national democratic front inside the Parliament; (ii) the Congress (Indira)'s success in the Kerala mid-term polls secured in alliance with CPI and Muslim League; and (iii) the formation of the 5-party SVD Government in Uttar Pradesh.

When at its AICC Session in New Delhi in July last, the Congress (Organisation) had given a call to the nationalist, democratic parties to combat jointly the threat to National unity and Democracy posed by the Congi-Communist line-up, the resolution was presumed to reflect an awareness, at all levels of the party, of the magnitude of this threat, attention to which had been pointedly drawn earlier in January by the Jana Sangh's Patna Session. Subsequent events, however, have belied this assumption. The move failed to materialise because at some important State levels of the Cong (O) either there was no such awareness, or it was not deep enough to overcome partisan prejudices and predilections.

The Central Working Committee has taken note of the move made by the Swatantra Party leader Shri Masani to revive the Parliamentary Front proposal. It feels, however, that in view of the above background, it is for the Cong (O) to first make up its mind. On its own part, Jana Sangh is convinced that the need for such concerted efforts remains as acute as ever.

In fact, recent developments in Kerala have only lent urgency to this need. For national politics the most important implication of the Kerala mid-term election is that the till now covert alliance of Congi with the CPI and the Muslim League has become overt. In a way, the Kerala polls mark a watershed in the history of Congi-CPI relations. In the Parel bye-election to the Vidhan Sabha, Congi extended open support to the CPI. In the recent election to the Rajya Sabha from Kerala again, the CPI candidate has been returned only with the support of Congi. Although the Patna Session of Congi avoided making a

formal commitment in this regard, a Congi-CPI-League electoral arrangement in the next elections should be regarded as a certainty. Opposition in the Congi camp to such a strategy has been practically muted by the Kerala results.

Jana Sangh warns the country against allowing the emergence of a Trojan Horse coalition at the Centre in which either the CPI or the Muslim League has a place. While it reiterates its call to all nationalist and democratic parties to evolve a joint strategy to avert such a possibility, it also appeals to the patriotism and good sense of members of the Ruling Congress to realise the serious implications of such a happening and to forestall it. They can do this only if they are able to isolate the Communist lobby inside the Congress which is actively exerting towards securing for the CPI a firm foothold in the Central Government and thereby paving the way for a constitutional *coup d'etat* in India, *a la* Czechoslovakia.

The blessings given by the Congi to the Muslim League in Kerala have given a dangerous spurt to League activity all over the country. After years of hibernation, the League has suddenly become very active. The Prime Minister's naive attempt to draw a distinction between the Muslim League in Kerala and that in other parts of the country has only exposed the naked opportunism of her own party.

In its evaluation of the League's communal character, the country is not going to be misled by the Prime Minister's apologia. It regards statements regarding the Muslim League made by its President as more authentic. He has candidly said that there is no difference between the Muslim League in Kerala and the League elsewhere, and that as elsewhere, the Kerala Muslim League does not subscribe to the Constitutional tenet of a Common Civil Code, that it advocates making of Urdu the second official language in all Hindi speaking States and, that it wants special representation for Muslims in services etc. In short, it shares with the Indian Muslim League all its communal and separatist attitudes. The League leader's claim that the Muslim League is the sole representative body of Indian Muslims has an ominous ring about it, reminiscent of the League's pre-partition role. The Prime Minister's attempt to compare the Kerala Muslim League with the Nair Service Society or the SNDP is thoroughly ill-conceived and is an insult to these social and educational institutions of high repute.

Jana Sangh regards the formation of the SVD Government

in UP as a major victory for democratic forces. This victory was achieved in the face of tremendous odds. The entire resources at the command of the Central Government were thrown into the fray to frustrate this development. All constitutional and political scruples were cast aside, the PM's personal influence and the ruling party's ample purse power were invoked to procure wholesale defections and the august offices of the President and Governor were besmirched in an all out bid to foist a Congi Government on the State. But all this proved unavailing because public opinion was very vigilant on this question. The five parties which had forged the alliance stood united and firm.

Coalition Experiment under Watch—This victory, however, has to be consolidated. All the partners of this coalition must fully appreciate that the nation's response to any future joint endeavour by democratic parties is likely to be conditioned very much by the success or otherwise of the UP experiment. A conscious effort, therefore, needs to be made by the five parties not only at the State level but at the Centre as well to ensure the smooth working of this coalition Government.

Code of Coalition Conduct—In this context, Jana Sangh hereby resolves to probe the possibility of an electoral adjustment with other parties, and authorises its President Shri A. B. Vajpayee to take necessary steps in the matter. If a tentative agreement can be arrived at in this regard, it would go a long way in smoothening the edges and lending stability to the new Government. Also, the Jana Sangh suggests that a Code of Coalition Conduct be definitely drawn up to provide guidelines to the coalescing parties regarding their *inter-se* relations.

Limits of Governor's Discretion—The UP Governor's conduct in this entire episode has invited unanimous condemnation. But it has been possible for him nevertheless to get away with it mainly because the Central Government has refused to lay down statutory guidelines to govern the discretionary powers of Governors. The Annual Conference of Governors is scheduled to meet later this month. Jana Sangh appeals to the Conference to spell out in clear terms the limits of a Governor's discretion. It would also do well to proclaim unequivocally its acceptance of the recommendations made by the All India Presiding Officers' Conference and the Administrative Reforms Commission in this regard.

The Working Committee feels that the Prime Minister's

denials notwithstanding, an early Lok Sabha poll is very much on the cards. The Prime Minister has been toying with the idea ever since the time of the Congress split. The emergence of the SVD in UP has disturbed her camp, which fears lest the pattern should repeat itself in Bihar and other States and at the Centre. An early poll, they hope, would avert such a development.

Jana Sangh holds that the right of advising the Parliament's dissolution, conceded by convention to the British Prime Minister, has little relevance to India's multi-party politics. And it certainly cannot be conceded to the Prime Minister of a minority Government. If at all she tenders any such advice, the President, we feel, would be well within his rights and obligations to reject it and to probe the possibilities of an alternative Government.

The Working Committee, however, calls upon all its party units to get set for an early poll, finalise their plans for selecting candidates, and gear up their election machinery without delay.

[November 6, 1970; Delhi, CWC]

70.10. W. BENGAL SITUATION

Developments in W. Bengal since the General Election of 1967 when the Communists in alliance with Muslim communalists got an upper hand in the legislature and politics of that State are a warning and an ominous portent for the future. The two Communist parties and their allies utilised their first spell of power after 1967 to prepare the ground for creating anarchial conditions as a prelude to the armed revolution of their conception. They exploited the democratic freedom, liberties and power to the full to undermine people's faith in democracy and the Constitution.

Pro-Communist Governor—The mid-term election of 1969 resulted in further improvement in the position of CPI and CPM at the cost of the Congress and other non-Communist parties. Comparatively greater success of the CPM and its dominant position in new Government encouraged it to put Communist methodology of infiltration, subversion and violent action into operation with greater determination and sense of impunity. The phenomenal growth of the so-called Naxalites, CPM(L) faction of the Communist Party, during this period can be ascribed to moral and material sympathy and support of the Communists in power, infiltration into and indoctrination of a

section of the police and other administrative services, sympathetic attitude of the Central Government which was dependent on Communist support in the Parliament and the openly pro-Communist leanings and proclivities of the Governor, Shri S. S. Dhawan.

The imposition of President's Rule once again in the middle of 1970 has not in any way improved the situation because the Governor with his open sympathy for the Communists has failed to tackle the situation with the requisite firmness and foresight and also because growing number of CPI(M) and CPI workers have started working hand-in-hand with the Naxalites. Some of the pro-Pakistan and anti-social elements have also started operating in the name of Naxalites to get a political lever and cover.

The campaign of murder, arson and loot that has now been going on for more than 2 years has demoralised the loyal and disciplined police force and also the general public. The continuous campaign of disfiguring and destroying the statues and pictures of the national leaders and patriots, (who had hold on the people's minds so far), on the pattern of cultural revolution in China and systematic projection of Mao Tse-tung as the leader of the revolution coupled with the intensification of the activities of the Muslim League, and other pro-Pakistan elements and organisations have created an explosive situation in the strategic part of our country. Ground is being prepared to turn W. Bengal into an Indian Yenan to serve as the base for extending the Communist Revolution and establishment of a Communist totalitarian regime in the country.

The utterances and actions of the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, have directly or indirectly given strength and encouragement to the elements behind the present situation in Bengal. They are now making planned efforts to extend their activities to Bihar and other neighbouring States.

'Land Grab' Move—The Working Committee expresses its deep concern on this situation in Bengal which is a growing threat to the very democratic fabric of the country and the concept of Rule of Law inherent in it. The so-called 'land grab' movement is a calculated move to replace the rule of law by the law of the jungle in the country. Unless immediate and effective steps are taken to meet the situation, it may get out of hand. To that end, the Jana Sangh suggests that action be taken on the following lines without any further delay :

(1) The present Governor of W. Bengal be replaced by a Governor with good administrative experience and faith in democracy and rule of law.

(2) Naxalite violence must be dealt with as a law and order problem without any mental cobwebs about social and economic factors which are being put forth as a justification for the violent activities of Naxalites and their allies.

(3) Steps should be taken to mobilise and polarise the nationalist and democratic elements and forces to meet the challenge of these violent, anti-democratic and anti-national forces in a concerted way.

(4) Popular resistance should be built-up to Naxalites and their violent and anti-democratic supporters and allies. If need be, violence should be met with force.

(5) Concerted steps should be taken to revive and strengthen the feeling of nationalism in the youth. In the ultimate analysis Nationalism is the only effective anti-dote to Communism.

(6) Overhauling of the economic policies of the Government to make them production and employment oriented should be immediately undertaken. The improvement in the economic situation must keep pace with effective and determined action on the law and order plane.

Refugees' Impact on Bengal's Economy—The economic situation in Bengal, which was never very good, has been very adversely affected by the influx of millions of refugees from East Bengal. The policy of neglect and indifference (of the Central Government) towards the problem of East Bengal refugees and their impact on the economy of Bengal has created a sense of frustration in large sections of the people of Bengal. This situation has been exploited by the Communist Parties and their allies to spread their tangles among the youth and intellectuals. Communists in power have further aggravated the economic situation by their planned policy of strikes, and violent action against industries and industrialists.

It is, therefore, of utmost importance that effective and immediate steps to meet the worsening economic situation should be undertaken. While economic situation cannot be used as justification for the violent activities of Naxalites and their allies, it would be wrong and dangerous to ignore or soft-peddle it.

[November 6, 1970; Delhi, CWC]

APPENDIX
LIST OF RESOLUTIONS ON INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

YEAR	RESOLUTION NUMBER	DATE	PLACE	BODY WHICH PASSED THE RESOLUTION	CHAPTER	PAGE	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
1952	52.05	February 10	Delhi	CWC	1	19	
	52.06	February 10	Delhi	CWC	1	19	
	52.07	June 14	Delhi	CWC	1	20	
	52.11	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	2	101	
	52.12	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	2	101	
	52.18	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	2	102	
	52.24	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	1	22	
	52.25	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	1	24	
	1953	53.01	February 10	Delhi	CWC	1	25
		53.02	July 4	Delhi	CWC	1	29
53.06		August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	1	31	
53.07		August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	1	32	
53.11		August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	1	33	
1954	54.05	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	1	33	
	54.13	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	1	34	
	54.14	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	1	34	
			Bombay	II AIS	1	34	

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF RESOLUTIONS

1955	54.16	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	2	102
	54.23	August 19	Indore	AIGC	1	35
	55.05	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	3	145
	55.06	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	1	36
	55.14	April 15	Gokak	CWC	1	38
	55.19	June 13	Delhi	CWC	1	39
	55.21	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	2	102
	55.22	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	3	146
	55.27	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	1	40
	55.29	October 23	Delhi	CWC	2	103
1956	56.01	February 19	Delhi	CWC	2	105
	56.02	February 19	Delhi	CWC	2	107
	56.05	April 21	Jaipur	IV AIS	1	41
	56.06	April 21	Jaipur	IV AIS	2	107
	56.08	April 21	Jaipur	IV AIS	1	42
	56.12	July 21	Delhi	CWC	3	146
	56.13	July 21	Delhi	CWC	1	43
	56.16	July 21	Delhi	CWC	1	44
	56.17	July 21	Delhi	CWC	2	108
	56.20	October 6	Poona	CWC	3	147
1957	56.22	October 6	Poona	CWC	2	109
	56.23	October 6	Poona	CWC	2	110
	56.27	December 30	Delhi	V AIS	1	44
	57.01	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	4	163
	57.04	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	4	163
			Jaunpur	CWC	4	163

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1957(Contd.)	57.07	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	1	46
1958	58.01	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	1	46
	58.05	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	2	111
	58.06	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	4	164
	58.14	July 19	Bombay	CWC	4	166
	58.15	July 19	Bombay	CWC	2	112
	58.16	July 19	Bombay	CWC	4	166
	58.21	October 12	Delhi	CWC	4	48
	58.23	October 12	Delhi	CWC	1	168
	58.28	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	4	168
	58.30	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	2	113
	58.31	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	4	169
1959	59.03	March 15	Delhi	CWC	1	49
	59.05	July 8	Poona	AIGC	4	171
	59.11	September 20	Delhi	CWC	4	173
	59.14	December 6	Surat	CWC	50	50
	59.16	December 6	Surat	CWC	2	113
1960	60.01	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	4	174
	60.05	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	1	51
	60.08	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	2	114
	60.09	March 20	Delhi	CWC	3	148
	60.11	March 20	Delhi	CWC	1	52
	60.12	June 1	Delhi	CWC	2	115

1961	60.15	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	1	53
	60.17	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	2	116
	60.18	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	3	148
	60.21	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	1	54
	61.01	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	1	55
	61.06	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	3	149
	61.07	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	1	57
	61.10	February 5	Delhi	CWC	1	59
	61.11	January 1	Delhi	CWC	2	118
	61.12	April 22	Patna	CWC	4	178
	61.14	August 25	Jammu	CWC	2	120
	61.15	August 25	Jammu	CWC	2	120
	61.16	August 25	Jammu	CWC	3	150
	61.19	November 12	Jammu	CWC	1	60
	61.20	November 12	Varanasi	AIGC	3	151
	62.01	March 3	Varanasi	AIGC	2	121
	62.07	May 24	Delhi	CWC	4	178
1962	62.08	May 24	Kota	AIGC	1	61
	62.12	May 24	AIGC	AIGC	1	62
	62.13	September 29	R. Mundry	CWC	1	63
	62.19	September 29	R. Mundry	CWC	1	63
	63.04	December 30	Bhopal	X AIS	4	179
1963	63.08	April 6	Delhi	CWC	3	152
	63.09	June 13	Allahabad	CWC	4	182
	63.09	June 13	Allahabad	CWC	4	182

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1963 (Contd.)	63.10	June 13	Allahabad	CWC	1	64
	63.14	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	1	65
	63.15	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	1	66
	63.19	December 3	Delhi	CWC	4	68
	63.25	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	4	183
	63.29	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	1	68
	64.02	March 1	Delhi	CWC	1	69
	64.09	August 10	Gwalior	AIGC	1	70
	64.10	August 10	Gwalior	AIGC	1	70
	64.15	December 4	Patna	CWC	3	152
64.17	December 4	Patna	CWC	1	71	
1965	65.02	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	4	184
	65.09	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	1	73
	65.11	April 3	Jaipur	CWC	4	187
	65.12	April 3	Jaipur	CWC	4	187
	65.16	July 10	Jabalpur	CWC	2	122
	65.17	July 10	Jabalpur	CWC	1	73
	65.20	August 17	Delhi	AIGC	1	75
	65.23	August 17	Delhi	AIGC	1	77
	66.02	January 15	Kanpur	CWC	2	123
	66.03	January 15	Kanpur	CWC	1	79
66.07	May 1	Jullundhur	XIII AIS	4	188	

1967	66.10	May 1	Jullundhur	XIII AIS	2	124
	66.11	May 1	Jullundhur	XIII AIS	4	190
	66.12	May 1	Jullundhur	XIII AIS	1	80
	66.16	July 12	Lucknow	CWC	1	81
	6.18	July 12	Lucknow	CWC	1	82
	66.19	October 1	Calcutta	CWC	4	192
	66.21	November 2	Nagpur	CWC	4	193
	67.01	March 14	Delhi	CWC	4	194
	67.04	March 14	Delhi	CWC	4	196
	67.06	April 21	Delhi	AIGC	4	197
	67.07	April 21	Delhi	AIGC	4	198
	67.10	June 30	Simla	CWC	1	83
	67.11	June 30	Simla	CWC	1	200
	67.12	June 30	Simla	CWC	4	84
	67.15	September 19	Baroda	CWC	1	84
67.17	September 19	Baroda	CWC	4	201	
67.22	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	4	202	
67.25	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	4	205	
67.27	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	1	85	
1968	68.07	June 14	Gauhati	CWC	4	207
	68.08	June 14	Gauhati	CWC	1	86
	68.11	June 14	Gauhati	CWC	2	126
	68.13	September 7	Indore	AIGC	4	209
	68.17	September 7	Indore	AIGC	3	153
	68.18	September 7	Indore	AIGC	4	212

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1968	68.19	December 16	Delhi	CWC	4	214
(<i>Contd.</i>)	68.21	December 16	Delhi	CWC	3	154
1969	69.01	February 16	Delhi	CWC	2	131
	69.02	February 16	Delhi	CWC	2	133
	69.03	February 16	Delhi	CWC	3	155
	69.04	February 16	Delhi	CWC	4	216
	69.05	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	4	217
	69.08	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	1	90
	69.12	July 2	Raipur	CWC	4	219
	69.13	July 2	Raipur	CWC	2	135
	69.14	July 2	Raipur	CWC	4	221
	69.17	August 30	Delhi	CWC	4	222
	69.19	December 28	Patna	XVI AIS	2	136
	69.20	December 28	Patna	XVI AIS	4	225
1970	70.01	January 14	Delhi	CWC	2	139
	70.05	July 18	Chandigarh	AIGC	4	228
	70.07	November 6	Delhi	CWC	4	230
	70.10	November 6	Delhi	CWC	4	233
1972	72.18	November 20	Jaipur	CWC	3	156

INDEX

- AMU—
communal character of, 121, 123
Indianise, 121
- Abdulla—
demand for public trial of, 32
government, charge sheet against 28
government's brutal atrocities 22
precipitated movement 25
- Abdulla's—
anti-India activities 46
release 70
- Administration—
decentralised, 164
for weeks, no (*see* Assam disturbances)
- Administrative set-up, integrated (*see* Assam, *save*)
- Agreement, bad (*see* Nehru-Noon agreement)
- Akali—
Congress alliance 110
parles, government 107
Akhanda Bharat 31, 77
Aligarh Muslim University 122
(Birth-place of Pakistan 122)
- Alliance, unholy 118
- Arbitration—
for disputes 200
statutory, (*see* Central employees' strike)
- Article—
263, council under 216
370, abrogate 51,61, 69,79, 147
- Assam—
disturbances 116
(No administration for weeks 116)
high-powered commission for, 88
in 1962 87
Peking-Pindi interest in, 86
reorganisation of, 86
save, 73
(Integrated administrative set-up 74)
- Balkanisation, invitation to 71
- Bandh, government organised 205
- Bansilal and Central leaders 156

- Basis of—
 - common programme 196
 - concerted action and strategy 221
- Bastar—
 - firing 178
 - stigma 190
 - (Dastardly murder 190)
 - (Enlarge the Enquiry Commission 191)
- Bengal-Bihar merger 107
- Berubari—
 - Pratiraksha Samiti 59
 - Supreme Court on, 52
 - transfer of, 49, 54, 55, 60, 68, 68
 - (Unanimous opposition by W. Bengal 55)
- Bombay—
 - disturbances 216
 - state, reorganisation of 112, 113
- Book agitation, mischievous 109
- Border policy 185
- Boundary commission for binding awards 82
- British memorials 46

- Cabinet mission scheme 21
- Cease-fire line, NAHAL settlements along 82
- Central employees—
 - government relations 155
 - strike 148, 149, 151, 154
 - (Statutory arbitration 155)
 - unrest 153
- Centre—
 - and non-Congress governments 195
 - states relations 90, 197, 214
- Centrifugal tendencies 189
- Chandigarh 139
- (Self-immolation threat 139)
- China—
 - acts—India only reacts 66
 - war, after India- 179
- Chinese—
 - aggression and CPI 173
 - concentration, heavy 66
- Christian Church, United Independent Indian 44
- Citizenship—
 - second class, 186
 - separate, 51
- Civil war threat 167
- Coalition—
 - and minority governments 209
 - conduct, code of 232
 - experiment under watch 232

- governments 196, 201, 207
 - in Punjab and Haryana 200
 - Jana Sangh in, 193
- Comintern's branch 173
- Commissions, Reddy and Morarka (*see* Delhi)
- Communal—
 - and security risk 134
 - threat 118, 126
- Communalism—
 - growing, 136
 - opportunism and, 175
 - poison seeds of, 126
- Communist—
 - challenge 166
 - disruptionist designs 205
 - firings 172
 - game 93, 118, 170, 222
 - in Kerala 187
 - misrule 171
 - support, price of 226
- Communists and communalists in Kerala 205
- Congi-Communist-League trinity 227
- Congi's toppling game 203
- Congress—
 - alignments, unholy 179
 - inactivity 40
 - intolerance 169, 175
 - split 225
 - impact of, 225
 - violence 182, 183
- Conspiracy, two-pronged (*see* Pak infiltration)
- Constitution, scrap separate 73
- Cooperation instead of competition (*see* Opposition unity)
- Co-partnership in nation-building 174
- Corruption—
 - double standards regarding, 156
 - in high offices 148
 - (Permanent judicial commission 148)
 - problem 187
- Cultural—
 - oneness 77
 - revival 24
- Culture, unifying bonds of 44

- Dacca agreement 60
- Defence line, first 76
- Delhi—
 - discrimination against, 212
 - (Reddy and Morarka Commissions 212)
 - (Waqf Board 213)

- Democracy—
 in—
 Asia, bastion of 169
 India 169
 Rajasthan, murder of 194
 is indivisible 188
 unity freedom and, 177
- Democratic—
 alternative, national 192
 front—
 in Parliament 230
 national, 229
 institutions and attitudes 188
 revolution 201
- Disruptionists, unholy combine of 93
 Divisive forces 184
 Drift and surrender, policy of 91
- Eastern region, reorganisation of 81
 Economic unrest 137
 Educational syllabi—Union subject 130
- Election—
 Fourth General, 193
 Second General, 163
 Third General, 178
- Emergency powers 179
 —misuse of, 152
- Enquiry Commission, enlarge the (*see* Bastar stigma)
- Executive, more powers to the 145
- Faith, basic articles of 119
 Fast, coercive (*see* Tara Singh's fast)
- Financial resources, reallocation of 198
- Foreign—
 inspired riots 127
 interference 138, 203
 missionaries—
 activities of, 33
 restrain, 34
 powers, machinations of 32
- Four-tier system (*see* States reorganisations)
- Gajendragadkar Commission's recommendations 156
- Goa—
 and Western powers 41
 British attitude towards, 36
 liberate, 35
 liberation—
 committee 39

- movement 38
 of, 42
 satyagrahis—
 enrolment of, 39
 great martyrdom of, 40
- Government's—
 confusion (*see* SRC report)
 vindictiveness 148, 151
- Governments—
 Communist, 211
 non-Congress, 202
- Governor, pro-Communist 233
- Governor's—
 discretion, limits of 232
 partisan role 194
- Governors, Central manoeuvres through 214
- Handu episode, Kumari 84
 Hoshiyarpur happenings 146
 Hyderabad, merger of 101
- India's moorings 129
 Indians in India, 'Stateless' 50
 Indianisation 138
 —eradicate communalism through, 44
 —for unity and nationalism 24, 45
 —of outlook 78
 —of tea-estates 89
- Integration—
 incomplete, 150
 not local issue 23
- Intelligence, failure of 190
- Islam, modern 79
- Jammu—
 and Ladakh(s)—
 demand 21
 discrimination against, 155
 brutal repression in, 19
 discrimination against, 147, 150
- Jauhars* again 78
- JCM, ineffective 155
- JK—
 as autonomous republic 20
 constituent assembly 20
 electoral rules in, 150
 partition of, 41, 83
 situation 46

Joint fronts 194

Judicial—

- commission, permanent (see Corruption)
- probe into Upadhyaya's murder 219

Kashmir—

- day 22
- government, disreputed 37
- integrate, 34, 36, 48, 51, 63
- issue—
 - from UNO, withdraw 19
 - in UNO 61
- liberate occupied, 37
- movement, integrate 22, 25
- Peking Pindi and Moscow winds in, 88
- rigged elections in, 168
- uncertainty in, 41, 64, 71, 85
- valley, terror in 84

Kerala—

- BJS workers, firing on 187
- people's struggle 171

Labour—

- Bill, anti 154
- policy, recast 149

Ladakh, link-roads to 52

Land-grab move 234

Language, people's 196

Law and order situation, deteriorating 145

Left and right—irrelevant in Indian context 224

Local bodies—

- constitutional provisions for, 164
- co-ordination between, 164
- resources and elections of, 165

Malapuram district, proposed 133

Medical negligence, criminal (see Mookerji's death)

Mid-term polls 217

Ministers, enquiry against Orissa 152

Mookerji—

- stopped second dismemberment 34
- tributes to, 29

Mookerji's—

- death, impartial enquiry into 31
- great martyrdom 29
- mysterious death 30, 33
- (Medical negligence, criminal 30)

Mopalanstan, Jinna's 133

Murder(s)—

- dastardly, (see Bastar stigma)

Murder (s)—*Contd.*

- political, 166
- Muslim problem 78
- Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute 81, 113

Nagaland, separate 53

Naga—

- policy 186
- problem 43, 70, 71
- sifting enquiry into, 43
- rebels, no negotiations with 80

National flags, party and 19

Nationalism and democracy—basic commitments 224

Naxalbari—

- menace 198
- people's courts in, 198

NEFA reverses enquiry 68

Nehru—

- Abdulla (1953) correspondence 47
- era, legacies of 184
- Noon agreement, genesis of 55
- (Bad Agreement 56)
- traitors, critics of 180

One nation one people 128

Opposition—

- cooperation in legislatures 163
- unity 182, 221, 228
- (Cooperation instead of competition 228)

Pak—

- deal with China 61
- infiltration in—
 - the East 62, 63, 65
 - to Kashmir, massive 75
 - (Two-pronged conspiracy 63)
- infiltrators—
 - deportation of, 64
 - into strategic Assam 73
 - influx and national security 64
- Pakistan, birth-place of (see Aligarh Muslim University)
- Parishad movement objectives 26
- Parliament, pledge of 179
- Patriotism and sedition 184

Pay—

- commission and railway wage-board, constitute third 153
- commission's recommendations, second 151
- for similar work, same 153
- Peace mission, ominous 72

- Plebiscite—
 front, revival of 70
 stop talks about, 34
- Polarisation—
 of politics 177
 trends 164
- Police—
 Commission, appoint All India 145, 146
 conduct 146
 excesses 183
- Political progress, corner stones of 174
- Portuguese—
 prisons, Indians in 42
 repression 38
- Presidential election, fifth 222
- Press in emergency 181
- Production and productivity, increment of 154
- Punjab—
 bilingual, 120
 brutal repression in, 124
 civil liberties in, 110
 Congress-Akali terror in, 110
 delimitation of, 125
 police excesses in, 111
 reorganisation of, 124
 situation 111
 unity of, 168
- Punjabi Suba demand 102, 114, 115, 123
- Ranade, release of Mohan 80
- Refugee's impact on Bengal's economy 235
- Regional—
 chauvinism 90
 imbalances 91, 156
- Regionalism—
 and sub-regionalism 137
 Shiv Sena's, 216
- Rulership, hereditary 21
- SRC—
 report 103
 —reactions to, 105
 (Government's confusion 105)
- SRC's rational basis 104
- Sadar-e-riyasat, election of 50
- Self-immolation threat (see Chandigarh)
- Separatism, growing 57
- Situation—
 internal, 136, 188, 230
 post-1967, 209

- W. Bengal, 233
- Soviet influence 180
- States reorganisation 102
 —Bill 108
 —Bill : some suggestions 107
 (Four-tier system 108)
 —commission 102
 Sumer Singh, Veer 112
- Tara Singh's fast, Master 120
 (Coercive fast 120)
- Telangana—
 agitation 131
 safeguards for, 132
 unrest 135
- Turn-coats 190
- Two—
 and three-nation theories 92
 nation theory 45
- Unitary—
 form of government 103, 106
 make Constitution's form, 106
- Urdu agitation 101
- W. Bengal, unanimous opposition by (see Berubari)



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PARTY
DOCUMENTS
1951-72

4

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1951-72

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