



BJS

PARTY DOCUMENTS 1951-72

5

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH
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1951-72

Volume 5
RESOLUTIONS ON
EDUCATION, ETC. AND
PARTY AFFAIRS

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VOLUME 5

Resolutions on
Education etc.
AND
Party Affairs

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH
CENTRAL OFFICE
Vithalbhai Patel Bhavan
New Delhi-110001, India

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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 an 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 co-sharer in national prosperity is extremely natural. A party dedicated to the public good has to be alive and responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people and identify itself with them. This is exactly

what the Jana Sangh has done. The focal point of all its economic policies and programmes has been the *Daridra* (the poor) in whom it has seen the manifestation of '*Narayana*' (Divinity). Making him happy and contented is for the Jana Sangh the highest form of worship.

As a centrist party, the Jana Sangh has been subjected to attacks both from the extreme right as well as the extreme left. Protagonists of complete freedom in the economic sphere have assailed it being worse than Communists. On the other hand in the eyes of the so-called progressives, the Jana Sangh has been 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 ceilings 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 to 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 has 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 maximum expendable incomes 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 lowest incomes may bear a ratio of 10 : 1."

Two years later, that is, in 1956, at its Delhi Session, this issue was again discussed and it was clarified that in this context income meant 'expendable income'. It was further stated that

if an individual by dint of honest labour or his ability earns more than the permitted maximum, the excess income would be procured for "development needs through contribution, taxation, compulsory loans and investment." All manifestos issued for various elections held since, have reiterated the Party's stand on limiting the disparity between maximum and minimum expendable 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 communist 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, policy 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 occasions 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 Party's constitution as amended by the AIGC in May 1972 at Bhagalpur. Resolutions on Economic Affairs divided into 4 chapters comprised the second volume and those on Defence and External Affairs formed the 2 chapters of the third volume, while the fourth volume contained resolutions on Internal Affairs divided into 4 chapters, namely, National Unity and Territorial Integrity, Problems of Unity, Clean and Efficient Administration, and Democracy and Party Trends. In the present *i.e.*, the fifth volume, resolutions on the remaining subjects *e.g.* Education, Law, Social Welfare, Rehabilitation etc. alongwith those related to the Jana Sangh have been compiled in 4 chapters.

Compilation and printing of these volumes have been rather hurried due to inflexible time limit. As a result there have been certain printing errors and lapses like the omission of resolution 72.12 from volume 2 and that of the text of the Kutch Pact from Appendix A of volume 3. Provision for them is being made in this volume.

Some useful information is being provided in the Appendices in this volume. Lists of all the resolutions of these 22 years alongwith their dates etc. in a chronological order, information regarding formation of BJS in various states, comparison trends of votes and seats obtained by various political parties in Lok Sabha and Assembly elections in India and a chronology of important events related to BJS from 1951-72 have been included.

Some resolutions deal with more than one issues. As such they could have been either split or presented wholly. Instead of the resolutions being splitted, important paragraphs have been given sub-headings and listed with the main headings in the index where easy reference may be had. Resolutions containing border-line topics which could be justifiably assigned to one or the other chapter, 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 next two ones being the serial number of the resolution in that year. Thus 57.08 indicates the 8th resolution of the year 1957. 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 mean the Central Working Committee. All India General Council and the All India Session respectively. At some places in the Appendices in this volume references have been made to pages of other volumes, wherein the first digit stands for the volume number and the other three digits indicate the page e.g., 4.019 means 19th page in volume 4.

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

It is hoped that this compilation will be of benefit to all those who are interested in Indian public affairs.

—Compiler

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According to the Jana Sangh the success of the nation building process, strengthening of national unity and integrity, economic emancipation and working of democracy itself—all depend upon Education for the reorientation of which it insists for :

- (i) A radical change in the Educational System.
- (ii) Removal of teachers' grievances, and
- (iii) A sound language policy.

The Jana Sangh holds that the present "system of education itself is too book-ridden and lacks both moral and national content." It has pointed out : "The facilities for technical and vocational education are comparatively meagre and beyond the reach of the common people. As a result, colleges are being flooded by students who are uncertain about their future" (60.07). It pleads for a system "in which emphasis is laid on moral values and character" incorporating "the latest scientific discoveries" and insists that "for discipline and physical well-being, there should be adequate arrangements for physical and military training" (55.03). It believes in more comprehensive and cheaper industrial and engineering education so that the common man may profit by it (55.03). The Jana Sangh also believes that undue interference by the government in the affairs of educational institutions is one of the causes of the situation there becoming more serious and therefore demands that the "direction and control of Education should be in the hands of educationists and educational autonomous institutions" (55.03). It also proposes that the "curricula and the courses of study should be so recast that they help the students to obtain a comprehensive grounding in our national heritage, culture and values of life, together with a healthy understanding and respect for the great national heroes in all walks of life" (60.07).

Teachers are the builders of the Nation. Jana Sangh has been worried about their continued plight and has pleaded that they be assured their due. It holds that "so long as the conditions of teachers do not improve and due care is not taken to attract the best persons to this noble profession, no real improvement in the field of education and in teacher-pupil relations can be expected" (55.03). It further insists that "the teacher for the elementary classes must be given a place of respect in the society and the manifold economic and other handicaps from which he suffers must be removed" (60.07). It points out that primary and secondary teachers' pay-scales are inadequate and their dearness allowance is not at all commensurate with the cost of living. "The accepted principle of equal remuneration for similar work has not been applied to them." It has also favoured "regular payment of their salaries direct from the Treasury" (68.20).

"Adoption of Devanagari as the common script for all Indian languages" (54.20) will go a long way in the direction of National Unity and Integration.

But Jana Sangh is against the imposition of any language or script. In its Calicut Session in 1967, it clearly spelt out : "Hindi must grow on the basis of voluntary acceptance. At the same time, English also cannot be imposed on any section of the people against its will" (67.23). It believes in "linguistic freedom" and "the supremacy and usage of *Swabhasha* (Mother-tongue) in all walks of life" (65.10).

Indian Languages must replace English. "Every Indian has the birthright to receive education and reach the highest echelons in the national life through his own mother tongue....A democracy cannot be carried on in any language save the language of the people" (63.06). Masses must be reached "through the languages they can understand" (56.21).

The Jana Sangh "has always considered all the languages of India as National" (58.02). Pointing out the place of respect and honour for Sanskrit in the Indian people it suggests its use on ceremonial occasions and special functions, in addition to Sanskrit broadcasts over the All India Radio (65.04).

At a time when an unfortunate controversy about the Official Language was bitterly raging throughout the country, the Jana Sangh at its Calicut Session suggested a language policy which was widely appreciated by all sections of public opinion. It proposed :

- (1) Regional languages should be made the Official Languages in their respective states and also the media for UPSC examinations.
- (2) Along with Hindi, Regional languages should be used in Central Departments like Railways, Post-offices etc. which come into direct contact with the people.
- (3) At the time of recruitment, it should not be compulsory to know either English or Hindi but a working knowledge of either of these languages should be acquired during the probation period. In this period, working knowledge of one additional Indian language, besides Hindi must be acquired by the Hindi speaking appointees (67.23).

54.20. LANGUAGE POLICY

The Working Committee expresses its deep dissatisfaction upon the complete lack of interest shown by the Government of India in the implementation of that part of the Constitution which requires that Hindi should take the place of English as the language of the Union within 15 years. It condemns the antipathy of the Education Ministry towards Hindi and calls for a thorough overhaul of that department which is manned by persons who have no heart in the job.

Common Script—With regard to the Language Policy to be adopted in the educational and administrative fields the committee lays down the following essentials :

- (1) That mother tongue should be the medium of instruction at the primary stage.
- (2) That the regional language should be the medium for secondary and higher education, Hindi being a compulsory subject for study throughout.
- (3) That for post-graduate and specialised scientific studies Hindi alone should be the medium.
- (4) That the government should establish a commission of linguists representing all regional languages to draw up a lexicon of technical and scientific terms based on Sanskrit and other spoken Indian languages. The terminology so drawn up will be the common property of all Indian languages.
- (5) That steps should be taken for the adoption of Devanagari as the common script for all Indian languages.
- (6) That Devanagari should likewise be adopted for the dialects of undeveloped areas which have no script of their own, irrespective of the fact that in certain areas Roman script has been sought to be imposed on them by foreign missionaries.
- (7) That the use of Hindi in Central and inter-state communications should be started immediately. Its use should be

made compulsory for all ceremonial occasions and Hindi alone should be used on foundation stones and other permanent inscriptions.

- (8) Such of the personnel in the service of the Government of India as are not due to retire by the time limit fixed for the replacement of English by Hindi should be given compulsory courses in Hindi in a planned manner at the cost of the government.

The Committee is of the firm opinion that Urdu is the language of no region in India, it being only a foreign and unacceptable style of Hindi with a foreign script and a foreign vocabulary imposed on India during a period of foreign domination and now being supported by some communal elements.

[May 8, 1954; Delhi, CWC]

55.03. REORIENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

While today good emphasis is being laid on the economic reconstruction of the country, the intellectual and moral advancement of the youths, who are the future pillars of the nation, is being neglected. Resentment, immorality and indiscipline in the student community are dangerous for the future of the nation. Hence in the interests of the nation it is necessary to analyse the reasons of this discontent and indiscipline and to take steps for their eradication.

The indiscipline that is visible today in the student community dates back to some extent to the days of freedom struggle when students were encouraged to defy their teachers and to go on strikes and demonstrations. Even after the attainment of freedom, fissiparous elements have kept this tradition alive and they are making efforts to organise students on trade union lines for the fulfilment of their partisan purposes. The present government has proved a failure in providing a constructive channel for the energies of the students, as a result of which fissiparous elements have a free scope for their activities.

The situation has been made all the more worse by a faulty educational system, in which moral and cultural values have not been given a proper place. Rising unemployment and economic

insecurity—resulting in indiscipline and a feeling of irresponsibility—are also growing. Falling standards of teachers have also contributed to this undesirable situation.

Moral and Military Training—To meet this situation it is necessary to make an organised nation-wide effort. The Jana Sangh is firmly of the view that the first necessity is to have a radical reorientation in the present system of education. The nation today requires an education which would have a proper blend of the ancient Gurukul system, in which emphasis is laid on moral values and character and the modern system based upon the latest scientific discoveries. For familiarity with great Indian heritage and instructions in moral behaviour it is necessary to lay emphasis on the study of Sanskrit language and literature. For discipline and physical well-being there should be adequate arrangements for physical and military training. At the same time industrial and engineering education should be made more comprehensive and cheaper so that the common man may profit by it. From this point of view plans for the development and spread of education should be prepared as integral part of the Economic and Social Planning of the nation.

It is a matter of regret that during the past 7 years of independence no effective steps have been taken in this direction. The most unfortunate thing is that prominent leaders and politicians of the country are expressing contradictory views on the system of education.

The Education Ministry of the Central Government has failed to provide clear and practical guidance to the country in this respect, although many Commissions of Specialists appointed by the Government have discussed the problem comprehensively and submitted their reports.

Teachers' Plight—The falling standards of teachers are to a certain extent due to their economic plight. Generally they are poorly paid and they do not receive the respect due to them. As a result people of talent are not attracted to the teaching profession. So long as the conditions of teachers do not improve and due care is not taken to attract the best persons to this noble profession, no real improvement in the field of education and in teacher-pupil relations can be expected.

Educational Autonomy—The situation has become all the more serious because of growing interference by the government in the Universities and educational institutions. This interference is made with a view to increase the influence of the Ruling party. This tendency is completely against the Indian principles of education. The direction and control of Education should be in the hands of educationists and educational autonomous institutions which would be free of governmental control and so could successfully fulfil their responsibility.

It is necessary to utilise the leisure hours and energies of the students in constructive activities. This can be done through students and their organisations in which teachers should also be included. If such efforts are encouraged an ideal relationship can develop between the teacher and the pupil, and development of such qualities as leadership and high character, necessary for democracy, would be possible among the students.

[January 1, 1955; Jodhpur, III AIS]

56.21. EDUCATION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

The Central Working Committee is opposed to the decision of Education Ministers Conference to retain English as compulsory subject at the secondary stage and as medium of instruction at the university stage of education.

Mass Contact through Indian Languages—Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not opposed to English language as such, but it is our considered view that only Indian languages can be fit vehicles for expression of our national life and culture. Today, when the task of awakening and educating the common person for national reconstruction has become an imperative necessity, we must give-up our infatuation for a foreign language and try to reach the masses through the languages they can understand. Viewed in this perspective the decision of the Ministers Conference is retrograde and against the spirit of the times.

Official Language Commission's Report—It is rather surprising that the Conference has made this decision at a time when the report of the Official Language Commission appointed by the President under Article 344 of the Constitution was awaiting

release. This has in a way rendered the appointment of the Language Commission futile and has put hurdles in the way of spread and propagation of Hindi and other regional languages in the country.

The Working Committee demands the release of the report of the Language Commission without any further delay and give serious consideration to its recommendations.

[October 6, 1956; Poona, CWC]

57.08. LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF PUNJAB

The Central Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh deeply regrets the breakdown of talks between the Punjab Government and Hindi Raksha Samiti about the language question in the Punjab and the consequent launching of Satyagraha movement by the Samiti.

Hindi Agitation—Had the Central Government properly discharged its responsibility by instructing the Punjab Government to adopt a just and non-communal policy regarding the question of language, there would not have arisen genuine doubts and fears in the large majority of the people of the Punjab about the status and future of their mother tongue. Some understanding could and should have been evolved which might have put at rest these doubts and fears and created conditions in which both Hindi and Punjabi could have been fully developed as regional languages of the Punjab both in the sphere of administration and education without doing any violence to the fundamental right of the people to get education through their mother tongue.

The Committee further feels that an imaginative appreciation of the peoples' feelings and tactful handling of the situation by the government may still save it from further deterioration. If on the other hand, it persists in its policy of appeasement of communal and separatist forces, to which Jana Sangh has always been opposed, it will lead to serious results about which no true nationalist can remain indifferent.

[June 1, 1957; Delhi, CWC]

57.13. HINDI AGITATION

Repression of Hindi Agitation—The All India General Council strongly condemns the undemocratic and repressive policy adopted by the Punjab Government towards the peaceful agitation of the Hindi Raksha Samiti. Beating of the Satyagrahis by the police (including the plane clothes police), carrying of male and female Satyagrahis to distant jungles to be released there in the night, ban on some newspapers, indiscriminate arrests, hurting of religious sentiments of the people by violation of the sanctity of the Arya Samaj temple at Chandigarh and unrestricted use of the Preventive Detention Act, are not the correct and proper ways of dealing with a Satyagraha movement which enjoys a formidable popular backing. Such methods instead of improving the situation aggravate it by creating a tense atmosphere which not only makes it impossible to consider the involved issues in a dispassionate and rational spirit but also tends to shake the people's confidence in peaceful and democratic methods.

The AIGC also regrets that the Central Government (particularly the Prime Minister) have failed to discharge properly their responsibility towards the people of Punjab in this matter. By comparing the Hindi Raksha Agitation with the anti-national movements of the Muslim League, the Prime Minister has betrayed his utter failure to understand sympathetically the true character of the Hindi Agitation and the fears, doubts and urges which have brought together a large majority of the people of the Punjab under the flag of the Hindi Raksha Samiti.

The Council feels that by abdicating its duty and authority in favour of the Punjab Government the Central Government has directly contributed towards the creation of the strangely ludicrous situation there in which the Punjab Government is playing the double role of carrying on repression and negotiations with the Hindi Samiti at the same time. This policy cannot be helpful in the creation of a proper atmosphere for the success of the negotiations.

The AIGC is convinced that with good-will, understanding and patience, a solution can be found for the language-problem of Punjab which may satisfy both the parties by setting at rest

their fears of political domination of one community over the other. To achieve this end it is necessary that the Punjab language problem be viewed in the right perspective by separating it from religious, sectarian and political pulls which have tended to complicate it so far.

It is the definite view of the Council that the 'Regional Formula' born out of the unholy alliance between the Congress opportunism and Akali communalism, resulting in the division of the Punjab in two parts on the basis of language and religion in violation of the clear recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, is the real cause of the whole mischief there. This is a purely artificial division which has not only widened the gulf between Sikh and non-Sikh Hindus of the state but has also retarded the growth of both Punjabi and Hindi languages in the Punjab.

The situation demands that in order to maintain the territorial unity of the Punjab and create proper atmosphere for the development of both Punjabi and Hindi there, this artificial division on the basis of language be ended forthwith. Punjabi and Hindi should have equal status in both educational and administrative spheres.

(August 16, 1957; Bilaspur, AIGC)

57.21. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMISSION'S REPORT

Language for Massive Resurgency—Since the release of the Official Language Commission report, an attempt is being made in certain quarters to reopen the question of the official language for the Union and the states. Attempts to retain English are also being made. The Central Working Committee agrees with the Official Language Commission and feels that no foreign language can be the appropriate vehicle of that massive resurgency of our national life in the service of the common citizen wherein is implied the adoption of adult franchise and free and compulsory education, and also the promotion of social justice, equal opportunities, Fundamental rights and Directive principles of the State Policy embodied in our Constitution.

The Committee notes that although the Official Language

Commission has put in much labour and thought in dealing comprehensively with the language problem of India, yet it has failed in making concrete and categorical recommendations as required by its terms of reference. On the contrary, it has unnecessarily dealt with many controversial questions over which it was not required to express opinions. It is perhaps this transgression of limits and failure to specify concrete measures, that has raised the present controversy.

The Committee is of the opinion that the Union Government has also failed to discharge its obligation for the propagation of the various Indian Languages and it is because of this fact that the country is not properly equipped for the progressive switching over to the regional and the Union languages for official and other purposes. The Committee would urge upon the Union and the State Governments to take more energetic and practical steps for the diffusion of knowledge and study of the Union and the regional languages. The country in general is prepared to adopt our own languages and, therefore, there should be no need of any compulsory enforcement of the language provisions.

Official Languages in Regions—The Committee also urges upon the Government that :

- (1) The Union language (*i.e.* Hindi) should invariably be used in our communications with the foreign countries.
- (2) All correspondence between the states and the Centre should be in the Union language. An English translation should be provided for a period of 7 years.
- (3) Regional languages should be recognised as official languages in the respective states.
- (4) The states should make provisions for an authoritative translation in Hindi and English of all Bills passed by the state legislatures in their regional languages.
- (5) Provision for the study of Hindi and other Indian languages be made in the educational institutions.
- (6) The UPSC examinations should be held through the media of Hindi, Sanskrit, Regional languages and English. Option to choose the medium should be of the candidates.

[November 24, 1957; Hyderabad, CWC]

57.22. LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF PUNJAB

Regional Formula—The Central Working Committee expresses its deep concern over the fast deteriorating situation in Punjab. The Committee is of the considered view that the root cause of the present language controversy in Punjab is the Regional Formula which aims at dividing the Punjab on communal lines to appease the Akali Dal in direct contravention of the clear recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. The Committee feels that this has been done purely to further the party ends of the Congress. The redivision of Punjab will hardly be in the wider interests of Punjab and India. The demarcation of the so-called Punjabi region has been done with the sole view of bringing together all the Sikh majority areas, so that the aim of the Akali Dal to secure a definite area, wherein they may have unquestioned domination may be somehow achieved. Viewed in this perspective, the Regional Formula, by dividing the state of Punjab on communal lines has created a grave danger to the integrity and security of India as a whole. That is exactly the reason why the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been consistently opposing the Regional Formula ever since the very inception of this idea.

Bilingual Punjab—The present Satyagraha in Punjab is in protest by the overwhelming majority of the people of the State against the language policy which forms the basis of the Regional Formula. The Jana Sangh shares the considered opinion of the SRC that the Punjab state is bilingual with both Punjabi and Hindi as its regional languages. The proper growth and development of both these languages as also the unity of India demand that both of them be given equal place in the sphere of education and administration without any kind of discrimination.

The Working Committee strongly condemns the policy of repression being followed by the Punjab Government in their bid to crush the Satyagraha there. The enquiry report of the Ferozepur jail lathi-charge and firing and the decisions of the Punjab High Court and of the Advisory Board set up by the Punjab Government to review the cases of detainees make absolutely clear that the Punjab Government is adopting

inhuman and undemocratic methods to suppress the Hindi Satyagraha. The Working Committee strongly urges the Central Government to immediately intervene to get this policy of brutal repression stopped.

The situation in the Punjab demands that the Central Government should shed its complacency and come forward to solve the problem without any false considerations of prestige.

[November 24, 1957; Hyderabad, CWC]

58.02. LANGUAGE POLICY

The recent controversy over the problem of official language is most unfortunate. It is an indisputable fact that the administration of a free and self-respecting nation cannot be conducted through a foreign language. The period of 15 years prescribed by the Constituent Assembly for the gradual replacement of English by Indian languages was intended to provide us time enough to equip ourselves for the change. It is regrettable that instead of concentrating our energy towards the achievement of this goal, we have been reopening issues which have been settled once for all. Pleas for extension of the time limit laid down by the Constitution are neither timely nor beneficial. Article 343(3) of the Constitution empowers Parliament to authorise whenever needed the use of English alongwith Hindi for a specific period even after the termination of this 15-year limit. No section of the people, therefore, needs entertain any apprehension regarding its future on the score of its familiarity or unfamiliarity with any particular language.

Media for UPSC Examinations—The Jana Sangh has always considered all the languages of India as 'National'. There ought to be no restraint on the use and growth of these throughout the country. Bharatiya Jana Sangh urges the government to adopt the following measures :

- (1) Regional languages should be recognised as Official languages in their respective states and steps be taken to ensure their progressive use.
- (2) The Union language (*i.e.* Hindi) should invariably be used in our communications with foreign countries.

- (3) All correspondence between the states and the Centre should be in the Union language and English translation should be provided for a specific period.
- (4) Along with English all languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution should be recognised as media for UPSC examinations and the knowledge of Hindi should be made compulsory only after the selection for service.
- (5) The States should make provisions for authoritative translations in Hindi and English of all Bills passed by the state legislatures in their regional languages.
- (6) The Central Government with the help of linguists and scholars, should compile a general terminology of scientific and technical words for common use in all the languages of the country.
- (7) Medium of instruction in various states should be their respective regional languages and the study of Hindi should be compulsory from the Secondary Stage. Primary education should be through the mother tongue. No restrictions should be imposed upon schools imparting instructions through the medium of any language different from the regional one; on the contrary, all facilities should be made available to them without any discrimination.
- (8) Provision should be made for the study of compulsory Sanskrit in all Secondary schools. Sanskrit should be progressively used for all formal functions and state ceremonies.

[April 5, 1958; Ambala, VI AIS]

58.12. HINDI AGITATION

The Central Working Committee considered the situation developing in Punjab since the end of the Hindi agitation. The Committee feels with regret that even though 6 months have passed since the Satyagraha was withdrawn in an atmosphere of extreme goodwill, the government have taken no effective steps to find a satisfactory solution of the language problem so far.

The intensity and universality of popular feelings on this

question have been amply demonstrated by different agitations in the Punjab during the last few years as also by the results of recent by-elections. The continued indifference of the government to the popular sentiment is creating public discontent which is daily growing.

The Working Committee feels that Central Government has a special responsibility in the matter. Mere changes in the leadership and the internal set-up of the party in power in Punjab cannot solve this problem. The Committee appeals to the government to shed their policy of appeasement towards communal and undemocratic forces and take steps to give equal recognition to Punjabi and Hindi in administrative and educational spheres throughout the Punjab without exception or delay.

The Working Committee also appeals to the Bhasha Swatantrya Samiti and Hindi Raksha Samiti not to take any step in haste. It is a testing time for them too.

The Jana Sangh appeals to the people of the Punjab also to face the situation with patience, strength and firmness without allowing their unity to suffer.

[July 19, 1958; Bombay, CWC]

58.29. SINDHI LANGUAGE

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been of the considered opinion that as one of the major Indian languages, distinct by itself, and with a rich and variegated literature, Sindhi ought to have been included in the Schedule of Languages laid down by the Constitution. It is a matter of extreme regret that the 15 lac Sindhi-speaking population who have, following the partition of India, relinquished Sind and settled down in other parts of the country should find that for them the country's freedom has meant not only the loss of their ancestral hearths and homes but a gradual languishment of their mother tongue as well. No doubt, there are limitations to the contribution that the State patronage and recognition can make towards the furtherance and growth of any language, but for a linguistic group, deprived of a compact territorial area, the importance of

official recognition is all the greater. The resentment and bitterness felt on this score has been manifesting itself all through these eleven years of our freedom and of late an intensive campaign in the form of meetings, resolutions, letters etc. has been going on urging the government to accord Sindhi its rightful place.

Include Sindhi in the Eighth Schedule—The Jana Sangh regrets that the government has failed to appreciate the strength and justification of the popular campaign presently going on and reiterates its demand that, the government should at an early date initiate and the Parliament should legislate enactment amending the Constitution so as to include Sindhi in the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule.

[December 28, 1958; Bangalore, VII AIS]

60.07. REORIENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The recent developments leading to the closure of the Universities of Mysore, Allahabad and Lucknow have once again focussed the attention of the Nation on the serious malady from which the educational life of the country has been suffering. To shift the blame for it on students' indiscipline is to oversimplify the question. Growing indiscipline among the students is also a part of this malady the causes of which lie elsewhere and need to be properly investigated and assessed.

Malady in Educational System—In the opinion of the Central Working Committee the root cause of this malady is the system of education itself which is too book-ridden and lacks both moral and national content. The facilities for technical and vocational education are comparatively meagre and beyond the reach of the common people. As a result, colleges are being flooded by students who are uncertain about their future and therefore not serious about their present.

This basically dangerous situation is being aggravated by the increasing interferences of the government in the Universities at the cost of their autonomy. Many of the Vice-Chancellors being imposed on the universities have no other qualification except that they happen to be in the good books of the powers

that be. Allegations of inefficiency, nepotism in the matters of appointments and admissions and even of moral turpitude have been openly made against some high educational authorities.

Some of the Vice-Chancellors take resort to closure of universities and vindictive action against the students on flippant grounds to cover their own acts of commission and omission.

Another cause of this malady is the falling standards of the teachers who are quite often chosen without regard to their merit, standard and qualities of leadership. As a result they fail to set the right standards before the young students which are essential to bring the best out of them. To make things worse the Universities and colleges have fallen in the grip of a most demoralising type of internal politics which is utilised by inefficient teachers for personal aggrandisement at the cost of educational standards and discipline.

These and such other factors lie at the root of the growing discontent and frustration among the youth in general and students in particular. Empty sermons and threats of closure of colleges and universities are no remedy for it.

Recast Curricula and Courses—In this situation the Working Committee is of the opinion that :

- (1) A Judicial-cum-Educational Commission consisting of some judicial authorities and educationists from outside Uttar Pradesh be appointed to enquire into the causes of the unrest leading to such a grave step as closure of the Universities of Lucknow and Allahabad.
- (2) To safeguard the autonomy of the Universities and to keep them free from the undue influence of the provincial politicians, it should be provided that the governing bodies of the Universities and other educational institutions should consist mainly of educationists and representatives of the teachers. The present preponderance of outside elements who have no educational background and competence must go.
- (3) To give moral and national content to the education, the curricula and the courses of study should be so recast that they help the students to obtain a comprehensive grounding in our national heritage, culture and values of life, together with a healthy understanding and respect

for the great national heroes in all walks of life. Institutions that are founded to inculcate such values should be specially encouraged.

- (4) The primary and secondary education which provide the base for the university education must be given more attention than at present from the standpoint of cultural reorientation. The teacher for the elementary classes must be given a place of respect in the society and the manifold economic and other handicaps from which he suffers must be removed.

[January 25, 1960; Nagpur, VIII AIS]

60.19. LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF PUNJAB

Punjabi Suba Demand—The Akali separatism which was born out of the introduction of separate electorate for the Sikhs in 1919 in pursuit of the British policy of 'divide and rule' and which could not fructify into an "Independent Sovereign Sikh State" then, has now 13 years after freedom, assumed threatening proportions. It is trying to coerce the Government of India to agree to a further partition of Punjab on purely communal lines. The thin camouflage of language with which the Akalis had been trying to cover their real objective has been nearly worn out. The so-called Punjabi Suba of their conception is nothing but Akali Suba. The Akalis who constitute less than 25 per cent of Punjabi population are trying to pose as if they only are the Punjabies and the remaining 75 per cent have no stake or say in the future of Punjab.

It is the considered opinion of the All India General Council that any further partition of Punjab on communal basis as demanded by the Akalis would be anti-Punjab. It is also un-democratic because large majority of the non-Akali Punjabies are unequivocally opposed to this demand. The AIGC hopes that the entire nationalist India will stand by the nationalist forces in fighting this undemocratic move of the Akalis to further vivisect already truncated Punjab.

Scripts for Punjabi—So far as the language problem, which has been made a cover by the Akalis to cover their political

objective is concerned, it is the considered opinion of the AIGC that this is a comparatively minor problem which has been deliberately exaggerated out of all proportions to serve ulterior political ends, both by the Akalies and the ruling Congress party. Punjabi language is the cherished heritage of all the Punjabies and everyone wants its all-round rapid progress. It is, therefore, the considered view of the Jana Sangh that the language problem of Punjab can be easily solved on the following lines :

- (1) Since the whole of Punjab is bilingual, the regional division of Punjab into the so-called Punjabi and Hindi regions is artificial and must never be allowed.
- (2) A single uniform formula be adopted for the whole province. This is essential to create a sense of unity in the people of Punjab as a whole. This formula must provide equal place to be given to both Hindi and Punjabi throughout the Punjab. The choice of the medium of instruction and the stage at which the second language Hindi or Punjabi, as the case may be, should be taught be left to the choice of the parents and academicians respectively.
- (3) Both Gurmukhi and Devanagari should be accepted as official scripts for Punjabi and option should be given to write it in either of them.

[August 28, 1960; Hyderabad, AIGC]

62.11. LANGUAGE POLICY

Violation of Constitution—Jana Sangh expresses its great concern that even after the lapse of 12 years the linguistic provisions of the Constitution have not been brought into operation either at the Centre or in the States.

Although some states have enacted for the adoption of provincial languages, yet in practice it is the English that dominates the administrative machinery.

The Central Government has not implemented the President's order concerning the recommendations made by the First Language Commission. Neither has the Government appointed a Second Language Commission after the lapse of 10 years

as provided by the Constitution. Instead, the Government has announced its intention of bringing forward a Constitution (Amendment) Bill to instal English as an associate language at the Centre. We record our strong opposition to this move.

It is clear that English cannot be an associate to any Indian language. Historically, geographically, linguistically and culturally, it is the Indian languages that are associates to each other. Besides, English can never be the Official or the National language of India.

There is no clash of interests between different Indian languages. According to the provisions of the Constitution the sphere of each Indian language is well defined and one language cannot possibly usurp the place of another. If today, there has developed a controversy and if apprehensions have arisen in the minds of some people, it is due to the policies of the government which has been supporting a foreign language. Government cannot continue the use of English by simply arguing that its employees are not trained to work either in the provincial languages or in the Official language. It is the responsibility of the Central and the state governments to train its personnel in the Indian media.

Interests of non-Hindi Speaking Persons—The Jana Sangh demands that :

- (1) The provincial languages be made the medium of Governmental activities by getting rid of the English and with immediate effect.
- (2) For inter-provincial and Central usage the provisions of the Constitution be respected and the English be terminated as the Official language of the Union by 1965.
- (3) Proper arrangements be made by the government so that the interests of the non-Hindi speaking people are fully safeguarded.

The Committee calls upon all its branches to mobilise public opinion against this move of the government and that conferences be organised to that effect in every Lok Sabha constituency.

[September 29, 1962 ; Rajamundry, CWC]

62.15. DISPUTED LANGUAGE BILL

In view of the state of emergency that has been created by the large-scale Chinese invasion and the necessity not to rupture the single-minded determination of the country from its war efforts the Jana Sangh appeals to the Government of India to withhold the introduction of the hotly disputed Language Bill. Let that wait till better days. There are still over two years to go for the *status quo*. At a time when the government has thought fit to stay even the democratic process of by-elections it would be unwise and inopportune to take up the language Bill because it is a vastly bigger issue and its dimensions are of historical proportions.

(October 31, 1962 ; Delhi, CWC)

63.06. COLONIALISTIC LANGUAGE BILL

Negation of Democracy—The Jana Sangh views with greatest concern the forthcoming Associate Languages Bill which is a misnomer for a colonialistic language Bill, intended to continue by statutory force the language of the colonial regime. Under the bad provisions of this mischievous Bill, English will be used by the Central and Provincial Governments for all such purposes for which it was used during the hey days of British colonialism. English will have the monopoly and Indian languages will remain suppressed and dominated, relegated to peripheral uses only. 98 per cent of India's population will thereby be reduced for an indefinite period of time to the status of hewers of wood and drawers of water, diggers of mines and cultivators of dusty soil. They will not be able to enter the portals of governmental machinery, not even as clerks. Education and Law, Commerce and Industry will be open to those who have spent 10 to 15 years of their precious youth to the mystery of the most vagrant language, English.

The Jana Sangh cannot support the Government in its persistence in such anti-National and anti-Democratic outlawing of Indian languages. It is only the Indian languages which can be the media of India's development, each provincial

language in its own province and the link language Hindi at the Centre. Those who oppose Hindi at Centre are unwittingly opposing Tamil in Tamilnadu, and Bengali in Bengal as well. We proclaim to the Nation that there is no conflict between the Indian languages. Whatever conflict is sought to be created and voiced is artificial and is based not on love but on hatred. Emotional integration of the Indian people includes love and reverence for each other's language as well.

We call upon the people and their representatives sitting in the Parliament to realise the historical dimensions of the denationalising process that will be furthered by this language Bill and to oppose it and thereby restore to the Indian languages their due position in the country.

Two per cent Anglocrats—If the government using its brutal majority does succeed in passing the language Bill, the fight against the domination of English will have to be intensified and continued as long as English is not removed. The battle against English is a battle against the biggest monopoly ever established, a monopoly of all the good things of life by less than 2 per cent anglocrats, excluding all others.

Egalitarianism thro' Indian Languages—It will be an economic fight inasmuch as today 3000 crores of rupees are spent annually by the English-media monopolists. The non-English knowing get only crumb in the form of unskilled labour at an average rate of Rs. 2 to 3 a day. Higher emoluments go to the English knowing 2 per cent or less. Fight against English will be a fight for social egalitarianism as against the high-browed supercastes of English-knowing men and women. It is they who have usurped all positions of prestige in the society, others being almost denied and debarred.

Birtright for Education thro' Mother tongue—Fight against English will be a fight for educational opportunities for those who do not or cannot afford to spend the best part of their youth to the cramming of the most ideosyncratic language of the world. Every Indian has the birtright to receive education and reach the highest echelons in the national life through his own mother tongue. Battle against English will be a battle for democracy. A democracy cannot be carried on in any language save the language of the people. How can road

signs and parliamentary debates, law courts and banks be allowed to operate in an alien tongue.

De-Indianisation—Finally it will be a battle against de-Indianisation that is being effected through an all-out emphasis on an alien language, literature, tradition, moods and behaviours and through a corresponding denigrating of Indian literature, tradition, moods and behaviours. Thereby the development of the Indian personality is being kept stunted and submerged. The Jana Sangh warns the nation that the fight may be a long and arduous one but it also wishes to bring confidence to the people in the ultimate victory of nationalism over colonialism.

[April 6, 1963; Delhi, CWC]

63.17. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN STATES

In pursuance of its policy of displacing Indian languages by English for purposes of official use, the Government of India, after first adopting the Official Languages Bill at the Centre, has now issued a directive to the State Governments to initiate legislation in their respective legislatures which would enable the use of English in the states after January 26, 1965 and whereby the English version alone of State Bills and enactments would be deemed authentic. This directive should serve as an eye-opener for those persons who had been supporting the use of English at the central level under the illusion that thereby only the status of Hindi would be affected while the regional languages would continue to be used freely as official languages in their respective spheres. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been stressing from the outset that this is a struggle not between Hindi and English but between all the Indian languages on the one hand and the English on the other. Among the Indian languages there was no *inter se* clash of interests at all. An argument advanced against the use of Hindi at the Centre has been that such use would entail practical difficulty for non-Hindi speaking persons who had not yet picked up Hindi adequately. But evidently, no such difficulty can be pleaded in the case of the regional languages. It is obvious that the Central Government's directive is an index only of its deep-rooted anti-

pathy for Indian languages and its infatuation for English. It is the duty of all independent and freedom loving elements to realise the baneful gravity of this attitude and to oppose it strongly. The Jana Sangh urges upon the State Governments to give to their respective regional languages their rightful place in overall work and to emancipate themselves completely from the stranglehold of English by January 26, 1963. Let no Bill to grant a fresh lease to English be introduced in any state legislature.

[August 12, 1963; Delhi, AIGC]

65.04. LANGUAGE POLICY

On January 26, 1965, the 15-year Constitutional lease granted to English as the country's Official Language comes to an end. After this date, administrative work at the Centre should be carried on in Hindi, and in the states in the respective state languages. It is extremely regrettable that the government has failed to take necessary steps for the change-over. But the lapses and laxity of the government cannot hold back the nation from taking this imperative step which would veritably mark the fulfilment of its Freedom fight. It is the duty of the people to struggle for the emancipation of the Government of India from the shackles of English. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will spearhead this struggle. Jana Sangh workers must see to it that for all official work Hindi is used at the Centre and the various state languages in their respective spheres.

Some quarters have been frantically exerting to impede this process and even to turn the clock back. They want to retain English. For the realisation of this objective they have been sowing in the country the poison-seed of disruption and division. All forces which stand for the country's unity must stand together and ensure that these evil efforts are checkmated.

It is preposterous to suggest that English can serve to promote Indian unity. The absurdity of this suggestion would become apparent if we realise that an analogous plea might well have been made even to advocate continuation of the British Rule in India. After all, enduring national unity can be built up only on factors which contribute to the flowering of the national genius and

ethos. For the last two centuries, the imposition of English has stunted the growth of national consciousness and thus served only to divide the nation. It is essential, therefore, for the unity of the country that English must go.

The use of Hindi at the Centre is the result of a natural historical process. So is the use of the various state languages in their own regions. All these are Official Languages having equal status. Their use in administration must be governed by the provisions of the Constitution. Sindhi should be included in the list of languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

Sanskrit Broadcasts—To Sanskrit, however, belongs the status of India's National Language. This is a historical fact. So, while in the matter of general administrative work, Hindi should be used at the Centre and the state languages in the provinces, on ceremonial occasions and special functions, Sanskrit also ought to be made use of. There should be Sanskrit broadcasts also over the All India Radio.

Thanks to the Government's policies, arrangements that ought to have been completed by now for a switch-over to Indian languages have not been made. This has created misgivings in the minds of some people that the change would adversely affect their prospects in the services. The Jana Sangh would like to reassure these people that this would not be allowed to happen. At the same time, it expects every one to equip himself soon so as to be able to carry out his obligation properly.

[January 24, 1965; Vijayawada, XII AIS]

65.10. REPLACEMENT OF ENGLISH

The Central Working Committee strongly deplors the violent outbursts in Tamilnadu over the language issue and demands that an enquiry commission be appointed to find out the elements who have exploited the real or imaginary apprehensions of the people in the matter of Official Language and incited them into violence, killings and arson.

The attack on the Aurobindo Ashram in the course of the

riots, the organised raids on railway stations and post offices, the demolition of Gandhiji's statue, desecration of the State Flag, the burning of Dr. Radhakrishnan's English Library—all these happenings show that the language issue came just as a handy excuse for anti-social elements. Their real aim was to challenge the authority of the society and the State and to create conditions of anarchy. If India is to protect its freedom and integrity, it must with a firm hand suppress and root out such tendencies and forces. There is no place for violence in a democratic set-up. The disturbances in Tamilnadu are a grim warning which cannot be ignored.

When the Constituent Assembly resolved unanimously to make Hindi the country's Official Language in place of English, it was prompted by the noble feeling that no foreign language can serve to manifest the national Self. A nation's cultural, educational or even economic development is not possible through an alien tongue. The draft Constitution envisaged continuation of English for a period of 5 years only. But on the insistence of the non-Hindi speaking members—particularly the members from Tamilnadu—this period was extended to 15 years. If the Central and State Governments had systematically exerted for the development of the Indian languages and for their increasing use, January 26, 1965 would have dawned as a historic day as by then we would have been completely emancipated from the shackles of a foreign language and Indian languages would have been able to come to occupy their rightful places. But because of the governmental inertia and ineptitude, the country does not find itself ready today for a complete switch-over from English to the Indian languages. The dominance of English continues not only at the Centre, but in the states too. In some spheres the use of English has actually increased after January 26, 1965 and Indian languages are despised and ignored. This state of affairs is totally intolerable. It cannot be allowed to continue.

Linguistic Freedom and Mother Tongue—The nation needs to reaffirm our faith in linguistic freedom and the sacred pledge to secure the supremacy and usage of *Swabhasha* (Mother tongue) in all walks of life. There is no question of retreating from the provisions of the Constitution. We have to go forward.

Today 96 per cent of the people have been reduced to second grade citizens because of their ignorance of English and for no fault of theirs they have absolutely no voice in public affairs. We have to ensure that they are able to partake as equal cosharers with the rest in administration and in public life.

To make the switch-over from English to Indian languages smooth the Constitution had provided on the one hand continuance of English for a period of 15 years and on the other a provision to permit, if necessary, the use of English in certain spheres even thereafter. With intent to ensure that the non-Hindi speaking do not suffer, the Official Language Act, 1963 has provided for the continuance of English as associate language. Any amendment in this Act which goes counter to the ultimate objective that we have placed before ourselves, namely replacement of English by the Indian languages both at the Centre and in the states cannot be accepted.

The Working Committee demands that :

- (1) In the states English must be forthwith replaced by the respective regional languages and all administrative work be carried on in these languages. There is no justification whatsoever of continuing English in the states any longer and the people must not allow it.
- (2) For the convenience of those employees at the Centre who do not know Hindi and who have not been able to prepare themselves during these 17 years to be able to work in Hindi, the use of English should be permitted for 10 years.
- (3) All Indian languages should be permitted as media for UPSC examinations. For Hindi-speaking examinees there should be a compulsory paper in one other Indian language and for non-Hindi speaking examinees there should be a compulsory paper in Hindi.
- (4) All Indian languages are national languages. They have an equal status, and it is the responsibility of the government to ensure the proper development of all. The Government must draw up a planned programme to fulfil this obligation effectively so that these languages are able to contribute to the enrichment of national life.

[April 3, 1965 ; Jaipur, CWC]

65.15. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Incomplete Swarajya—The Congress Working Committee's recent resolution on language which is going to be the basis of Government's policy has come as an utter disappointment to all those who have longed to see *Swarajya* manifest itself in the sphere of language too. It is a matter of regret that the resolution fails to outline any steps towards the fulfilment of the constitutional provisions in respect of language. The resolution provides for the continued use of English but gives no indication as to how and when Hindi would become the official language of the country. To say that English should continue at the Centre so long as even a single non-Hindi state desires, is an index that the Congress Working Committee does not honestly desire the replacement of English by Hindi as the Centre's Official language. When the Constituent Assembly unanimously resolved to have Hindi as the Centre's Official language, the inspiration and logic behind its decision was that a nation's cultural, educational and economic development cannot be brought about through the instrument of a foreign language. The people had been eagerly looking forward to January 26, 1965 as a historic day, on which India's national languages would secure their rightful places. Unfortunately, this resolution of the Congress party gives the impression that English is going to continue for all time to come and that Indian Languages would never be allowed to assert themselves.

The steps taken prior to January 26, 1965, by various departments of the Central Government in regard to the growing use of Hindi in administrative work have now been put off. If the present situation continues, it would be sheer hypocrisy to say that ultimately Hindi was going to be the Official language.

Three Language Formula—The Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly deplores this state of affairs and demands :

- (1) Let there be an unequivocal declaration that from January 26, 1965, Hindi is the Official Language of the country and that there shall be no restrictions whatsoever on its use in Central Government affairs. Those officials and employees in the Central Government who have not learnt Hindi as yet, will be permitted to use English for a

period of 10 years. At the same time planned efforts should be made to teach them Hindi.

- (2) All Indian languages should be declared as recognised media of UPSC examinations, which should be conducted from right now through such languages as have been accepted already as media of University examinations in their respective states. As and when the remaining languages also become University media in their spheres, the UPSC should make necessary arrangements to hold examinations in these languages.
- (3) English should not be a compulsory subject for study. It should be taught as an optional foreign language.
- (4) The three-language formula should include the following languages :
 - (i) Mother tongue,
 - (ii) Sanskrit, and
 - (iii) Hindi (for those whose mother tongue is Hindi, any other modern Indian language).

[July 10, 1965; Jabalpur, CWC]

67.18. EDUCATION THROUGH REGIONAL LANGUAGES

Media for Highest Education—The Central Working Committee welcomes the decision of the Committee of Members of Parliament on Education and the Education Ministers Conference to adopt regional languages as media of education up to the highest level. This decision has been substantially endorsed by the Vice-Chancellors' Conference also.

The deliberations of these bodies have incidentally revealed that the need of a link language is universally acknowledged, and further that a clear consensus exists that Hindi alone can serve as the link-language. This Committee is sure that this decision in respect of regional languages, by emancipating the younger generations from the shackles of a foreign tongue, will lead to a full flowering of their genius. It will also create a climate for the fullest development of our languages, whose progress has hitherto been thwarted by the dominance of English.

Apprehensions have been voiced that this decision will

jeopardise the country's unity and obstruct inter-state communion. This presumption underlying these misgivings is that English is the bond of unity which holds the country together today. The presumption is entirely fallacious. India has been one and united centuries before English came to this country and India shall remain one and united after English has ceased to occupy the prominent place here that it has today. At best, English serves as a bond of communion for just 1.5 per cent of the country's population.

The changeover to the regional media instead of weakening of our bonds of unity will, on the contrary, lead to their strengthening inasmuch as most of our national languages derive their vocabulary by and large from one common mother-language—Sanskrit and therefore have a common heritage.

The Working Committee notes with satisfaction that despite the strains generated on the issue of language in the past 2 years, all political parties have been successful in arriving at a unanimity on the question of regional languages. All those interested in the country's unity must exert to ensure that this resolve is faithfully carried out.

[September 19, 1967; Baroda, CWC]

67.23. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Perpetuation of English—By foisting the recent language law on the people, the Government of India has done a disservice to the country. The law has engendered needless strains among different linguistic groups and at places led even to deplorable incidents of violence and lawlessness. Secondly, by overlooking the stultifying effect which perpetuation of English would have on the natural development of Indian languages, the law has set up an obstacle in the way of implementing the unanimous decision of major political parties that regional languages should be made the media of education up to the highest level and that administration in all states should be carried on through the languages of the people.

In its election manifesto for 1967, the Jana Sangh had very clearly spelt out its approach to the question of Official

language. The four planks of its language policy are :

- (1) Immediate steps should be taken to make the regional languages the official languages in their respective states.
- (2) In Central Departments like Railways, Post offices, etc; which come into direct contact with the people, regional languages should be used along with Hindi.
- (3) Hindi should be the Official language at the Centre but this should not handicap those who do not know Hindi; such employees should be permitted the option of English during the period of transition.
- (4) Regional languages should be made the media of Union Public Service Commission examinations.

Unfortunately, the Government of India's approach to the issue has been singularly inept. The Constitution enjoined on Government that it should make adequate arrangements for a switchover from English to Hindi within 15 years of the enactment of the Constitution. The Government of India failed to fulfil this obligation. It was the Government's failure which was primarily responsible for arousing in the minds of some non-Hindi sections apprehensions that there was going to be an abrupt changeover and as a result of which they would be placed at a disadvantage. The genuine misgivings of this section, coupled with the machinations of elements who have developed a vested political, economic or administrative interest in the continuation of English, led to serious disturbances in Madras, way back in February 1965. Eversince, the Government of India have lost all sense of direction and proportion in so far as the language question is concerned. All its subsequent decisions are merely in the nature of *ad hoc* reactions to the pressures working on it at a particular time. The language law, as enacted, is a striking specimen of its confused thinking. In the name of reflecting the consensus of opinion of all sections, it has only invited the hostility of every single section. It solves no problem; it creates many. To the extent that it permits the use of English in the Central administration along with Hindi, this Act adds nothing new to what had been already provided under the Official Languages Act of 1963. Looked at from the point of view of Central employees not knowing Hindi, therefore, it was entirely unnecessary. It even violates the Constitution, which

confers on Parliament the 'exclusive right' to legislate in respect of the Union subjects. This law denigrates the sovereign authority of Parliament and, in an extremely perverse manner, gives to even a single and small state the right to veto Parliament's decision on language. The Official Languages (Amendment) Act, thus, is ill-conceived, uncalled for and unconstitutional.

No Language Imposition—Hindi must grow on the basis of voluntary acceptance. At the same time, English also cannot be imposed on any section of the people against its will. We are confident that if the Central Government's decision in regard to the media of University education, endorsed by the Education Ministers' Conference and the conference of Vice-Chancellors is sincerely implemented, the language controversy will gradually die down. As the regional languages get their rightful place as the languages of administration in their respective states, and Hindi becomes the sole Official language at the Centre, the people of India would really experience a sense of participation in the democratic governance of the country. The nation eagerly looks forward to that day.

Meanwhile, the Jana Sangh favours the following measures in regard to Central Services :

- (1) Immediate steps must be taken to enable candidates appearing for Union Public Service Commission examinations to appear through the media of regional languages.
- (2) The knowledge of neither English nor Hindi should be compulsory at the time of recruitment. The appointees, however, should be required to get a working knowledge of either Hindi or English during the probation period.
- (3) Appointees, whose mother-tongue is Hindi, must acquire a working knowledge of one additional Indian language, besides Hindi, during the probation period.

[December 26, 1967; Calicut, XIV AIS]

68.20. TEACHERS' STRIKE

The Central Working Committee expresses grave concern over the failure of the negotiations that had been going on between the secondary school teachers of UP and the State Government.

Some 10 thousand secondary school teachers are presently behind the bars and schools all over the state have been paralysed. The fact that annual examinations of students are close makes the situation particularly serious.

The Working Committee is of the definite view that during the last 20 years, primary and secondary education as also teachers working in these institutions have been treated with neglect. Their pay-scales are inadequate, and their dearness allowance is not at all commensurate with the cost of living. The accepted principle of equal remuneration for equal work has not been applied to them. The government has failed even to arrange regular payment of their salaries from the Treasury.

Implement Kothari Commission's Recommendations—The Committee demands that the Central Government should immediately intervene to tackle the situation arising out of the agitation launched by the primary and secondary school teachers of UP and try to resolve the deadlock created between the State Government and the secondary teachers. To create a congenial climate for a proper settlement, it urges that the following measures be taken:

- (1) All arrested teachers should be forthwith released and an assurance should be given that no action would be taken against those who had gone on strike.
- (2) The SVD Government's decision to accept the principle of uniform DA, and the increase in DA resulting therefrom, should be implemented with effect from the date of decision. Uniformity in respect of DA must be maintained in the future as well.
- (3) All necessary steps should be taken to implement the decision to pay teachers' salaries direct from the Treasury.
- (4) The government should accept in principle the Kothari Commission's recommendations regarding pay-scales of primary and secondary school teachers and a phased programme must be undertaken for their implementation.

[December 16, 1968; Delhi. CWC]

CHAPTER 2

LAW

An Independent Judiciary, Freedom of expression and free and fair Elections are regarded as vital touchstones of Democracy. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh right from its inception has been zealously exerting to protect these values.

The recent resignation of three senior Supreme Court Judges in protest against the arbitrary appointment of the Chief Justice of India has sharply highlighted the question of the Judiciary's independence. But two years earlier, just after the 1971 Lok Sabha elections, the Jana Sangh had cautioned : "The Prime Minister's first reference after the elections about the Supreme Court has confirmed the people's worst fears about the Ruling party wanting to denigrate and devalue the independent status of the Judiciary" (71.01). To maintain the independence of the Judiciary, it has insisted that "retired Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts should not be allowed to join any salaried government post" (54.17). At the level of magistracy, it urged separation of Judiciary from the Executive and warned, "unless the Judiciary is separated from the Executive, the mis-carriage of justice cannot be eliminated" (54.17).

Democracy is sometimes described as Government by discussion and debate for which freedom of expression and movement is essential. There have been occasions in the last 25 years when the Ruling party manifested its intolerance by imposing curbs on such freedom. Bharatiya Jana Sangh has stoutly resisted such curbs. It believes that "freedom of movement and expression and also other Civil Liberties are essential pre-requisites of Democracy which is sustained in the ultimate by the freedom of the individual as a responsible member of a Free Society" (56.19). It is opposed to the very idea of detention of a person without trial as in its opinion "the existence of the law of detention without trial offends against the principles of liberty and gives a licence to corrupt officials and an opportunity to the totalitarian minded Rulers to wreak personal vengeance upon their political rivals" (54.06).

In a society of Jana Sangh's concept, all citizens are equal, irrespective of their caste or creed. It has, therefore, regarded the Hindu Code as discriminatory and "repugnant to the Constitution" which "enjoins the State to enact a Uniform Civil Code for all its citizens throughout the territory of India" (55.17).

When after the 1967 General Election the monopoly of the Congress Rule broke down and a pattern emerged wherein the Congress Government in the Centre had to deal with many non-Congress governments in various states, the 'role of Governor' assumed importance and attracted much public criticism. The Jana Sangh felt that the Governor had "been degraded into functioning as the patron and protector of the Ruling party's political interests" and that the "discretionary powers of a Governor should be spelt

out lucidly" and "unambiguous guidelines for him should be drawn up" (70.03).

By and large the people of India have shown a remarkable sense of maturity during elections, but the Government has lagged far behind to take steps for necessary electoral reforms so that elections could become really free, fair and representative in character. Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes that "free and fair elections are a *sine qua non* for upholding popular faith in democracy" (62.06) and has been suggesting numerous measures to end the abuse of office and exploitation of governmental machinery for the furtherance of the Ruling party's election campaign. It has also suggested reduction of voting age from 21 to 18 years to inculcate a sense of participation in the youth (72.09). The Jana Sangh has consistently advocated the conversion of the All India Radio and TV into an autonomous corporation which will not only free these most effective media of mass communication from the stranglehold of the government but will also facilitate in an impartial manner all political parties to broadcast "their policies as a necessary means of educating the public opinion" (56.24).

The Jana Sangh is not satisfied with the working of the Election Commission and insists for ending its single-member character as the Constitution itself "contemplates that the Election Commission should be a multi-member body and not a one-man affair as it has been till now" (71.01).

Bharatiya Jana Sangh has repeatedly drawn public attention to the prohibitive and rising costs of elections which are making it increasingly difficult for a candidate or party of moderate means to participate in them. It has warned that "unless steps are urgently taken to curb the influence of this factor (money power), elections will become increasingly unfair and unequal," and advocates that the "burden of election expenses should be progressively transferred from the parties and the candidates to the State" (71.03).

Jana Sangh was the first to draw public attention towards the serious drawbacks of the prevailing present system of election in which a party getting minority votes was able to get majority of seats and to plead for the 'list-system' under which the votes and seats obtained by a party would be proportionate. It stands for a change in the present system and for its replacement "with a more rational system so that the element of gamble and uncertainty inherent in the present system is eliminated and the political complexion of the legislatures faithfully reflects the pattern of public opinion in the country" (72.09).

52.01. IMPARTIAL ENQUIRY INTO ELECTION ALLEGATIONS

The Central Working Committee views with great concern the numerous allegations received from different parts of the country of serious malpractices and irregularities in the conduct of elections specially those indicating the tampering of ballot boxes. It has been demonstrated that the ballot boxes are capable of being opened without breaking the seals. Such demonstrations have been given in the presence of Presiding officers and Returning officers. These allegations are bound to shake the faith of the people in Democracy which would have a very unfortunate effect on the future of our country. The Committee, therefore, demands that in order to restore the faith of the people in the dependability of democratic methods and in the fairness of the Government, an Enquiry Commission with a Judge of the Supreme Court as its head be immediately appointed to inquire into the allegations regarding the conduct of elections.

The Committee also suggests that the law should be amended suitably so that in future counting of votes may take place immediately after the polling is over so that the possibility of many malpractices is removed.

[February 10, 1952; Delhi, CWC]

52.21. AMEND THE ELECTION LAW

The Central Working Committee is directed to carry on correspondence with the Government of India for amendment of the Election Law in general and for the counting system in particular, so that counting could take place immediately after voting, and the agents of candidates could be given the election results at every polling station and booth.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, 1 AIS]

54.03. DESPOTISM OF CONGRESS GOVERNMENT

This Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly condemns the highly undemocratic attitude of the Bombay State Government in refusing the use of the government and semi-government grounds for the Jana Sangh Session which is a recognised national party, by making false, frivolous, fictitious and mischievous allegations. This action of the Government is discriminatory and against the spirit of our Constitution and is bound to affect adversely the healthy growth of democracy in India. This Session, therefore, urges upon all citizens to record their protest against this despotism of the Congress Government.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay II AIS]

52.06. DETENTION ACT

This All India Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly resents the policy of the Union Government in extending the Preventive Detention Act on the statute book till December 1954, specially when the Jana Sangh had very successfully exposed its misuse by the various state governments and which has been brought to light by the Supreme Court and High Courts releasing most of the detainees detained by the Punjab and the Delhi governments. The country can never forget the extent to which this Black Act can be misused, as it was in preventive detention that the most tragic demise of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji took place under circumstances which have never been brought to light and have consequently left a trail of extreme bitterness and dissatisfaction in the public mind.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that the spirit of the Constitution be preserved and no one in India be deprived of his liberty unless it be under due process of Natural Justice or the offender is an alien or a traitor to the country, and that too while a state of emergency exists. The existence of the law of detention without trial offends against the principles of liberty and gives a licence to corrupt officials and an opportunity to the totalitarian minded Rulers to wreak personal vengeance upon their political rivals.

The Jana Sangh, therefore, demands that the Government should forthwith repeal all measures aimed at preventive detention by whatever names they may be known.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

54.17. SEPARATION OF JUDICIARY FROM EXECUTIVE

This All India Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers that the continuance of the Judiciary-cum Executive powers in the hands of the magistracy in the country is very injurious to the natural growth of the country and that even though 6 years have passed since the country became independent, no steps have as yet been taken by the Party in power to separate the two, although such separation was demanded by it from the alien Government as far back as 1886.

Retired Judges—The Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes that unless the Judiciary is separated from the Executive, the miscarriage of Justice cannot be eliminated. This Session, therefore, demands that:

- (1) The Judiciary and the Executive should be separated without any further delay.
- (2) That all Judicial officers must be under the direct control of the Supreme Court.
- (3) That the appointment of the honorary magistrates be totally abolished.
- (4) That retired judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts should not be allowed to join any salaried government posts.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

55.04. DETENTION ACT

To extend the period of the Preventive Detention Act for 3 more years, which includes the period of the coming General Elections, to declare the criticism of Authorities to be a cognizable offence through the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, which prevents the people and newspapers from enjoying the

freedom to criticise the corrupt Government officials and Ministers, and to pass many other laws of a similar nature to limit the Fundamental Rights of the people and newspapers—all these are blows at the very basis of democracy.

The Preventive Detention Act was first introduced in India by the first Home Minister Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel. It was a transitional period immediately after the advent of Freedom and a need was felt for some special powers to control black-marketers and other anti-social as well as anti-national elements. At that time it was clearly stated that this Act was a temporary measure. But it is a matter of deep regret that the Ruling party has used the special powers given by this Act against its political opponents in the most unjust manner and thus nullified the Act's objective. This has been proved by the verdicts given by various High Courts and also the Supreme Court in cases relating to persons under preventive detention.

The Jana Sangh condemns these anti-democratic tendencies and demands that so long as the proposed Law Commission does not complete its work and submit its report all such anti-democratic laws should be suspended. India claims to be a free democracy and the Government should not take recourse to such emergency measures during normal times.

Hence we appeal to our countrymen and particularly to nationalist and democratic elements to launch a nationwide agitation to protect the Fundamental Rights accepted by the Constitution and the civil liberties which the Government is trying to suppress with the aid of Black Laws for the fulfilment of its dictatorial ambitions by exploiting its brute majority in the Parliament.

[January 1, 1955; Jodhpur, III AIS]

55.17. HINDU CODE BILL

The Central Working Committee deeply deplores the attitude of the Government of India in proceeding with the enactment of the Hindu Code Bill in different garbs and forms in the shape of piecemeal legislation in defiance of the public opinion without taking any mandate from the electorate. In view of the coming

General Elections, this Committee calls upon the Government not to act in this totalitarian manner. It may proceed with it only after the verdict of the electorate on it, has been obtained. It is dangerous to effect social reforms in opposition to the people's wishes by mere force of brute legislative majority.

This Committee records its considered opinion that some of the innovations sought to be introduced are opposed to the basic concepts of the Hindu Society and Hindu Dharma and Culture and are also opposed to the Directive Principles and Fundamental Rights embodied in the Constitution of India. The Constitution clearly enjoins the State to enact a Uniform Civil Code for all its citizens throughout the territory of India. This kind of legislation making discrimination in respect of only one community is repugnant to the Constitution of India.

[April 15, 1955; Gokak, CWC]

55.32. HINDU SUCCESSION BILL

The Hindu Succession Bill as introduced in the Parliament was in itself objectionable in many respects, but, its amended form as recommended by the Joint Committee of the Parliament has made it even more objectionable and detrimental to the Hindu Society. It is the considered opinion of the Central Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that this Bill if enacted into law will not only go against the long cherished ideals and sentiments of the Hindu Society but will also completely disrupt and put an end to the peace and feeling of love and affection between the members of Hindu families. The Working Committee, therefore, while expressing its opposition to the Bill in general, takes strong objection to the following specific provisions of the Bill:

- (1) Its application to the Hindu joint families governed by Mitakshara is an unauthorised departure from the objectives of the original Bill.
- (2) The provision in section 3 (j) which says that illegitimate children shall be deemed to be related to their father if known and places them on an equal footing with legitimate children for purposes of inheritance is most objectionable.

It will provide a very handy and powerful weapon to women of doubtful character to defame even men of prestige and also militates against the principles of monogamy accepted in the Hindu Marriage Act.

- (3) Section 5, although apparently appears to maintain Mitakshara coparcenaries, but in real effect erases them in an indirect way. It encourages partition of coparcenary property as it places a son who is in a joint family with his father at a disadvantage as compared with a separated son.

This section is vague and indefinite. It is the most objectionable provision in the Bill.

- (4) The Bill includes a mother as an heir in class I and puts her on an equal footing with her children and a widow of her deceased son.
- (5) The Bill in many respects places female heirs in a better position than the male heirs and in some cases gives them more shares as in the case of a mother who as a class I heir will inherit a share in the property of each one of her sons.

The Working Committee, therefore, feels that the Bill in its present form will create numerous new problems and lead to confusion and unnecessary litigation which will shake the very foundations of our society.

[October 23, 1955; Delhi, CWC]

56.19. CURB ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

Freedom of movement and expression and also other Civil Liberties are essential pre-requisites of Democracy which is sustained in the ultimate by the freedom of the individual as a responsible member of a Free Society. That is why these have been included in the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. But the Central Working Committee is constrained to point out that the Party in power in its bid for perpetuation of its stranglehold over the country somehow is circumscribing these basic Civil Liberties of the Indian people in flagrant disregard of the spirit of the Constitution and tenets of democracy. The Special Powers Press Act passed by the

Punjab Government, the Maintenance of Public Order laws passed by various State Governments coupled with systematic harassment and prosecution of the members of the opposition under the restrictive provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, of which the recent restrictions imposed on Principal Deva Prasad Ghosh is the most glaring example, the continuance and abuse of the Preventive Detention Act and censorship—are some of the retrograde measures and methods being adopted to stifle the voice of the opposition and curb the Civil Liberties of the people.

The Committee while strongly condemning these attacks on Civil Liberties of the Indian people calls upon all democratic and freedom loving people to raise their voice of protest against these undemocratic and retrograde measures. Indian Democracy needs to be saved from the fascist tendencies that are manifesting themselves through such suppression of the basic democratic rights and liberties of the people.

[October 6, 1956; Poona, CWC]

56.24. FREE AND FAIR ELECTION

Free and fair elections in which all parties have equal opportunities and facilities are essential pre-requisites for the success of democracy. This is not possible in a set up in which the Party in power gets identified with the Government.

In India today, unfortunately, the Party in power is getting increasingly identified with the Government. As a result there is not only deterioration in the administration but also democratic freedom of other parties is being stifled. It is having its natural effects on the arrangements being made for the conduct of forthcoming General Elections in the country.

Delimitation of Constituencies—The delimitation of constituencies presents a glaring example of this adverse effect. Constituencies have been altered to the detriment of the opposition parties so as to suit Party in power even in states which were not affected by the States Reorganisation. There has been attempt on gerrymandering of constituencies. Further, delimitation has been done just on the eve of the Elections and in the case of

some States, it has not been made public even till now. On the other hand, members of the Party in power came to know about the delimitation long ago which has given them an advantage over the opposition parties.

Election Broadcasts—The policy about affording broadcasting facilities to the national political parties also betrays their attempt to refuse fair opportunities to other parties. Not only the 10 minutes allowed to the parties for broadcasting their election manifestos are hopelessly inadequate, the condition that it will be announced by the radio announcers and not by the accredited representatives of the parties concerned has taken all the grace out of this grudging and so called concession.

The Jana Sangh is of the definite opinion that proper use of the All India Radio should be allowed to all the national parties for broadcasting their policies as a necessary means of educating the public opinion. If the use of Radio is not to be allowed for the purposes of election, then Jana Sangh would demand that during the elections no party including the Congress should have any kind of direct or indirect access to Radio broadcasts for carrying on their election propaganda. This requires that even the speeches of Ministers having bearing on the Election should not be relayed or broadcast from the All India Radio.

[December 30, 1956; Delhi, V AIS]

59.09. VACCINATION OF VOTERS

It is the considered view of the All India General Council of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that the suggestion of the Election Commission about vaccinating the voters to prevent impersonation is both impracticable and unimaginative. Vaccination is bound to be resisted and resented by most people on medical and other grounds and insistence upon it may lead to many people abstaining from exercising the right of vote itself. The General Council, therefore, demands that this suggestion must not be accepted by the Government.

[July 8, 1959; Poona, AIGC]

60.22. ALTERATIONS IN CONSTITUENCIES

The Central Working Committee considered the Government move to abolish the double member constituencies. Without going into the merits of the double member and single member constituencies, the Working Committee is of the opinion that any alteration in the constituencies either on the basis of change from double member to single member ones or on the basis of the population figures of the 1961 census, just on the eve of the next General Elections scheduled to be held early in 1962 would be undesirable. It would only give the ruling Congress party an opportunity for gerrymandering the constituencies to the disadvantage of other political parties. The Working Committee therefore, is of the definite opinion that no alterations in the constituencies on any basis should be made till the next General Elections and an early and unequivocal declaration to the intent should be made by the Government at an early date.

[August 28, 1960; Hyderabad, AIGC]

61.21. RECOGNITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The Central Working Committee considers it improper that the Election Commission should have, just on the eve of the General Elections, abrogated the criteria hitherto laid down for the recognition of political parties and altered their positions in respect of recognition. Besides, the policy of according recognition only on State-level and not on a national basis, the Committee feels, is wrong from the point of view of national unity. The Working Committee therefore urges upon the Election Commission to reconsider its decision.

[November 12, 1961; Varanasi AIGC]

62.06. ELECTION EVE MINISTERIAL RESIGNATIONS

The manner in which Union and State Ministers have during the last General Elections abused office and exploited Governmental machinery for the furtherance of the Ruling party's

campaign or their own campaigns is extremely deplorable. Free and fair elections are a *sine qua non* for upholding popular faith in democracy. The All India General Council, therefore, strongly urges upon the Central Government to initiate necessary legislation for the amendment of the Constitution in a way as to make it incumbent for the Central and State governments to resign office 3 months prior to the General Elections. The General Council invites the cooperation of all political parties in order to press forth this demand.

[May 24, 1962; Kota, AIGC]

67.02. ROLE OF GOVERNORS

The attitude of partiality adopted by the Governor of UP in again inviting the Congress party, rejected by the people, to assume power is not only flouting the mandate of the people but has marked the beginning of a new chapter of political corruption. When all the opposition parties which had together secured 68 per cent votes, had come together in the form of a Samyukta Vidhayak Dal with the determination to form a Government, seating the Congress party, which secured only 32 per cent votes and 198 seats out of 423, is a mockery of democracy. The Central Working Committee firmly believes that when the Ruling party failed to secure an absolute majority in the General Elections, it was the duty of the Governor to bow to the public opinion and invite the opposition to form a Government. Only if the Opposition had expressed its inability to accept such an invitation, it would have been justifiable for him to invite the Congress party to try to form its Government.

The corrupt means which the Congress used to change its minority status into a majority one by attracting the independents have been a severe blow to democracy. They have also vitiated the public life all the more. What has happened in Uttar Pradesh has made it plain that Congress leaders have learnt nothing from the resounding defeat in the Election, nor forgotten anything. It is necessary for the people of Uttar Pradesh to continue to agitate for the removal of a corrupt Congress Government improperly, illegally and immorally thrust

upon them and not rest till a truly representative government takes office.

[March 14, 1967; Delhi, CWC]

67.03. ELECTION FRAUD IN KASHMIR

While the people of India have given a brilliant account of their democratic sense and maturity during the Fourth General Election, the Government of Jammu-Kashmir have smeared the fair name of Indian democracy by making the Election there from the beginning to the end worse than a calculated fraud on the electorate. This fraud began with the arbitrary fixing of the date of polling. In spite of the repeated requests to the Election Commission by the representatives of different parties at the national and state levels that election in Jammu-Kashmir State, most of which remains snow bound in January, February and March, should be held sometime in April and in spite of the assurance given by the Election Commissioner to the opposition parties in Jammu-Kashmir that this request would be favourably considered, the elections were fixed for February 21, which virtually disfranchised a large section of the electorate there. It was physically impossible for large numbers of voters there to reach the snow bound polling booths in the month of February.

Extreme Election Malpractices—The next step in this operation-murder of democracy was taken at the time of nominations when 116 nomination papers of the opposition candidates were rejected on most preposterous and baseless grounds resulting in 22 candidates of the Ruling Congress party being returned unopposed to the State Assembly and one to the Lok Sabha. In the case of many other constituencies the papers of serious candidates were rejected leaving only dummies or some insignificant independents in the field. The main ground for rejection of nomination papers was alleged to be the failure of the said candidates to take the oath of allegiance to the Indian Constitution. To prove this palpably false allegation, the oath papers were deliberately removed from the nomination papers of such candidates on the day of scrutiny. By doing so the State Government successfully tried to create the false impression all

over the world that the people of Jammu-Kashmir State were not prepared to owe allegiance to the Indian Constitution. Thus what Pakistani propaganda had failed to achieve during the last 20 years, the Sadiq Government has succeeded in achieving by one stroke of treachery to the electorate to secure a majority of seats and perpetuation of power for itself.

The Jammu-Kashmir Government did not stop even there. The clean chit given to it by the Election Commissioner who was sent to Srinagar to enquire into the wholesale rejection of nomination papers encouraged it to continue with its game of rigging the election in the State with a vengeance. Polling stations were changed arbitrarily on the eve of polling, polling agents of the opposition parties were prevented from visiting the polling booths, duplicate ballot papers were got prepared and almost 100 per cent polling was shown at polling booths where hardly 5 per cent voters turned up to vote. To complete this sordid story, the ballot boxes were tampered with on a large scale and rules and norms of democratic conduct were thrown to winds at the time of counting to ensure victory of those of the Congress candidates who were found to be trailing behind their adversaries in spite of the above-mentioned irregularities.

As a result, the General Election in Jammu-Kashmir State were reduced to worse than a fraud. They have tarnished the fair name of Indian democracy all over the world and have deprived the people of the State of their fundamental democratic right of having a government of their own choice. The ruling Congress party headed by Mr. Sadiq has forfeited whatever little confidence of the people it could claim before this Elections. Actually the people of the State had been demanding its dismissal long before the Election because of serious charges of corruption levelled against it by 13 members of the State Legislature in their representation to the President of India.

Uniformity in Election Laws—In the circumstances it is the considered view of the Working Committee that it would be wrong to consider the so-called Election in the State as democratic Election and to allow the Congress party, which has secured a majority through the murder of democracy, to impose its government on the people. Apart from the demand of justice to the

people of the State who have been denied their democratic right of having a government of their own choice, the image of Indian democracy which has been sullied all over the world by such conduct of Election in JK State, needs to be retrieved. The Working Committee, therefore, urges upon the President of India to :

- (1) Dismiss the Sadiq Ministry forthwith and take over the administration of the State.
- (2) Order a high-powered probe into the conduct of Election in the State and take effective steps to punish the officials of the State administration who collaborated in this diabolic crime against the people and democracy or connived at it.
- (3) Amend the State constitution to bring the election-law there at par with the election-law prevailing in the rest of India.
- (4) Order fresh Election in that State after the much required cleansing of the administration there has been completed.

The Working Committee assures the people of JK State of its full sympathy and support for their legitimate and just struggle for democratic rights and liberties and urges upon all the nationalist and democratic forces in the country to stand by the people of the JK State for securing them the justice that they deserve.

[March 14, 1967; Delhi, CWC]

70.03. ROLE OF GOVERNORS

The Central Working Committee views with grave concern the recent political happenings in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. These developments have sharply underscored the utter contempt which the Party in power at the Centre has for constitutional proprieties, democratic norms and political morality. It has become distressingly clear that the party's commitment to the Constitution and to democracy, is but skin-deep and that to save its tottering throne at New Delhi, it is capable of going up to any length, and does not feel inhibited by scruples of any kind. For three years now, that is, ever since the emergence of several non-Congress governments at the State level, the

Government of India's handling of problems pertaining to Centre-State relations has been far from happy. But with the Prime Minister herself undertaking tours aimed at manoeuvring the downfall of a state government, with senior Ministers of the Central Government hectically engaging themselves in pressurising, seducing or buying state legislators and with the entire governmental machinery of the Centre being inducted into the campaign, Centre-State politics can be regarded as having touched a new low.

While the Committee strongly condemns this conduct of the Central Government leaders, it feels particularly sorry that in the course of the sordid political battles waged lately in UP and Bihar, a serious casualty has been the prestige of the institution of Governors. Neither the new Congress alliance in UP nor the Bihar joint front headed by Shri Daroga Rai commanded a majority when they were invited by the respective Governors of the States to form governments.

The sequence of events in both these States has made it obvious that the Governors took their decisions not on the basis of any objective appraisal of the claims and counter-claims made by the contenders for the office but mainly to subserve the wishes of the Central Government which calculated that even if initially the party combine in its favour may not be having a clear majority, once it was installed in the office, it would be able to utilise its vantage position to procure floor-crossings, and thus rig up a majority.

Close on the heels of the UP and Bihar episodes has come the Hariyana incident in which the Governor has obliged the State Government by proroguing the session of the State Assembly even while an admitted motion of no-confidence against the Government lies pending on the agenda.

Discretionary Powers of Governors—All these events have lent added urgency to the Jana Sangh demand that the discretionary powers of a Governor should be spelt out lucidly and that even in respect of his authority as the constitutional head of the State unambiguous guidelines for him should be drawn up. It may be politically expedient for the Central Government to allow these issues to remain vague and undefined. It surely affords greater scope for the Central leaders to apply

double standards to the state governments of their liking and those out of favour. But in the present political contrast this vagueness is certainly not enhancing the dignity of the Governor's office.

The Governor is intended to serve as a constitutional nexus between the Centre and the State and not as an agent of the party in power at the Centre. He is the custodian of the Constitution, and of the nation's integrity. But he has been degraded into functioning as the patron and protector of the Ruling party's political interests.

Inter-State Council—The Committee urges the President to take note of these developments, and exert his influence to ensure that this situation is remedied. The Jana Sangh specifically demands that the President invoke his powers under Article 263 of the Constitution, and set up an Inter-State Council to give him advice on this and other allied issues. It is high time indeed that this Council be created.

[March 7, 1970; Ahmedabad, CWC]

71.01. LOK SABHA MID-TERM ELECTION

The people have given their verdict. Smt. Gandhi's party has been returned to office with an absolute majority. The Jana Sangh accepts this verdict and expresses its resolve to function in the new Lok Sabha as a dynamic opposition party committed unequivocally to national unity, democracy and public welfare. It is resolved to carry forward the War on Poverty it had declared in its election manifesto. It will exert for the inclusion of the Right to Work in the Fundamental Rights fixing Rs. 150 as minimum wage, reducing disparities and arresting the price-rise to protect real incomes of the toiling masses.

Election Allegations—The landslide victory scored by the Ruling party has surprised everyone, including the PM's own camp. Four main factors that have contributed towards this result are :

- (i) High-voltage propagation of the Indira-cult in a manner so as to make all other issues irrelevant to the electoral debate;

- (ii) Unabashed abuse of governmental machinery and resources for this end;
- (iii) The PM's pandering to communal passions to secure the en-bloc support of certain sections; and
- (iv) The immense money power secured by the Ruling party through gigantic misuse of licences etc.

The Central Working Committee has received reports of large scale violence that took place in different parts of the country with the collusion or connivance of police authorities. For all these reasons, we are sorry to note that while free and fair in form, Indian elections are becoming increasingly unfree and unfair.

Still more serious are the allegations made by certain quarters that in some areas of the country the elections have been rigged. We demand that immediate steps should be taken to probe these charges and allay all misgivings in this regard.

The misuse of Radio and TV in this election really assumed scandalous proportions. The only way to save them from political prostitution is to hand them over to an autonomous corporation.

Election Commission's Role—In the course of this last Election, the role of the Election Commission has been far from satisfactory. The Commission's peremptory ordering of electoral roll revision last year at the behest of the Prime Minister has made this time's rolls the shoddiest-ever this country has seen. Millions of bona fide electors were cheated of their right of franchise. The Election Commission's verdict on the Congress symbol case seriously impaired general faith in the Commission's non-partisan character. Its admitted helplessness to stop the abuse of official machinery by the Prime Minister only added to the prevailing distrust regarding this august institution. The arbitrary decision to change the counting procedure despite protests by the opposition and its meek acceptance of the Ruling party's veto on party broadcasts provide other examples of the Commission's sorry role.

Restoring public confidence in this office should be one of the first tasks the new Lok Sabha should set itself to. The Constitution contemplates that the Election Commission should be a multi-member body and not a one-man affair as it has been till

now. The minimum that needs to be done in this regard is to implement the intentions of the Constitution makers and constitute a three-member Election Commission.

The Congress(R) Government is now on trial. The problems of unemployment, growing disparities, stagnation in economic growth, rising-prices, lawlessness, etc. need to be tackled urgently and effectively. The people want solutions, not just slogans. With the massive majority now given to the Congress(R), there can be no more alibis for failures. But the ruling Party evidently anticipates failure. One year hence, most states of the country would be going to the polls for their Assembly elections. Congress(R)'s performance at the Centre is bound to affect these results. It is, therefore, that several of these states ruled by the Congress(R) are thinking of holding Assembly elections right now. The Working Committee alerts all its State units to keep their organisational machinery in readiness for any such abrupt confrontation.

Danger for the Independence of Judiciary—There is a danger also that the absolute power now given to Smt. Gandhi's party may make the party even more disdainful of democratic procedures and norms than it already is. The PM's first reference after the elections about the Supreme Court has confirmed the people's worst fears about the Ruling party wanting to denigrate and devalue the independent status of the Judiciary. All democrats inside and outside Parliament must keep vigilant watch over these trends, and firmly resist all such attempts.

[March 15, 1971; Delhi, CWC]

71.03. LOK SABHA MID-TERM ELECTION

With the Lok Sabha Election of last March, Indian politics at the national level has abruptly reverted to the pre-1967 single-party predominant phase. The combined strength of the Lok Sabha opposition which, after the Fourth General Election was almost at par with that of the Ruling party has been slashed to less than one-third. While such a situation has the seeming advantage of ensuring stability and eliminating uncertainty, this precipitate diminution in opposition strength is certainly, not conducive to a

healthy democratic Government. A special responsibility has, therefore, developed on opposition parties committed to democracy. Jana Sangh as the leading democratic party in the opposition is fully conscious of this and is determined to make up for the shortfall in numbers with the vigour and quality of its performance.

Congress Techniques—Gross abuse of State apparatus, limitless mysterious financial resources, shameless resort to communal and casteist appeals to corner bloc-votes, widespread indulgence in electoral malpractices and a clever use of Madison Avenue image-making techniques—these were no doubt some of the main factors responsible for the success of Smt. Gandhi's Party in the last elections. But the fact remains that even with the help of all these factors, the Ruling Congress could secure only 43 per cent of the total votes cast.

Electoral System—In terms of popular support, thus, Congi's success is not as phenomenal as it seems. The grossly exaggerated representation that the Ruling party has managed to secure in the Lok Sabha owes in no small measure to the majority system of election that we have adopted. Protagonists of this election system often seek to justify the vote-seat disproportion incidental to this system on the ground that the system leads to bipolar politics. Actual experience in India has belied this contention. Even after 5 Parliamentary elections, polarisation continues to be as elusive as ever. It is time we took a fresh and radical look at the electoral system and reformed it in a manner so as to make it reflect the people's wishes more faithfully. The amendments in the counting system introduced on the eve of this last Election despite the opposition of several major parties need to be revoked and counting be held booth-wise as used to be done before. Also it is advisable to adopt the punching method of recording votes instead of the present marking one.

Election Expenses—The role of money power in elections is another matter of serious concern. Unless steps are urgently taken to curb the influence of this factor, elections will become increasingly unfair and unequal. The Jana Sangh is of the view that, to this end, the burden of election expenses should be progressively transferred from the parties and the candidates to the State.

Impartial Enquiry into Election Allegations—Misuse of government resources by the Ruling party during the previous mid-term poll crossed all limits. Grave allegations have been made with regard to the fairness of the elections. Recovery of laps of surplus ballot papers at Chandigarh have lent strength to these charges. Jana Sangh demands that in order to allay suspicions in public mind and to enquire into all the allegations, a Judicial Commission be appointed.

From its vantage position of newly acquired strength, the Ruling Congress has resumed its topping game with redoubled enthusiasm. In this topping game Congi's main weapon has been 'defection'. No wonder, despite all the fulminations and perorations that the country has been hearing from Congress platforms against his 'dread disease of defections', the Ruling party has done nothing to date to tackle this disease. Jana Sangh demands that a law be immediately framed to outlaw defections. If an amendment to the Constitution is necessary for the purpose, the Government should have no hesitation in initiating legislation for the same.

It is noteworthy that when Congi's defection tactics in the Punjab did not yield the desired result, the party's wrath was directed against the Governor, Shri Pavate, who had done no worse in accepting the Chief Minister's advice regarding dissolution than President Shri Giri had done about a similar advice from the Prime Minister. In fact in Shri Badal's case, whether or not he had lost his majority was still in doubt, while in Shrimati Gandhi's case, her party's minority status was in no doubt. The Punjab episode has once again served to highlight the need to lay down clear guidelines for Governors with regard to their discretionary powers.

The high expectations aroused by the Ruling Congress at the time of the Lok Sabha Election have produced a back-lash of severe disenchantment. Jana Sangh's signal victory in the Delhi Municipal Corporation election was the first dramatic manifestation of this disenchantment. It was simultaneously a tribute to the commendable work done by the Jana Sangh in the Capital during its 4 years in office.

There is need to channelise this popular disillusionment in the country about the Ruling party. A mini-General Election

is scheduled to be held early next year. Conscious of its rapidly declining influence, the Ruling Congress has been thinking of holding these elections even earlier. The All India General Council calls upon all party units to keep their electoral machinery in the top gear. Jana Sangh will fight this election on its own. In special circumstances state units may be permitted to enter into local adjustments. But all our efforts must be clearly directed towards building up the Jana Sangh as a powerful, democratic alternative to the Ruling Congress.

[July 2, 1971; Udaipur, XVII AIS]

72.05. THE 1972 ELECTION IN STATES

The Central Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh views with grave concern the Ruling Congress' determined bid to smother democracy, annihilate opposition parties and by unscrupulous abuse of governmental machinery and money-power, reduce elections to a farcical ritual.

The Assembly elections just concluded, the Jana Sangh holds, have been a contest not between one political party and another but between the non-Congress parties severally on the one hand and the Government on the other. Considering the overwhelming odds the Jana Sangh and other parties were fighting against, the Congress' victory is not altogether surprising.

The Jana Sangh had decided to contest these elections on state-level issues. But by a systematic, high-powered projection of the Indira image against the background of the Bangladesh victory, the Ruling party succeeded in confusing the real issues involved and thus in defeating the only justification for delinking Assembly and Parliamentary elections, namely, of allowing the electorate to choose their local representatives uninfluenced by pressures of national politics.

Unprecedented Abuse of Money Power—Nevertheless, even this unabashed exploitation of the Bangladesh issue could not have procured for the Ruling Congress the victory it has, were it not for the fact that in these elections governmental machinery has been misused and money power used on a scale totally unprecedented. The dividing line between the Government and

the Ruling party became virtually obliterated. In some State, as in Delhi, police and intelligence organs were actively inducted into the campaign. Elections thus held cannot be considered fair. In several other States, large-scale recourse to violence, intimidation and coercion made it impossible for electors to exercise their vote freely.

In Delhi, the Jana Sangh became pitted against not Smt. Indira Gandhi, but against the Prime Minister and the vast governmental resources at her command. If, in spite of this, the Jana Sangh has succeeded not only in increasing its popular support considerably, but also in retaining all the key seats where the Prime Minister had staked her personal reputation, it is at once a token of the appreciation that the Jana Sangh's performance in the Capital has earned, as also of the esteem in which its representatives are held.

Elections Expenses by the State—Ever since 1951, elections have been progressively becoming costlier and costlier. In recent years the influence of money power in elections has grown phenomenally. Reports about these recent elections suggest that the total cost incurred on these Assembly elections may well be an all-time record. The law of ceiling on expenditure has practically become a farce. A Parliamentary Committee on Election Law (Amendment) has rightly recommended that "the burden of legitimate election expenses at present borne by a candidate or a political party should be progressively shifted to the State". Also, increasing violence in elections and abuse of official machinery by the Ruling party have rendered them neither free nor fair.

The Jana Sangh feels that though India has now gone through five major elections and though it is generally acknowledged that over the years elections have been becoming more and more corrupt, no attempt has been made as yet at stemming this rot. The Election Commission has occasionally tried to tinker with the law here and there—quite often in a manner so as to aggravate the disease instead of curing it—but there has been no effort at the required radical electoral reforms.

Reform of Electoral System—Indeed, there is need to review the utility of the electoral system itself that we now have, under which the number of seats secured by a party in the legislature

has often no relation to the mass support it enjoys. The Working Committee strongly feels that this is a matter whose consideration brooks no delay. All democrats, irrespective of party affiliations, should ponder seriously over the question and devise ways and means to make the present electoral apparatus reflect the people's will faithfully. The Jana Sangh, on its part, pledges itself to carry on an unrelenting campaign against electoral corruption and malpractices, and for electoral reform. It authorises the Party President Shri A. B. Vajpayee to contact other party leaders and take all steps necessary in furtherance of this objective.

[20 March, 1972; Delhi, CWC]

72.09. A CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTORAL REFORMS

Election Allegations—The Bharatiya Jana Sangh attributes the results of the recent Assembly elections mainly to four factors: firstly, clever exploitation of the Bangladesh victory for party ends by the Ruling Congress; secondly, flagrant abuse of governmental machinery particularly, its media of mass communication by the ruling party; thirdly, the over-whelming superiority of the Ruling Congress in resources amassed by shameless prostitution of official power and patronage; and last, but not the least, the vagaries of the present system of election.

Free and fair elections form the corner stone of democracy. In these elections, there have been reports from various parts of the country that booths were captured, ballot papers stamped by outsiders at will, voters were physically coerced into voting for certain candidates or certain parties or were prevented from voting for candidates and parties of their choice and that ballot boxes were tampered with. When one adds to all this the fact that abuse of official machinery and money power this time has been on a scale totally unprecedented, one is constrained to conclude that the Assembly elections this year have been neither free nor fair.

The All India General Council regards it as significant that despite all these irregularities, in spite of the enormous advantages the Ruling party enjoyed in this unequal battle, and

notwithstanding the so-called Indira wave, the Ruling Congress has failed to secure a clear majority of the total votes cast in these elections. Thanks, however to the present system of election, on the basis of just 48 per cent votes, the Ruling Congress has cornered more than 71 per cent seats.

So far as the Jana Sangh is concerned, the results have no doubt been disappointing. In terms of seats secured, we have suffered a set back. We have lost our majority in Delhi, and yielded ground to the Congress in several States, including Madhya Pradesh. In Andhra, Mysore and Punjab we have lost representation in the legislatures. In Jammu-Kashmir State, we have retained our position. In Himanchal Pradesh too, the performance has not been unsatisfactory. Gujarat and Maharashtra are two States where we have improved our position.

But in terms of our popular vote, which is surely a truer measure of party's influence, the performance is quite heartening. Both in terms of seats won as well as votes secured the Jana Sangh has emerged as the foremost opposition party (the CPI has become part of the establishment and so can no more be regarded as an opposition party). Also as compared to 1967, we have improved our popular vote.

In 1967, taking into account those states where elections have been held this year, the Jana Sangh polled 82.68 lakh votes, that is, 8.50 per cent of the total votes cast. This year, we have secured 95.89 lakh votes which works out to 8.57 per cent of the total votes cast. It is true that this year we had put up 93 more candidates than last time. Even so, while our voting average per candidate in 1967 was 7259, this year's average has been 7783. Considering the fact that the votes secured in 1967 were essentially an outcome of the wave of anti-Congressism sweeping the country, the significance of the present marginal improvement in the Jana Sangh's popular support cannot be underestimated.

However, the Jana Sangh strongly feels that unless urgent steps are undertaken to prevent the abuse of official machinery by the Ruling party and to curb the growing influence of money power in elections, the danger is real that a coterie of unscrupulous politicians may use democratic processes only to perpetuate

themselves in office and thus to convert Indian democracy into an authoritarian set-up.

Electoral System—Apart from this, there is need to change the present electoral system and replace it with a more rational system so that the element of gamble and uncertainty inherent in the present system is eliminated and the political complexion of the legislatures faithfully reflects the pattern of public opinion in the country. It may be recalled that the Joint Parliamentary Committee on amendment of Election Law has already recommended appointment of an Experts' Committee to examine the feasibility of adopting the List System. The Jana Sangh demands that this recommendation be immediately implemented.

Electoral Reforms—The All India General Council hereby resolves to launch a nationwide campaign for electoral reforms. The campaign would be aimed specifically towards securing fulfilment of the following demands :

- (1) The AIR should be converted into an autonomous corporation as recommended by the Chanda Committee.
- (2) Ministers should be barred from using government vehicles, planes, helicopters, etc. during elections except on terms of party with leaders of recognised opposition parties.
- (3) It should be accepted in principle that election expenses are a legitimate charge on the public exchequer; election expenditure now borne by the candidates and parties should be progressively shifted to the State till finally a scheme of election grants to recognised political parties as recommended by the Wanchoo Committee on Direct Taxation is satisfactorily worked out.
- (4) The law of ceiling on election expenditure should cover party expenditure also; it should be made more rational and enforced strictly; as it is, it is a farce and an unnecessary harassment.
- (5) Counting of votes should be polling-station-wise; the present system is irrational and helps only to conceal incidents of 'booth-control' and 'booth-capture' which have been occurring in several states; it is significant that the Election Commission in its Report on the Fourth

General Elections has itself argued very cogently why mixed counting is not desirable.

- (6) The Election Commission should be a multi-member body as contemplated by the Constitution.
- (7) Voting age must be reduced from 21 to 18 years.
- (8) Under the law, use of vehicles to transport voters to the polling booth is a corrupt practice; but this corrupt practice is indulged in on a massive scale resulting in a tremendous increase in election expenditure. The Jana Sangh demands that all vehicles should be off the road on polling day and apart from public transport, only such vehicles should be permitted to ply as are connected with essential duties, such as hospitals, police, administration, etc.
- (9) Ballot papers should be punched instead of marked; the serial numbers of ballot papers issued for a given polling station and of those used should be publicized; ballot papers remaining unused should be cancelled at the end of the poll and in the presence of polling agents; it should be made obligatory for the presiding Officers to furnish an authenticated copy of the Ballot Paper Account to all polling agents.
- (10) The counter foil system introduced this year should be abrogated. It does not solve the problem of impersonation; it only leads apprehension in the voter's mind that his vote is no longer secret.
- (11) In metropolitan cities, voters should be given voter identity-cards with their photographs.

The Jana Sangh has already approached other political parties urging them to draw up a concerted strategy to make elections free and fair. It regrets that even on a question so vital to democracy the response till date has not been very enthusiastic. It would still welcome a joint endeavour. On its part, however, it is determined to press this cause vigorously.

[May 7, 1972; Bhagalpur, AIGC]

General Education has had a great influence on the development of the nation. It has helped to create a more unified and progressive society. The Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government has also played a significant role in shaping the administrative structure of the federal government. The report of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, published in 1947, is a landmark document in the history of American government. It has led to numerous reforms and improvements in the way the executive branch operates. The Commission's findings and recommendations have been widely studied and discussed, and they continue to influence the way we think about government organization and efficiency. The report is a testament to the power of thoughtful analysis and public service. It has helped to ensure that the executive branch remains a vital and effective part of our democratic system. The Commission's work is a model for how to address complex public issues and bring about meaningful change. Its legacy is one of service and progress, and it continues to inspire us to work for a better and more efficient government.

CHAPTER 3
SOCIAL WELFARE ETC.

The Jana Sangh has always felt an intense agony about the problem of untouchability, social injustice towards the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and their continued backwardness. Since its inception it "has been pledged to solve the problems of the depressed classes" and "regards untouchability as a slur on humanity" (69.11). It has visualised that "sections of the people neglected for centuries, backward in regard to education and opportunities of development and also economically indigent, would be enabled by giving them special facilities to move up to the level of the rest of the society" (68.16).

The Jana Sangh has been unhappy over the Government's performance all these years for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It observes that even "till now, reservations provided in government services for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have not been earnestly implemented" and wants the Government to "adopt a stern attitude towards the appointing officers who disregard the prescribed rules in this regard." (68.16).

A valuable suggestion that the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has made to help their economic development substantially, has been that a "certain percentage of the total (Plan) outlay on industry be earmarked for these (backward) sections and suitable machinery set-up by the Government to ensure that the loans and grants intended for them do reach them so that they are able to stand on their own feet" (68.16).

Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes in giving women the highest place of honour and regard in the society. It is opposed to their being confined to the hearth and the home. Right at the time of its inception it called upon its workers to launch a campaign "to make them (women) realise that they are now equal partners in the governance of their country" (52.04).

52.04. CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME FOR THE BACKWARD

The Central Working Committee feels that the workers of the Jana Sangh should take up the important work of organising a network of Jana Sangh branches all over the country and through them, carrying on constructive programme for the cultural, social and economic regeneration of our Society and for the building up of a sound and stable democratic political structure.

Women's Participation in Governance—This constructive programme shall be carried on particularly among those sections of the Society which need help because they lack in having opportunities, resources, education, leadership, unity, etc. In particular the work should be started :

- (1) Among Harijans and other backward classes with a view to see that the consciousness of their being a class apart from others, socially or otherwise, is totally eradicated and they are absorbed into the general mass of the society on the basis of full equality—a transformation which no legislation can bring about in the absence of intensive social work.
- (2) Among the labour, with a view to enthuse them with the importance of the task of producing more by working with a sense of duty and responsibility, raise their standard of living, secure for them better conditions of work and living, fair wages, an equitable share in the profits of industries, insurance against disease, unemployment, old age and death and provide a cultural atmosphere which will generate in their lives joy and a sense of higher moral values.
- (3) Among the students with a view to give them what the present foreign based system of education fails to give, *i.e.* a sense of pride in the Indian culture and way of life, self-control, the urge for social service, the feeling of

oneness of India (the eradication of the false notion that difference of religion need have any political, social or cultural content and thus), the eradication of all differences based on religion and the consequent assimilation of the so-called 'minorities' into the one common social and cultural whole which India is.

- (4) Among women, with a view to make them realise that they are now equal partners in the governance of their country, to encourage them to spend their leisure hours for augmenting the income of their families by taking to suitable cottage industries so that the total productive capacity of the country increases. Attempts should also be made to develop social life among them.
- (5) Among displaced persons, to help them in every possible way to alleviate their sufferings, to resettle them, to get them governmental help in housing, in securing business or organising cooperation, or concerning their property left in Pakistan or compensation for it, and also help them by arranging for adult and child education and organising cottage industries.
- (6) Among peasants with a view to enthuse them with the importance of the task of producing more by working harder and with improved methods, to raise their standard of living, bring to them modern amenities for happier and better provided lives, and also to bring gainful employment for them in their vacant time and to provide them cultural avenues for healthy entertainment and joy in their leisure time.

Besides the above work, the Committee directs that efforts should be made to revive the movement of *Swadeshi* which should provide a fillip to our industrial development as well as to the nationalisation of our educational and cultural life and our social habits.

[February 10, 1952; Delhi, CWC]

52.16. MASSIVE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

In the present political situation the greatest need in the country is constructive work that would be based upon refulgent nationalism and would fight out foreign-oriented tendencies. For this purpose a countrywide network of organisation is necessary. This All India Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh directs the All India General Council and the Central Working Committee :

- (1) All over the country Mandal Committees and Local Committees be set up in all constituencies, as and when possible, and the rest of the bodies of the Jana Sangh should also be brought into being, so that the nationalist public opinion may be organised all over the country.
- (2) Pradesh and Janapad conferences may be organised so that the message of the Jana Sangh reaches the general people.
- (3) Uplift of the Backward—Special efforts may be made in the following directions :
 - (i) To remove differences of the High and Low based upon communal, social or economic considerations—specially to end the separatist feeling about the Backward classes by treating them on par with the rest of the society.
 - (ii) To encourage the labour to produce more in the interests of the country as well as their own and to make efforts for the protection of their rights and fulfilment of their needs by organising them in accordance with the ideals of the Jana Sangh.
 - (iii) To rouse the feeling of nationalism in the farmers and make the rural society a progressive one by giving it the solid base of Indian culture and sound economy.
 - (iv) To propagate the ideal of the Jana Sangh among women and to encourage them to participate in the task of national construction.
 - (v) To rouse respect for Indian culture among school and college students and to make them proud members of the society by inculcating in them restraint and spirit of service.

(vi) To make efforts for the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees from Pakistan.

(4) **Massive Public Works and Awakening**—In addition to other constructive activities to make special efforts for the following programmes of public works and mass awakening in rural areas :

(i) Through collective activity with the cooperation of local inhabitants repairs and new constructions of public utilities like roads, wells, pools, etc., in villages and other small *bastis*.

(ii) To work for national awakening, literacy and create social consciousness among the rural people by setting up Social Education Centres there.

(iii) To renovate temples and other places of worship and use them as Social Education Centres.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

52.22. REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

Compensation without Delay—The work of rehabilitation of the Hindus displaced from West Pakistan has mostly been done only to the extent to which these people have succeeded in becoming self-dependent by themselves. A large portion of the Government expenditure goes to the officials and the middle-man; it does not reach those for whom it is intended. If it does reach some people, they are only those who have access to the officials. Hence the Jana Sangh feels that instead of trying to provide houses and means of livelihood through its officials the Government should give the opportunity to the displaced persons themselves to stand on their feet by directly giving them land, implements for their vocations, necessary funds and the opportunity to earn. At the same time compensation for the property that they left in Pakistan should be given without delay.

Even this has not been done for displaced persons from East Bengal. A majority of those who have come or are to come here, are already financially very weak. Hence the Government should see that compensation is given promptly

and without delay. The Jana Sangh supports the resolutions regarding rehabilitation that have recently been moved in the Rehabilitation Conference in Delhi and by the Rehabilitation Committee of Bengal.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh demands that the Government of India should make Pakistan compensate the refugees for their properties left behind. The Government of Pakistan has exploited its policy of falsehood and our misplaced generosity to the great detriment of the displaced persons. If the Government of India acts firmly in realising the compensation for the evacuee property then the displaced persons problem would be a headache not for India but for Pakistan. The Jana Sangh strongly urges the Government to give up its weak-kneed policy towards Pakistan, and adopt with her a policy of 'tit for tat.'

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

53.14. REHABILITATION OF KASHMIRI DISPLACED PERSONS

Abdulla's Hindrance—A large number of displaced persons from the Pakistan occupied part of Jammu-Kashmir State are still wandering about in India in distress. They want to be settled in Jammu-Kashmir State. Sheikh Abdulla for reasons that can now be well understood had been standing in the way of their rehabilitation in the State particularly in Kashmir valley. But it is essential both on grounds of justice and humanity that these unfortunate people be settled in the state and in areas where the climate is similar to their former homes. Those who have settled in the State must be given property rights on the land on which they have settled. In respect of claims of properties and other matters they must be treated like other displaced persons and steps should be taken to meet their claims and return to them their bank deposits.

[August 15, 1953; Allahabad, AIGC]

54.07. BLOW TO FREEDOM OF PRESS

Ban on Criticism of Government—This All India Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh strongly condemns the totalitarian attitude being persisted in by the Congress Government in regard to the freedom of the Press. First of all, the Constitution of India was amended and the Press was deprived of even that much freedom which it enjoyed during the British reign. Then, the Press (Objectionable Matter) Ordinance was enforced with a view to smother criticism of the present administration. And now, it has been stated in the Parliament that this obnoxious piece of legislation will be put on the statute book. In view of the fact that in spite of its sweeping majority, the Government hesitated to face the Parliament with this proposal, the attempt to enforce it through the back door of a Presidential Ordinance is violation of all tenets of democracy. To cap all this, the Home Minister's announcement in the Parliament that the Penal Law of India will be so amended as to make criticism of the Government officials including Ministers, a cognizable offence, will bring the death knell of free expression of opinion and give a further licence to the administration which is already neck deep in corruption.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh warns the Government that the proposed amendment of the Penal Law would tantamount to inviting a violent revolution in the country by closing the doors for a peaceful change in Government through democratic means. The Jana Sangh at the same time calls the attention of the country and its Press in particular to the dangers inherent in the present totalitarian trend in Government's policy and urges upon them to check it betimes.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

54.11. REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

Inadequate Compensation—In the considered opinion of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, the Claims Compensation Scheme recently announced by the Government of India with regard to the displaced persons from West Pakistan is too small in comparison

with the verified claims and inadequate for the task of their rehabilitation. In respect of the displaced persons from East Bengal not even an enquiry has been made towards the verification of their claims.

Cent per cent Compensation—The Jana Sangh is in full accord with the following demands of the displaced persons :

- (i) Cent per cent compensation.
- (ii) Small loans up to Rs. 2,000 advanced to the displaced persons to be considered as rehabilitation grants.
- (iii) Stoppage of collection of rents and realization of loans from those whose claims have been verified.

Faulty Claims Scheme—Besides, the Jana Sangh urges an early implementation of the following additional suggestions :

- (1) There are in all 3,95,000 claimants. The present scheme embraces in all 55,000 out of them. A comprehensive scheme to provide compensation to the remaining claimants also should be announced without delay.
- (2) So far compensation has been paid to only a negligible number of claimants. If compensation is to be paid at such a snail's pace, it will take an inordinately long time to dispense with the total number of claimants and the very aim of rehabilitation will be defeated.

The Jana Sangh feels that the whole question is to be taken as an emergency measure and legal technicalities have to be met with a determined will to overcome them speedily.

- (3) There is a great need of fixing a criterion for the selection of those who are going to receive compensation out of the first 55,000 top priority claimants.

If this is not done, the Jana Sangh is afraid, the whole compensation scheme is likely to be abused by the Party in power.

- (4) It has also not been specified as to where exactly the compensation will be paid to the claimants. It would be in their best interests if this compensation is paid to them at their district headquarters.
- (5) Permanent ownership rights be transferred to recipients of claims in case of government-built houses. A large majority of claimants are in bad need of ready cash for

toning up their business. The present scheme does not provide them the right of disposing of their houses.

- (6) The evacuee property has not been properly repaired and looked after for the last 6 years, resulting in serious reduction in its value. The Jana Sangh, therefore, calls upon the government to take immediate steps to effect suitable repairs to this property so that its value is not further reduced, which indirectly will seriously affect the total amount of compensation to the displaced persons from the evacuee property pool.
- (7) The Government should invite applications from those claimants also who have not done so as yet.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

55.07. REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

As a result of partition the country is facing the problem of rehabilitating displaced persons for the last 7 years. During this period many such persons have fought with great odds and arranged for their own rehabilitation. They are to be congratulated for this.

The Government claims that it has rehabilitated more than 90 per cent of the displaced persons coming from West Pakistan. This is not only an exaggeration but indicates ignorance and contempt of the Herculean efforts that these people have made to stand on their own legs.

Compensation Bill and Refugee Property Bill—But all these efforts of the displaced persons have not solved their problem. Many problems are simply beyond their capacity. They can be solved only with the sympathetic cooperation of the Government. The Government of India cannot deny its responsibility regarding the rehabilitation and compensation for the property they have left behind in Pakistan. The Compensation Bill recently passed by the Government as well as the Refugee Property (Amendment) Bill are both against the interests and hopes of the refugees.

Government Contribution to Compensation Fund—In the opinion of the Jana Sangh the following steps should be taken

to solve the displaced persons problems :

- (1) Their right to hundred per cent compensation for their property left in Pakistan should be accepted.
- (2) The compensation promised by the Government should be made within a fixed period. The present pace of compensation is very slow. Those women who became widows after the list was prepared should also be included in it.
- (3) Refugees living in houses built by the Government should be given those houses without profit. The present system of auctioning these houses for maximum profit is against the interests of the refugees and professed intentions of the Government. The amount collected as rent by the Government should be included in the price of the house.
- (4) The refugees should not be shifted from these houses, otherwise they will again become displaced persons.
- (5) Those who have not been able to present their claims for some reason may be given another chance to do so.
- (6) Rural claims should not be ended simply for the reason that some acres of land have been given to the claimant.
- (7) Assistance to students and orphans should be continued for some more years.
- (8) When, in spite of a claim being accepted by the Government, money is not given to the refugees, interest should not be charged on the rehabilitation loan. When the Government gives only a portion of the claim, it should collect the loan to that extent only.
- (9) There should be another survey of refugee property for increasing the compensation amount. Those amendments in the Refugee Property Act which have decreased the value of this property should be cancelled.
- (10) Those refugees who have been paid up to Rs. 1000 as rehabilitation loan should be considered free from it.
- (11) The Government contribution in the Compensation Fund should be increased as per recommendation of the Bakhshi Tek Chand Committee.
- (12) A countrywide Wealth Tax may be levied to augment this fund.
- (13) (a) There should be systematic efforts to rehabilitate

refugees from East Bengal according to their profession.

- (b) The land where refugees may have settled down should be considered their property and this right should be regularised.
 - (c) Those who want to stand on their own legs should be given loans and rehabilitation grants liberally.
 - (d) The Government should also think of compensating the East Bengali refugees for their losses.
- (14) (a) A register of displaced persons from Jammu-Kashmir should be maintained. Claims of those who have left their property behind should be accepted and arrangement for their compensation made.
- (b) Arms should be given to persons living on the border for their security.
- (c) In the case of those refugees to whom an assurance of a 'basti' has been given, a proper plot should be selected and work to build the *basti* started.

[January 1, 1955; Jodhpur, III AIS]

58.04. REHABILITATION OF DISPLACED PERSONS

The problem of the East Bengali refugees has now reached a critical phase.

Ban on Migration Certificates—The oppression of Hindus in East Bengal has reached a new tempo because of the reign of terror there under cover of anti-smuggling operations by the Pak military. The unfortunate Hindus there already groaning under various discriminations against them practised by the Islamic State, are now finding life there almost intolerable and are thus compelled to come out. The Government of India, however, have practically stopped the migration by simply withholding the migration certificates except under almost impossible terms and conditions, though officially they deny the same and blatantly declare that the stream of migration has practically ceased, and has come down now to a mere trickle. This denial of the right of migration goes not merely against the repeated assurances given at the time of the

partition but against the provisions of the Nehru-Liaquat Pact of 1950 also. It is a gross betrayal of the Hindu minority in the East Bengal.

Ignored Refugees—Large number of East Bengali Hindus—over 30 lacs, according to the official estimates have already migrated and their rehabilitation has become the responsibility of the Government. By this a critical situation has arisen. Under the specious plea of there being no more space in West Bengal, determined effort is being made by the Government to send the bulk of them outside the province and that too, not to the neighbouring provinces like Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Tripura or Manipur but to a distant part of India—wild, arid and undeveloped, called Dandakaranya (where development is estimated to cost over Rs. 100 crores) and pressure is being brought to bear upon these refugees to agree to be removed there.

This situation cannot be allowed to continue. The Jana Sangh accordingly demands that:

- (1) The Government must at once revert the policy of stopping the migration of Hindus from East Bengal and must receive all East Bengali Hindus who desire to come over on account of the conditions prevailing there.
- (2) The Government must try to settle the refugees firstly in the places in the West Bengal itself wherever practicable, then next in congenial areas like those of Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Tripura or Manipur, where there are already big Bengali speaking populations and lastly try to settle them in distant areas like Dandakaranya and other places. Further, definite scheme must be put up before the public with regard to Dandakaranya proposal and representative public men and refugee leaders must be shown over this area so that they may judge how for this scheme is workable and suited to their requirements. The Jana Sangh has no 'prior' objection to any such scheme but the Government's idea of forcing it down the throats of people without any previous preparations and preliminary arrangements, must be given up.

It is this kind of attitude on the part of the Government which exposes the unfortunate refugees to exploitation by

interested parties for their own ends and leads them sometimes to undesirable channels. The Jana Sangh is against such unscrupulous and undesirable exploitation of the refugee problem and desires to look at and deal with the problem on the humanitarian plane so that the resettlement and rehabilitation may take place in a satisfactory manner.

Refugees' Cooperation in Rehabilitation—With regard to the Dandakaranya Scheme itself the Jana Sangh does not condemn it in advance but wants that the project be properly worked out with the cooperation of leading public men and refugees so that it may be a real success. With this end in view the Jana Sangh proposes to set up a committee consisting of some of its Members in Parliament, and delegates from Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, and West Bengal who will keep in touch with the Central Government, the State Governments concerned, the Administrators of the Projects and the refugees themselves, with its central office at Calcutta where all interested persons may contact the Committee at their convenience.

Again as regards the huge refugee numbers from W. Punjab, Sind and the NWFP, Government has not only failed miserably to provide for their adequate rehabilitation but has of late been pursuing policies, which have only added to their difficulties.

The Jana Sangh demands that:

- (1) Cash payment of compensation should not be restricted to Rs. 1000 and the original arrangement be reverted too.
- (2) Restoration of evacuee property be stopped.
- (3) The areas occupied by Punjab refugees during floods on the assurance given by the Rehabilitation Minister be allowed to remain in their possession till alternative arrangements are provided to them.
- (4) Houses and shops be given to the refugees on a 'no profit, no loss basis' and the prices be recovered in 30 instalments.
- (5) Rent already recovered should be included as part-payment of the price.

[April 5, 1958; Ambala, V. AIS]

58.13. DISPLACED PERSONS FROM EAST BENGAL

Closure of Refugee Camps—The Central Working Committee of the Jana Sangh condemns the latest policy reported to have been adopted by the Government that the refugee camps in West Bengal are to be closed down shortly, that the bulk of their inmates are to be shifted to distant areas outside Bengal and that those who would decline to be so dispersed are to be given a small lump sum and then left to their own fate. Apart from the fact that such a policy will only aggravate the unemployment problem in West Bengal, it is callous and inhuman and goes directly against, the Government assurances held out after the last Refugee Satyagraha in West Bengal that no refugee would be shifted outside Bengal against his will.

Firing on Displaced Persons—As regards the refugees at the Betia Camp (in Champaran District of Bihar) the Jana Sangh deplors that on account of the ineffective and tactless behaviour of the authorities there, a most unfortunate situation was allowed to develop culminating in the shooting and injuring of numerous helpless refugees which shocked public opinion all over the country. It is good, however, that strong public reaction to this tragedy atleast brought the authorities to a reasonable point of view and the Working Committee is glad that the position of the refugees there has eased considerably and hopes that the issues of their resettlement and rehabilitation would be shortly met.

As for the shooting tragedy, however, the Working Committee demands that a proper Judicial Enquiry be instituted to go into the matter so that adequate punishment be meted out to the guilty.

[July 19, 1958; Bombay, CWC]

65.05. BRIDGE OVER GODAVARI

It is now over 100 years that an anicut was built on the river Godavari at Dhawaleswaram. In view of the bitter experience of the Krishna Anicut at Vijayawada, the general feeling is that it is now high time that the construction of a new one should

be done before it is too late. It would be criminal negligence to postpone this matter until an untoward happening whereby the people and the State are put to great losses.

The absence of a road link on the Godavari at Rajamundry is standing as a block on the national Highways route. The necessity of another rail bridge as a road-cum-rail bridge was recognised (but tenders are being called for only a rail bridge). The road-cum-rail bridge is a national necessity. This should be completed without any reference to the construction of a barrage on the Godavari which is at contemplation stage only.

Taking all these factors into consideration, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh at its All India Session at Vijayawada resolves to urge upon the State and the Central governments to immediately begin the road-cum-rail bridge as contemplated earlier instead of the construction of a separate rail bridge and that they should grant adequate funds for an early execution of such a bridge.

[January 24, 1965; Vijayawada, XII AIS]

68.16. SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Equality and Affection as Basis—After the achievement of Independence, it was hoped that sections of the people neglected for centuries, backward in regard to education and opportunities of development and also economically indigent, would be enabled by giving them special facilities to move up to the level of the rest of the Society so as to exert shoulder to shoulder with them for the nation's progress. It was hoped that the distinctions and discriminations between high and low would be abolished, and the entire society would live like a family held together by bonds of affection and equality. It is a matter of regret that the expected progress in this direction has not been made during these last 20 years.

The popular urge for social reform discernible in the people prior to independence, has been on the wane. The All India General Council expresses concern over the reports about the sorry conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in various parts of the country. The General Council is of the confirmed view that the concept of social status based on birth,

caste or occupation and of distinctions drawn on that basis militate against social unity. The entire body of people living in this land and attached to it by ties of filial devotion constitutes one family. Feelings of fraternity and equality strengthen unity. It is essential, therefore, that effective educational, reformist and agitational measures be undertaken to eradicate social disparities, untouchability etc.

Cottage Industries for the Backward—The question of social equality is linked with the issue of economic development of the backward classes. The policy adopted in this regard under the 3 Five-Year Plans has yielded little result. The Government has been making pompous declarations about Harijan Welfare and Tribal Development but the fact is that no attempt has been made to make them economically self-reliant. It is not enough merely to provide them educational facilities. So long, provision is not made in our plans for their economic betterment, for the modernisation and promotion of their cottage industries, it will not be possible to bridge the financial gap between the rich and the poor. Out of the amount spent on industrial growth during the last 3 plans a very small fraction has gone to these backward classes. Rules governing loans and grants for industry make it impossible for these sections who generally lack financial backing and resources to avail of such aid. If a certain percentage of the total outlay on industry be earmarked for these sections and suitable machinery set up by the Government to ensure that the loans and grants intended for them do reach them so that they are able to stand on their own feet and do not have to depend on the Government for their livelihood, a revolutionary step would have been taken in the economic life of the country and a commencement made towards bridging the economic gulf. The General Council demands that the Government should reformulate the Fourth Plan in this light.

Appointments of the Backward—Till now reservations provided in government services for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have not been earnestly implemented. Often, even where Harijan applicants are available one or the other pretext is found to exclude them. Barring among Fourth Class employees, their percentage of representation in the services is very low in relation to their population. The pace of progress also is very slow.

There can be no improvement in this situation unless the Central and State governments pay attention to it and adopt a stern attitude towards the appointing officers who disregard the prescribed rules in this regard.

Time-limit for Eliminating Backwardness—The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the view that a planned programme should be undertaken to bring the backward sections in line with the rest of the society by a definite time-limit. The experience of the past 20 years has strengthened the feeling that backwardness and the safeguards extended on that basis are a phenomenon likely to stay with us for ever. When the Constitution was being framed it was estimated that these safeguards would be done away with after 10 years. But even after 20 years of independence these sections have not been able to come up with the rest, and so the need is felt for continuing these safeguards yet. In the interest of social justice it is necessary to probe the causes why our present policy pertaining to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes has failed, and to initiate in every sphere of life such changes as can enable the weaker sections of the society to come up to the level of their brethren at the earliest.

[September 7, 1968; Indore, AIGC]

69.11. PROGRAMME FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

Curse of Untouchability—Since its inception the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been pledged to solve the problems of the depressed classes. It declared its resolve to undertake a phased programme to pull these backward classes up to the level of the rest of the society within a specified period of time. The Jana Sangh regards untouchability as a slur on humanity. It is totally wrong and unjust that any human being should hate or discriminate against another for reasons of birth, ancestry or occupation.

At the Indore Session of the All India General Council, the Jana Sangh in pursuance of this above objective had adopted a resolution which said inter alia:

“After the achievement of Independence, it was hoped that

sections of the people neglected for centuries, backward in regard to education and opportunities of development, and also economically indigent, would be enabled by giving them special facilities to move up to the level of the rest of the Society and exert shoulder to shoulder with them for the nation's progress. It was hoped that the distinctions and discriminations between high and low would be abolished, and the entire society will live like a family held together by bonds of affection and equality. It is a matter of regret that the expected progress in this direction has not been made during these last 20 years.

The popular urge for social reform discernible in the people prior to independence has been on the wane. The All India General Council expresses concern over the reports about the sorry conditions of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in various parts of the country. The General Council is of the confirmed view that the concept of social status based on birth, caste or occupation and of distinctions drawn on that basis militate against social unity. The entire body of people living in this land and attached to it by ties of filial devotion constitutes one family. Feelings of fraternity and equality strengthen unity. It is essential, therefore, that effective educational, reformist and agitational measures be undertaken to eradicate social disparities, untouchability etc.”

Revolutionary Campaign—It is being felt that for the implementation of the above resolution an effective programme should be drawn up so that bands of Jana Sangh workers spread out all over the country might get a right lead and embark upon a revolutionary campaign for this purpose.

Distinctions of high and low are to be abolished. By bringing about a change of heart in the society, a feeling of faith and belonging has to be created among our backward brethren. For this we must be able to share their troubles, difficulties and agonies. Let us help them solve their problems—prompted not by political motivations, but by moral and human considerations. To this end, let us undertake the following 6-point effective programme for :

(1) **Educational Facilities**—Students must be helped to secure

admissions in schools. Scholarships for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are very often not given in time. Jana Sangh workers must contact local authorities and ensure that this situation is rectified. Where required, books should be arranged for children. Arrangements should be made to see that in hostels students of all sections live together.

(2) **Social Equality**—These sections must be invited to social ceremonial functions such as marriages etc. and similarly there should be participation in their functions. National festivals should be so organized as to enable Scheduled Caste sections to take part in them in large numbers. There should be joint programmes and community meals. Valmiki Jayanti, Ravidas Jayanti, Ambedkar Jayanti also should be organised jointly. Depressed Classes Conferences should be convened in different parts of the country. These Conferences should be organised through workers belonging to these classes.

(3) **Campaign against Oppression and Injustice**—Panels of lawyers should be constituted at district levels to render free all legal assistance in cases of excesses committed against Scheduled Castes in any village or city. Whenever any such excesses are reported, Jana Sangh workers must rush to the spot, make due enquiries and take necessary action.

(4) **Economic Facilities :**

- (a) These sections must be helped to form cooperative societies.
- (b) Steps must be taken to secure for them loans from credit cooperatives so as to free them from the clutches of money-lenders.
- (c) Efforts should be made to provide them facilities in respect of land so as to ease their housing problems.
- (d) Special attention should be paid to the problems of agricultural labour.

(5) **Employment Opportunities**—The educated youth among these sections must be helped to secure employment. Generally, the quotas of reservations fixed for these sections remain un-filled. Departmental officials must be pressed to fill these quotas. Where possible, the Jana Sangh branches may themselves set up employment offices to help the youth get suitable employment.

(6) **Removal of Disabilities**—In their campaign against

untouchability, Jana Sangh workers should undertake surveys in their respective areas, to find out as to what disabilities and difficulties these sections are facing. A suitable constructive as well as agitational programme should then be drawn to remove them. When we meet next year for our All India Season, we should have the satisfaction of having taken concrete steps towards the fulfilment of our pledge to stamp out untouchability.

[April 26, 1969; Bombay, XV AIS]

72.10. DISPLACED PERSONS FROM SIND

Government's inhuman Attitude—The Bharatiya Jana Sangh expresses its deep indignation, sorrow and concern over the treatment of neglect being meted out to the displaced persons from the Sind. At the moment some 79,000 refugees in the Chauhatan Tehsil of Rajasthan are lying under the open sky like herds of cattle. Far from providing them a roof to live under, and facilities of drinking water, medicines, etc., government authorities have been harassing them in various ways and trying to evict them out from India.

It seems that the only reason why these refugees are being penalised is that at the time of the Indo-Pak war they were among those Pakistanis who refused to collaborate with the perpetrators of the Bangladesh genocide and expressed sympathy with the Bangladesh Cause. There should be no doubt that if these people are forcibly sent back to Pakistan, they will become victims of another genocide.

Liberation after 24 Years—It is noteworthy that these refugees belong to the Tharparkar District of Sind which, by virtue of its preponderant Hindu majority should have in all fairness come to India at the time of partition. But this did not happen.

Ever since, these people have been living a life of shame and dishonour under Pakistan's autocratic set-up. For them, therefore, the recent war has meant an escape from bondage into freedom. It would be callous and cruel to throw them back into the jaws of death.

Retain Tharparkar—The Jana Sangh demands :

- (1) The Tharparkar area occupied by Indian forces during

the war should not be returned to Pakistan and should be availed of to rehabilitate these helpless people.

- (2) These refugees should be given Indian citizenship, the Pakistani currency which they have, should be exchanged for Indian currency, all necessary relief should be extended to them, and they should be enabled to find suitable employment.
 - (3) Under no circumstances should they be sent to Pakistan. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh hereby constitutes the following committee to mobilise public opinion on this question and compel the Government to do justice for these refugees :
- (1) Sri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat (Convener)
 - (2) Sri L.K. Advani, MP.
 - (3) Sri Om Prakash Tyagi, MP.
 - (4) Sri Bhanu Kumar Shastri, MLA (Rajasthan)
 - (5) Sri Lekhranj Bachani, MLA (Gujarat)

[May 7, 1972; Bhagalpur, AIGC]

CHAPTER 4

JANA SANGH

There are three things that mark out the Jana Sangh as the Party of the future, a movement that will redeem the honour and the destiny of this ancient land with an imperishable philosophy.

First : The Jana Sangh is Indian. It derives its inspiration and vitality from its unadulterated Nationalism from the "ancient Indian culture which was the first to give birth to the ideal of a secular society and which stands for the establishment of a political, social and economic democracy, progressive but essentially Indian" (53.10).

Second : The Jana Sangh is pragmatist in both thought and action. As Deendayalji summed it up :

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

This attitude of mind in the rank and file of the Jana Sangh is its real strength. Jana Sangh believes that the country's present ills can be cured not by this or that dogma, but by hard down-to-earth realism. On this point the party has a decided advantage over its rivals, as it is not tied to any particular 'ism' or ideology.

Third : The Jana Sangh is a band of selfless, dedicated, devoted and disciplined workers. It is often known as a party of workers whose devotion and discipline is the envy of other parties. It is obvious that the future and success of any party mainly depends upon the character and conduct of the men who make the party.

It is these characteristics which have given Jana Sangh the strength and vitality to withstand the crude blows it has had to bear during these formative years—in the death of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, of Dr. Raghuvira and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya.

51.01. ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

The question of having alliances with other opposition parties *viz.* Hindu Maha Sabha, Ram Rajya Parishad etc. was discussed in this Inaugural All India Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and the following was decided :

That the Jana Sangh should have only electoral alliances (not political alliances) with other political parties at provincial levels, on the basis of the best candidates, in order, firstly, to avoid division in the opposition and secondly, to aim at cooperation where possible.

[October 20, 1951; Delhi, Inaugural AIS]

51.02. JANA SANGH FLAG

In this Inaugural All India Session the Bharatiya Jana Sangh resolves that the flag of the party be rectangular in the proportion of 2 : 3 (vertically 2 and horizontally 3) in saffron colour with a Deepak in the centre. It is also resolved that the following be adopted as the motto of the Party:

"Tamaso Maa Jyotirgamaya"

"तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय"

[October 20, 1951; Delhi, Inaugural AIS]

51.03. JANA SANGH CONSTITUTION

The Central Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh resolves that a sub-committee be and is hereby appointed with the following members to draw up a detailed constitution for the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and it is hereby directed to submit its draft within one month :

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------|
| (1) Dr. S. P. Mookerji | President |
| (2) Lala Balraj Bhalla | (Jullundhur) |

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| (3) Prof. Bhai Mahavir | Gen. Secty. |
| (4) Pt. Mauli Chandra Sharma | Gen. Secty. |
| (5) Sri Chiranji Lal Mishra | (Rajasthan) |
| (6) Sri Deendayal Upadhyaya | (Uttar Pradesh) |
| (7) Sri Jal Gimi | (Nagpur) |

It is further resolved that till the constitution is adopted the membership drive be completed.

[February 10, 1952; Delhi, CWC]

52.17. JANA SANGH CONSTITUTION

This All India Session of Bharatiya Jana Sangh approves and adopts the constitution of the Jana Sangh prepared by the Central Working Committee, with the following amendments :

- (1) There would be two General Secretaries instead of one.
- (2) The Central Working Committee is given the authority to amend this constitution in the coming year as it considers proper in the light of experience.
- (3) The constitution, alongwith the proposed amendments, may again be presented in the next All India Session.

[December 31, 1952; Kanpur, I AIS]

53.05. TRIBUTES TO DR. MOOKERJI

The All India General Council of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh places on record its deep sense of grief at the untimely and tragic death in detention of its Founder President, late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji in Srinagar on the 23rd of June 1953. Dr. Mookerji's contribution in building the Jana Sangh was immense. Because of his burning patriotism, firm determination, great foresight and unparalleled organising capacity he was able to make the Jana Sangh a representative organisation of the Indian people within the short period of one and a half years. His sudden death is an irreparable loss to the country and specially to the Jana Sangh.

Dr. 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 also against what he considered unjust government policies, his approach to all problems was always constructive. In his death the country has lost an illustrious son. With him, a redoubtable votary of Akhanda Bharat, a pillar of strength to the refugees, vigilant sentinel of civil liberties, a standard-bearer of Democracy and a great devotee of the Indian culture has departed from the Indian soil.

The whole country has been stunned by the mysterious circumstances in which he died in detention in Srinagar far away from his near and dear ones. Dr. Mookerji's death in detention is the greatest blot on the Government of free India. Clearly his arrest while entering the Jammu area and his death in detention in Srinagar was the result of a deep laid conspiracy between the Government of India and that of Abdulla. If his arrest had been really due to his entry in the State without permit, he should have been sent back to India after his arrest. Further it was the duty of the Indian Government as well, to take immediate steps for the release of its citizen who was arrested illegally by the Abdulla Government. But the policy adopted by the Indian Government in this connection has been such which strengthens the doubt that it itself wanted him to be kept in detention in Kashmir for some mysterious reasons and to deprive him of the protection of the Supreme Court.

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 any arrangements for nursing existed there. 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 walk 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 disregarding the opinion of the family physician. 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 the detention place which had no telephone to keep the doctor informed of his health. There is information which shows that statements made by the Kashmir Government about his illness and death are full of deliberate lies. Even the exact time of his death as given in the government statement is said to be incorrect.

The attitude adopted by the Government of India towards the demand from all parts of the country, 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 the firm conviction of the General Council that the responsibility for the late Dr. Mookerji's arrest and death in detention primarily lies on the Government of India. It is now for the Government to establish its innocence in the matter by placing all the facts and evidence before the public.

[August 15, 1953; Allahabad, AIGC]

53.10. MERGER MOVE

In the interests of Democracy in the country Bharatiya Jana Sangh welcomes the move for merger between the Jana Sangh, Hindu Maha Sabha, Ram Rajya Parishad and other nationalist parties. This is essential to give the country a well knit and strong political platform to help build the nation on the basis of its ancient Indian culture which was the first to give birth to the ideal of a secular society and which stands for the establishment of a political, social and economic democracy—progressive but essentially Indian.

[August 15, 1953; Allahabad, AIGC]

53.18. MERGER MOVE

The Central Working Committee has noted with regret the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha recently concerning the proposal for the merger into one party of the Jana Sangh, Hindu Maha Sabha and Ram Rajya Parishad.

It may be recalled that the proposal came from Sri N. C. Chatterji, President of the Hindu Maha Sabha and was warmly welcomed by the All India General Council of the Jana Sangh in its last Session at Allahabad where it authorised its President to negotiate with the other two bodies with a view to bring about the merger.

Soon after, the matter was discussed by the Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha and it appears from its resolution that the Committee did not accept the appeal for merger of the three bodies made by its President, but proposed instead "closer cohesion and cooperative working"—whatever that might mean. Even for this purpose no attempt was made to have formal talks. Whatever personal and informal talks took place between the leaders of the Jana Sangh and the Hindu Maha Sabha showed that elements opposed to the proposal of Sri. N. C. Chatterji dominated the Maha Sabha Working Committee and manoeuvred to vote it down.

Hindu, not Communal—It appears that this was done to cover up their internal rift by basing their resolution on an unauthorised and wrong version of a statement of Pt. Mauli Chandra Sharma. Its contradiction also has been published. It is significant that even the usual decency of enquiring about the authenticity of the report was not observed although Pt. Mauli Chandra Sharma was at that time in Delhi and on the night previous to the passing of the resolution was visited by a member of the Executive of the Maha Sabha. This Committee wants to make it clear once again what has already been stated by Pt. Mauli Chandra Sharma that the latter never described the Hindu Maha Sabha as a communal body because its membership was restricted to the Hindus alone. The Jana Sangh does not accept the current phraseology of Hindus being called communal. It is, therefore, regrettable that the Hindu Maha Sabha should have

taken a hasty decision to abandon the laudable proposal of merging together and unifying the forces that stand for refulgent nationalism and should have started a public campaign to vilify the Jana Sangh and its President. The Committee wants to reiterate its abiding faith in the good sense of the people who have all supported this idea of unity and wants to stress that the Jana Sangh has not abandoned this move and it will continue to welcome and encourage any earnest efforts made in this direction.

[December 20, 1953; Delhi, CWC]

54.01. TRIBUTES TO DR. MOOKERJI

This All India Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh recalls with a feeling of intense grief the benign and inspiring memory of its Founder President, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji. We had met only last year under his guidance and what we miss today is beyond words. Dr. Mookerji's name will ever remain a source of inspiration for the future generations of the nation as an example of a life of dedication in the service of the Motherland.

The Jana Sangh believes that the fittest offering which the people in general and members and workers of the Jana Sangh in particular can make to the sacred memory of the great soul, is to resolve to rededicate ourselves to the great principles and noble ideals for which Dr. Mookerji made the supreme sacrifice. Jana Sangh reaffirms its determination to continue its struggle for the building up of a strong and prosperous nation on the basis of all that is best in India's culture and way of life. It appeals to all those who hold the Cause of the Jana Sangh to be their own to realise that the noblest way to repay the debt we owe to Dr. Mookerji is to carry on his mission with greater zeal and assure the countrymen that the Jana Sangh will never fail them in the confidence they have reposed in it.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

45.02. JAMMU-KASHMIR MARTYRS

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh offers its deep homage to those martyrs who laid down their lives in the Praja Parishad's movement in Jammu-Kashmir last year, for the defence of the country's unity and integrity and thereby added their names to the list of the immortal sons of the Motherland. A year ago, the Jana Sangh under the guidance of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji decided to give active support to the righteous struggle of the Praja Parishad in view of the disruptive and anti-national conspiracy working in the Jammu-Kashmir State. The heroes whose self-immolation was instrumental in thwarting these evil designs will inspire the nation generation after generation for ages and will kindle in it the spirit of supreme sacrifice. The Jana Sangh bows to them and prays to the Almighty that the children of the soil may have the inspiration to follow in their footsteps.

[January 25, 1954; Bombay, II AIS]

54.24. JK PARISHAD'S AFFILIATION WITH JANA SANGH

The Central Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh welcoming the decision of the Secretary General of the Jammu-Kashmir Praja Parishad hereby accepts the affiliation of the Parishad with the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and empowers its General Secretary to complete the necessary formalities.

[November 7, 1954; Delhi, CWC]

55.13. JK PARISHAD'S AFFILIATION WITH JANA SANGH

This All India Session of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh supports the decision of the Central Working Committee for the affiliation of the Jammu-Kashmir Praja Parishad with the Bharatiya Jana Sangh.

[January 1, 1955; Jodhpur, III AIS]

55.20. MERGER MOVE

The Central Working Committee reiterates the Jana Sangh stand on the merger of Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Hindu Maha Sabha, Ram Raja Parishad and other nationalist forces as expressed in the resolution adopted by the All India General Council at Allahabad on August 15, 1953 and in the resolution of the Central Working Committee adopted on 20th December, 1953. It approves of the steps taken so far by the General Secretary and authorizes him to make further attempts in this direction.

[June 13, 1955; Delhi, CWC]

56.03. MERGER MOVE

The Central Working Committee having considered the General Secretary's report of the talks between the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Hindu Maha Sabha and the Ram Raja Parishad, notes with satisfaction that due to the mediation by Sri M. S. Golwalkar (Sri Guruji) the representatives of Jana Sangh and Hindu Maha Sabha have arrived at an agreed formula for the joint working of the two organisations. It approves of the formula *viz.*, the members of the two organisations should jointly function for the achievement of their political objective through the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and for social and cultural objectives through the Hindu Maha Sabha.

The Jana Sangh Working Committee hopes that the Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha would also rectify the above decision so that necessary steps may be taken at an early date.

The Working Committee wants to make it clear to remove misconception existing in certain circles that our national life as manifested by the fundamentals of one country, one people and one culture as enunciated in the Jana Sangh manifesto is equally expressed by the term Bharatiya and Hindu. In fact these two words are synonyms and each one of them inspires a similar feeling about the national life and ideal.

[February 19, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

56.15. ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

As to the electoral alliances, the Central Working Committee feels that normally speaking, on an All India basis, it will not be feasible to enter into electoral alliances with other All India parties. But electoral adjustments may be made with other parties or groups, if necessary, on local levels in order to avoid as far as possible multi-cornered contests as against the Ruling Congress party in the interests of democracy.

[July 21, 1956; Delhi, CWC]

57.02. ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

While regretting that in nominating the candidate for the high office of the President, the Congress party did not think it proper to consult the opposition parties, the Jana Sangh is of the opinion that in the present context and out of respect to the outstanding personality of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, his candidature be supported.

[April 20, 1957; Jaunpur, CWC]

57.06. CENTENARY OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

10th of May will mark one hundred years since the first War of Indian Independence was fought by the people to get rid of the British Rule over this country. It is quite natural for the people to celebrate that great event in a befitting manner and pay tributes to those heroes and heroines who acted as pioneers of that struggle and kept the flame of freedom burning by laying down their own lives at the altar of the Motherland.

The Central Working Committee calls upon the branches of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh all over the country to take enthusiastic interest in arranging and organising such celebrations as a national event in cooperation with other people wherever possible.

[April 20, 1957; Jaunpur, CWC]

61.18. ELECTION STRATEGY

The forthcoming General Elections offer a great opportunity to challenge the Ruling party and to take to the masses various issues and problems the country is faced with. It is Jana Sangh's determination to mould the Indian politics into a positive concept of its own, and as such it has decided not to enter into any joint front, or strike any alliance with other parties. However, except with parties such as Congress, Communists, Muslim League etc. the Jana Sangh may, where necessary enter into electoral adjustments with other democratic and nationalist elements on the basis of Parliamentary constituencies.

[November 12, 1961; Varanasi, AIGC

63.07. KARMAYOGI DR. RAGHUVIRA

The Central Working Committee expresses profound sorrow at the sudden and untimely death of its President Dr. Raghuvira and offers its respectful homage to his revered memory.

Dr. Raghuvira was one of those illustrious sons of the country who had a vision of India's soul and whose life was a continuous effort to share this vision with the people. He had travelled to far-flung corners of the world to discover in person the widespread influence and impact of our Indian culture. The material that he has gathered after deep study and research of the subject is a precious and perpetual treasure-trove for all Indologists. Through the medium of his Research Institute Dr. Raghuvira had been making a wonderful contribution towards the promotion of, and strengthening the bonds of goodwill and amity between India and other countries. His services thus as an unofficial ambassador on India's behalf have been invaluable and highly appreciable.

Dr. Raghuvira was a great linguist who by his erudition and genius succeeded in enriching the vocabulary of Hindi and other Indian languages and making them precise media for the expression of modern and scientific subjects. He accepted the challenge of the language problem squarely and his intensely strenuous exertions, constructive as well as agitational, to instal

Indian languages in their rightful places will be a perennial source of inspiration for all dealing with the issue.

Dr. Raghuvira's views about the security of India's frontiers and Tibet's independence are testimony of his amazing political foresight and his thorough understanding of Communist China's intentions and designs. In carrying out his duty to warn the Government of India and the people in this regard Dr. Raghuvira cared neither for personal convenience nor for party attachments. With him, a firm subscribing to some particular ideal meant not only a firm faith in it but a readiness to struggle for its realisation with fearlessness and sacrifice.

It was this identity of principles and views that brought about his association with the Jana Sangh. He strove incessantly to strengthen the Jana Sangh and widen its influence. The intense agony he felt about the nation's present sorrows and the fire that burnt within him on that account had ignited in the workers of the Jana Sangh a new sense of devotion. Every moment of his life was spent in serving the Motherland through the medium of the Jana Sangh, and it was as a real Karmayogi that he laid down his life while actively performing his duty.

The Working Committee calls upon all workers and supporters of the Jana Sangh to dedicate themselves with redoubled devotion to the task of national regeneration and complete the work left unfinished by Karmayogi Dr. Raghuvira. That indeed would be our truest tributes to the great soul.

[June 13, 1963; Allahabad, CWC]

63.12. KARMAYOGI DR. RAGHUVIRA

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(August 12, 1963 ; Delhi, AIGC)

63.23. JK PARISHAD'S MERGER INTO JANA SANGH

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh welcomes and ratifies the decision of the Jammu-Kashmir Praja Parishad to merge itself with the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. It congratulates the Praja Parishad for its constructive lead in this regard.

It is the considered view of the Jana Sangh that full integration of the State of Jammu-Kashmir with the rest of India like other erstwhile princely states is the only effective answer to the challenge posed to the unity and security of our Motherland in that strategic region by the forces of separatism which draw their inspiration from Pakistan and Communist China, both of which are interested in the disintegration of Jammu-Kashmir State for the fulfilment of their expansionist designs. The existing discriminatory status given to that State by the temporary and transitional Article 370 of the Indian Constitution provides the constitutional prop for the forces of separatism which have been deriving further encouragement and substance from the absence of direct physical and political links with the rest of India.

The decision of the JK Praja Parishad to merge with the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and the resultant shift of the political activity within the State directly into the orbit of the All India political life and action, will go a long way in forging direct political links between the people of the State with their brethren in the rest of India. This must be followed up by bringing about constitutional integration by the repeal of the Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, scrapping of the separate constitution of the Jammu-Kashmir State and further, by the physical integration through construction of new roads and railway line linking different parts of the State with the neighbouring State of Punjab and Himanchal Pradesh.

There is little hope that the dominant clique of the Ruling National Conference party of the State which has developed vested interests in the perpetuation of the separation stemming from the said Article 370 will take the initiative for the constitutional, political and physical integration of the State with the rest of India for which Praja Parishad has given the lead. But the people and the Government of India cannot afford to

remain indifferent in the matter particularly in view of the fact that both Pakistan and Communist China are making a concerted effort to engulf the State, big chunks of which have already been occupied by them by force in order to fulfil their nefarious designs. The vociferous opposition of Pakistan to any move for fuller constitutional integration of the State with the rest of India, which is her purely domestic concern, conclusively points to the dangers inherent in any further delay in the repeal of Article 370.

The situation in the State has been greatly aggravated by the constant armed attacks by Pakistani raiders from across the borders and activities of the fifth columnist anti-national forces within, deteriorating law and order situation economic instability, malpractices and irregularities in elections, partisan policies of the State Government and widespread corruption. Under the circumstances and in view of the state of emergency in the country and Jammu-Kashmir being an actual theatre of war, special responsibility rests on the President of India to see that all factors and forces which contribute to the prevailing uncertainty and separatism in the State are effectively dealt with at the earliest. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh, therefore, urges upon the President of India to take personal interest in the affairs of the State and take the initiative in bringing it at par with other State without any further delay.

The latest development in Srinagar, some details of which have appeared in the press today have grave import in the context of the known activities of separatist and anti-national forces there. In view of the well-known modus operandi of Pakistan in furtherance of her aggressive designs in Kashmir these developments cannot be dismissed as merely a question of law and order. The Government of India must take serious note of them and take direct interest in checkmating them as they have a bearing over the defence of the country.

(December 30, 1963; Ahmedabad, XI AIS)

64.05. KASHMIR PLEDGE DAY

In pursuance of its resolution about Kashmir, the Central Working Committee directs all its units to prepare for a peaceful mass struggle against the Government of India if it seeks to renege from its commitments to the nation in respect of Kashmir. To this end all Jana Sangh branches should observe June 7 as a 'Kashmir Pledge Day' and start enlisting Satyagrahis for this noble cause.

[May 25, 1964; Delhi, CWC]

64.18. ENQUIRY INTO DEFEAT IN BY-ELECTIONS

Resolved that a committee be appointed under the Chairmanship of Sri Pitamber Das MLC for enquiring into the circumstances that have led to the unexpected reverses for the Bharatiya Jana Sangh in the recent by-elections (for Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha) in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and to make definite suggestions and recommendations in this connection (with regard to the selection of candidates, the mobilisation of resources, the arrangements for campaigning and propaganda etc.)

The committee is to submit its report to the Central Working Committee by January 20, 1965.

[December 4, 1964; Patna, CWC]

68.01. IDEOLOGUE DEENDAYALJI

The Central Working Committee is meeting today under the dark shadow of a grim national tragedy. This is the first occasion ever since the founding of the Jana Sangh that the Committee's deliberations are being held without Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya in our midst to guide and lead us. The cruel hand of fate has, with one staggering blow, snatched him away from us, and here we are meeting to mourn his death and to pay respectful homage to his sacred memory.

Simple Living and High Thinking—Deendayalji was a great

patriot, an able organiser, a foremost ideologue, a farsighted statesman and an outstanding man of letters. A living embodiment of the ideal of 'simple living and high thinking' Sri Upadhyaya was an inspiring representative and spokesman of the eternal values of Indian culture. His entire life was dedicated to the service of the nation. In his passing away, India's public life has suffered an irreparable loss.

It is really difficult even to think about the Jana Sangh without Panditji. Ever since the Jana Sangh's founder President, late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji nominated him the General Secretary, Deendayalji had been for the party the fountain-head of its inspiration and the corner-stone of its organisational structure. If credit can be given to any one individual for the prominent position the Jana Sangh has come to occupy in Indian politics it is to Sri Upadhyaya. His selflessness, his idealism, his sense of discipline, his capacity to carry everyone with himself—with all these traits of his, Panditji has been for lacs of Jana Sangh workers an ideal par-excellence worthy of emulation.

The circumstances surrounding Sri Upadhyaya's death are extremely heart-rending and disturbing. The manner in which his body was discovered a little distance away from the Moghul Sarai Railway platform arouse grave suspicions and misgivings. The facts available till now indicate that Panditji's death is the result not of any accident, but, is a clear case of murder. Only a high-level and thorough probe can unravel the full facts of this episode and pinpoint the responsibility and motivation of this heinous crime. The Uttar Pradesh Government has ordered an enquiry into the matter. But the Working Committee feels that as the Railway Department also is concerned with this tragedy, the Central Government too must on its own have the matter fully probed.

The Central Working Committee pays its mournful tributes to the departed leader and rededicates itself to the ideals for which Deendayalji lived, laboured and became a martyr.

[February 13, 1968; Delhi, CWC]

68.02. THE CALL

The Central Working Committee reassures the people pained and shocked by the sudden and mysterious death of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya and reiterates its resolve that the Jana Sangh will continue its ceaseless struggle for the achievement of its objectives of defending the freedom and integrity of India, preserving and promoting democracy and establishing social justice and Indian values of life.

It calls upon the grief-stricken workers of the Jana Sangh to exhibit utmost fortitude, unity and discipline at this hour of a severe ordeal.

The life-dream of Deendayalji was the creation of a great, powerful and prosperous India. The Jana Sangh workers can offer their true homage to him by making the Jana Sangh an effective means for the realization of his dream.

Callous Providence has vainly attempted even before this to obstruct the progress of the Jana Sangh by taking away our Founder President Dr. Mookerji and Karmayogi Dr. Raghuvira. It failed in the past and shall not succeed now also. Let the Jana Sangh workers enthrone great ideologue Sri Deendayalji's sacred memory in their hearts and march in step, united and firm on the path of selfless service of the people. By the grace of God and the blessings of Panditji victory shall be ours.

[February 13, 1968; Delhi, CWC]

68.12. IDEOLOGUE DEENDAYALJI

This Session of the All India General Council is being held under a dark shadow of gloom. This is the first occasion since the founding of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that we are meeting without Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya in our midst to lead and guide us. The manner in which Panditji has been assassinated has made it clear that there are elements in India determined to subvert nationalism and democracy in this country. The identity of these elements, and the manner in which they have robbed us of our leader, is yet a mystery.

Deendayalji was not merely the General Secretary of the Jana

Sangh—and for the last few months its President—he was the prince architect of the party's organisation and its foremost ideologue. For lacs of Jana Sangh workers, his Karmayogi life made him an ideal *par excellence*. His self-effacing humility, his amazing capacity for toil, his exceptional intellectual powers, and above all, his utter dedication—all these attributes have made him an immortal font of inspiration for the Jana Sangh workers. Sri Upadhyaya in fact is an ideal worthy of emulation by all political workers.

The Jana Sangh General Council is confident that Panditji's martyrdom will not go in vain. The Almighty put us all to grim tests when He took away our Founder President Dr. Mookerji and later Dr. Raghuvira from us. The Jana Sangh emerged from the trials stronger than before. Ideologue Sri Deendayalji's death also will make the party march forward towards its goal with firmer resolve than before. This indeed would be the most fitting tribute we can pay to our great leader.

[September 7, 1968; Indore, AIGC]

*72.12. GRAVE ECONOMIC SITUATION

Growing Poverty—While the Government is planning the celebrations of Silver Jubilee of Independence and the PM has complemented herself at the 'miraculous' performance of our economy, the fact is that the plight of the Indian people has progressively worsened over the last twenty-five years. Unemployment which was less than 10 lacs in 1948 has been tripling every ten years. Today the ranks of the unemployed have swelled to 4.5 crores. There are besides, 15,000 unemployed doctors, 1,00,000 unemployed engineers and millions of other skilled and semi-skilled citizens. This unemployment, which is co-existing with 70 per cent unutilized industrial capacity is a criminal waste of national resources of men, materials and know-how. In 1947, we were a foreign exchange surplus nation. Today the future generations have been mortgaged to foreign nations with a crushing foreign debt of Rs. 10,000 crores. The rate of growth of national income is a mere 3.5 per cent per year. At this rate, the country will be condemned to the current state of poverty for the next 150 years. While incomes are not rising appreciably, prices are shooting up reducing the value of the rupee drastically. The rupee of 1950 is worth only 25 paise in 1972. The poor masses of India reckoned to have incomes below Re. 1.00 per head per day have swelled in numbers from 18 crores in 1969 to 22 crores today. Nearly 40 per cent of our population live well below subsistence levels. This dismal economic situation is entirely due to the consequences of Congress party's economic policies.

Falling Production—The Ruling party's claim that since the coming into power of Smt. Gandhi there is a remarkable improvement in economic growth is patently false because the annual industrial growth rate has slumped from 7 per cent before 1969 to 1.5 per cent last year. Food production has declined

*Due to oversight this resolution could not find its rightful place on page 203 in Chapter 4 of Volume 2. Hence it is being given here.

from the previous height of 108 million metric tonnes (in 1969-70) to 106 million metric tonnes (in 1971-72). Average retail prices are now rising annually at 8 per cent per year as compared to 5 per cent prior to 1969. The worst is that these disastrous economic trends have not sobered the Government into any pragmatic and relevant economic planning.

The so-called "Approach to the Fifth Plan" put out by the Planning Commission, contains the same irrelevant objectives and priorities as those of the last four Plans. On the question of self-reliance, the Approach Paper represents a betrayal of the promises made to the people by the Prime Minister (who is also the Chairman of the Planning Commission) during the last December War, because the Planning Commission expects that even after 1980-81 foreign aid will continue at around the present level of Rs. 550 crores. The Jana Sangh demands the redirection of our approach to planning to bring it in keeping with the needs of the country.

Rising Prices—The current economic situation is extremely grave and calls for an immediate re-casting of the present economic policies of the Government. The rise in prices during the last one year has been phenomenal despite the brave assurances given at the time of the budget. The wholesale price index, as computed by the Government has increased sharply by nearly 7 per cent. At the consumer level the rise has been even sharper because of the connivance of the Government with big wholesalers. The rise in retail prices in Delhi is representative of general upsurge in prices around the country. Prices of various varieties of wheat have gone up by Rs. 5 to 13 per quintal to the benefit not of farmers but of the middle-men. The price of Bengal gram went up from Rs. 94 to Rs. 118 per quintal. The price of sugar has shot up to Rs. 340 per quintal from Rs. 314 per quintal last year. No vegetable even at the current peak season is selling at less than Rs. 2 per kg. In fact prices of vegetable have risen by 50 to 60 per cent as compared to last year. Prices of blades, biscuits and soap have also risen at similar rates. Indeed if the present trend in prices continued, then an explosive situation would be created, the responsibility for which would be squarely on the Government. If effective steps are not taken to curb the price

rise, then the Jana Sangh will launch a nationwide agitation.

To provide immediate relief to the fixed-income-wage-earners, the Jana Sangh demands the publication of the Third Pay Commission's report at the earliest, and full implementation of its recommendations in consultation with the representatives of the Central Government employees. Pending completion of the report, the Jana Sangh demands payment of interim relief.

Confused Pay Scales—The Jana Sangh expresses concern over the meagre pay scales of Government employees in many States and the disparity in the rates of dearness allowance. It considers it urgent to introduce a new pattern of uniform pay scales in all states and abolish the present disparity in dearness and other allowances. It also demands revision of the pay scales of non-government employees.

Unemployment Compensation—The Jana Sangh demands the recognition of the 'Right to Work' as a 'Fundamental Right', implementation of an unemployment compensation scheme, discontinuance of anti-Kisan and anti-small industries policies, a radical but relevant ceiling on rural and urban property, and the destruction of the parallel economy of black money through strong fiscal and administrative measures, a change in investment priorities in favour of minor irrigation, and small industries and a balanced nuclear technological system.

[July 17, 1972 ; Delhi, CWC]

APPENDIX A

DATES ETC. OF RESOLUTIONS IN VOLUME 5 IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

YEAR	RESOLUTION No.	DATE	PLACE	BODY WHICH PASSED THE RESOLUTION	CHAPTER	PAGE
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1951	51.01	October 20	Delhi	Inaugl. AIS	4	109
	51.02	October 20	Delhi	Inaugl. AIS	4	109
1952	52.01	February 10	Delhi	CWC	2	55
	52.03	February 10	Delhi	CWC	4	109
	52.04	February 10	Delhi	CWC	3	85
	52.16	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	3	87
	52.17	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	4	110
	52.21	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	2	55
	52.22	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	3	88

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1953	53.05	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	4	110
	53.10	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	4	112
	53.14	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	3	89
	53.18	December 20	Delhi	CWC	4	113
1954	54.01	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	4	114
	54.02	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	4	115
	54.03	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	2	56
	54.06	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	2	56
	54.07	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	3	90
	54.11	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	3	90
	54.17	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	2	57
	54.20	May 8	Delhi	CWC	1	21
	54.24	November 7	Delhi	CWC	4	115
	1955	55.03	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	1
55.04		January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	2	57
55.07		January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	3	92
55.13		January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	4	115

1956	55.17	April 15	Gokak	CWC	2	58
	55.20	June 13	Delhi	CWC	4	116
	55.32	October 23	Delhi	CWC	2	59
1957	56.03	February 19	Delhi	CWC	4	116
	56.15	July 21	Delhi	CWC	4	117
	56.19	October 6	Poona	CWC	2	60
	56.21	October 6	Poona	CWC	1	24
	56.24	December 30	Delhi	V AIS	2	61
	57.02	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	4	117
1958	57.06	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	4	117
	57.08	June 1	Delhi	CWC	1	25
	57.13	August 16	Bilaspur	AIGC	1	26
	57.21	November 24	Hyderabad	CWC	1	27
	57.22	November 24	Hyderabad	CWC	1	29
	58.02	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	1	30
	58.04	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	3	94
1959	58.12	July 19	Bombay	CWC	1	31
	58.13	July 19	Bombay	CWC	3	97

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1958 (Contd.)	58.29	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	1	32
1959	59.09	July 8	Poona	AIGC	2	62
1960	60.07	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	1	33
	60.19	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	1	35
	60.22	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	2	63
1961	61.18	November 12	Varanasi	AIGC	4	118
	61.21	November 12	Varanasi	AIGC	2	63
1962	62.06	May 24	Kota	AIGC	2	63
	62.11	September 29	Rajamundry	CWC	1	36
	62.15	October 31	Delhi	CWC	1	38
963	63.06	April 6	Delhi	CWC	1	38
	63.07	June 13	Allahabad	CWC	4	118
	63.12	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	4	119
	63.17	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	1	40

1963 (Contd.)	63.23	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	4	121
1964	64.05	May 25	Delhi	CWC	4	123
	64.18	December 4	Patna	CWC	4	123
1965	65.04	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	1	41
	65.05	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	3	97
	65.10	April 3	Jaipur	CWC	1	42
	65.15	July 10	Jabalpur	CWC	1	45
1967	67.02	March 14	Delhi	CWC	2	64
	67.03	March 14	Delhi	CWC	2	65
	67.18	September 19	Baroda	CWC	1	46
	67.23	December 26	Calcutt	XIV AIS	1	47
1968	68.01	February 13	Delhi	CWC	4	123
	68.02	February 13	Delhi	CWC	4	125
	68.12	September 7	Indore	AIGC	4	125
	68.16	September 7	Indore	AIGC	3	98
	68.20	December 16	Delhi	CWC	1	49

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1969	69.11	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	3	100
1970	70.03	March 7	Ahmedabad	CWC	2	67
1971	71.01 71.03	March 15 July 2	Delhi Udaipur	CWC XVII AIS	2 2	69 71
1972	72.05 72.09 72.10	March 20 May 7 May 7	Delhi Bhagalpur Bhagalpur	CWC AIGC AIGC	2 2 3	74 76 103
	*72.12	July 17	Delhi	CWC	4	127

*See footnote on page 127.

APPENDIX B

DATES ETC. OF ALL THE RESOLUTIONS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

YEAR	RESOLUTION No.	DATE	PLACE	BODY WHICH PASSED THE RESOLUTION	VOLUME	CHAPTER	PAGE
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1951	51.01 51.02	October 20 October 20	Delhi Delhi	Inaugl. AIS Inaugl. AIS	5 5	4 4	109 109
1952	52.01 52.02 52.03 52.04 52.05 52.06 52.07	February 10 February 10 February 10 February 10 February 10 February 10 June 14	Delhi Delhi Delhi Delhi Delhi Delhi Delhi	CWC CWC CWC CWC CWC CWC CWC	5 2 5 5 4 4 4	2 4 4 3 1 1 1	55 121 109 85 19 19 20

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1952 (Contd.)	52.08	June 14	Delhi	CWC	2	2	45
	52.09	June 14	Delhi	CWC	3	2	21
	52.10	June 14	Delhi	CWC	2	2	46
	52.11	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	4	2	101
	52.12	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	4	2	101
	52.13	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	3	2	22
	52.14	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	3	2	22
	52.15	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	3	2	47
	52.16	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	2	2	47
	52.17	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	5	3	87
	52.18	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	5	4	110
	52.19	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	4	2	102
	52.20	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	2	1	5
	52.21	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	2	4	121
	52.22	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	5	2	55
	52.23	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	5	3	88
	52.24	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	2	1	5
	52.25	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	4	1	22
	52.26	December 31	Kanpur	I AIS	4	1	24
			Kanpur	I AIS	3	2	22

DATES ETC. OF ALL RESOLUTIONS

1953	53.01	February 10	Delhi	CWC	4	1	25
	53.02	July 4	Delhi	CWC	4	1	29
	53.03	July 4	Delhi	CWC	3	2	24
	53.04	July 4	Delhi	CWC	3	2	25
	53.05	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	5	4	110
	53.06	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	4	1	31
	53.07	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	4	1	32
	53.08	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	2	3	101
	53.09	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	3	2	25
	53.10	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	5	4	112
	53.11	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	4	1	33
	53.12	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	2	3	102
	53.13	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	2	2	48
	53.14	August 15	Allahabad	AIGC	5	3	89
	53.15	December 20	Delhi	CWC	3	2	26
	53.16	December 20	Delhi	CWC	3	2	27
	53.17	December 20	Delhi	CWC	3	2	28
	53.18	December 20	Delhi	CWC	5	4	113
	53.19	December 20	Delhi	CWC	2	2	48
1954	54.01	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	5	4	114

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1954 (Contd.)	54.02	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	5	4	115
	54.03	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	5	2	56
	54.04	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	2	1	7
	54.05	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	4	1	33
	54.06	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	5	2	56
	54.07	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	5	3	90
	54.08	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	3	2	29
	54.09	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	2	4	122
	54.10	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	3	2	31
	54.11	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	5	3	90
	54.12	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	2	3	103
	54.13	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	4	1	34
	54.14	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	4	1	34
	54.15	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	2	2	48
	54.16	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	4	2	102
	54.17	January 25	Bombay	II AIS	5	2	57
	54.18	May 8	Delhi	CWC	3	2	32
	54.19	May 8	Delhi	CWC	3	2	33
	54.20	May 8	Delhi	CWC	5	1	21

54.21	August 19	Indore	AIGC	2	2	49
54.22	August 19	Indore	AIGC	2	2	50
54.23	August 19	Indore	AIGC	4	1	35
54.24	November 7	Delhi	CWC	5	4	115
54.25	November 7	Delhi	CWC	2	2	50
1955						
55.01	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	2	3	104
55.02	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	2	3	105
55.03	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	5	1	22
55.04	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	5	2	57
55.05	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	4	3	104
55.06	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	4	1	36
55.07	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	5	3	92
55.08	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	3	2	34
55.09	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	3	2	35
55.10	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	3	2	35
55.11	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	2	2	51
55.12	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	2	4	122
55.13	January 1	Jodhpur	III AIS	5	4	115
55.14	April 15	Gokak	CWC	4	1	38
55.15	April 15	Gokak	CWC	2	4	123

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1955 (Contd.)	55.16	April 15	Gokak	CWC	3	2	36
	55.17	April 15	Gokak	CWC	5	2	58
	55.18	April 15	Gokak	CWC	2	2	52
	55.19	June 13	Delhi	CWC	4	1	39
	55.20	June 13	Delhi	CWC	5	4	116
	55.21	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	4	2	102
	55.22	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	4	3	146
	55.23	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	3	2	37
	55.24	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	3	2	52
	55.25	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	2	2	39
	55.26	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	3	2	39
	55.27	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	4	1	40
	55.28	August 28	Calcutta	AIGC	2	2	53
	55.29	October 23	Delhi	CWC	4	2	103
	55.30	October 23	Delhi	CWC	2	2	53
	55.31	October 23	Delhi	CWC	3	2	40
	55.32	October 23	Delhi	CWC	5	2	59
1956	56.01	February 19	Delhi	CWC	4	2	105

56.02	February 19	Delhi	CWC	4	2	107
56.03	February 19	Delhi	CWC	5	4	116
56.04	February 19	Delhi	CWC	32	4	1
56.05	April 21	Jaipur	IV AIS	4	1	41
56.06	April 21	Jaipur	IV AIS	4	2	107
56.07	April 21	Jaipur	IV AIS	3	2	41
56.08	April 21	Jaipur	IV AIS	4	1	42
56.09	April 21	Jaipur	IV AIS	2	4	123
56.10	April 21	Jaipur	IV AIS	3	2	43
56.11	July 21	Delhi	CWC	3	2	44
56.12	July 21	Delhi	CWC	4	3	146
56.13	July 21	Delhi	CWC	4	1	43
56.14	July 21	Delhi	CWC	2	1	8
56.15	July 21	Delhi	CWC	5	4	117
56.16	July 21	Delhi	CWC	4	1	44
56.17	July 21	Delhi	CWC	4	2	108
56.18	October 6	Poona	CWC	3	2	44
56.19	October 6	Poona	CWC	5	2	60
56.20	October 6	Poona	CWC	4	3	147
56.21	October 6	Poona	CWC	5	1	24
56.22	October 6	Poona	CWC	4	2	109

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1956	56.23	October 6	Poona	CWC	4	2	110
(Contd.)	56.24	December 30	Delhi	V AIS	5	2	61
	56.25	December 30	Delhi	V AIS	3	2	45
	56.26	December 30	Delhi	V AIS	2	1	10
	56.27	December 30	Delhi	V AIS	4	1	44
	56.28	December 30	Delhi	V AIS	3	2	45
1957	57.01	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	4	4	163
	57.02	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	5	4	117
	57.03	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	3	2	46
	57.04	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	4	4	163
	57.05	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	2	3	106
	57.06	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	5	4	117
	57.07	April 20	Jaunpur	CWC	4	1	46
	57.08	June 1	Delhi	CWC	5	1	25
	57.09	June 1	Delhi	CWC	2	4	124
	57.10	June 1	Delhi	CWC	2	3	108
	57.11	June 1	Delhi	CWC	2	2	54
	57.12	August 16	Bilaspur	AIGC	3	2	47

57.13	August 16	Bilaspur	AIGC	5	1	26	
57.14	August 16	Bilaspur	AIGC	2	2	55	
57.15	August 16	Bilaspur	AIGC	2	1	12	
57.16	August 16	Bilaspur	AIGC	2	2	55	
57.17	November 24	Hyderabad	CWC	2	2	57	
57.18	November 24	Hyderabad	CWC	3	2	49	
57.19	November 24	Hyderabad	CWC	3	2	50	
57.20	November 24	Hyderabad	CWC	3	2	51	
57.21	November 24	Hyderabad	CWC	5	1	27	
57.22	November 24	Hyderabad	CWC	5	1	29	
57.23	November 24	Hyderabad	CWC	3	2	52	
1958	58.01	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	4	1	46
58.02	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	5	1	30	
58.03	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	2	4	127	
58.04	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	5	3	94	
58.05	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	4	2	111	
58.06	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	4	4	164	
58.07	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	3	2	53	
58.08	April 5	Ambala	VI AIS	2	2	58	
58.09	July 19	Bombay	CWC	3	2	54	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1958	58.10	July 19	Bombay	CWC	3	2	55
(Contd.)	58.11	July 19	Bombay	CWC	2	2	59
	58.12	July 19	Bombay	CWC	5	1	31
	58.13	July 19	Bombay	CWC	5	3	97
	58.14	July 19	Bombay	CWC	4	4	166
	58.15	July 19	Bombay	CWC	4	2	112
	58.16	July 19	Bombay	CWC	4	4	166
	58.17	July 19	Bombay	CWC	3	2	57
	58.18	October 12	Delhi	CWC	3	2	57
	58.19	October 12	Delhi	CWC	3	2	58
	58.20	October 12	Delhi	CWC	2	2	60
	58.21	October 12	Delhi	CWC	4	1	48
	58.22	October 12	Delhi	CWC	3	2	59
	58.23	October 12	Delhi	CWC	4	4	168
	58.24	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	2	1	14
	58.25	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	2	2	61
	58.26	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	3	2	60
	58.27	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	3	2	62
	58.28	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	4	4	168

	58.29	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	5	1	32
	58.30	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	4	2	113
	58.31	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	4	4	169
	58.32	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	2	2	62
	58.33	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	2	3	109
	58.34	December 28	Bangalore	VII AIS	2	2	64
1959	59.01	March 15	Delhi	CWC	2	2	64
	59.02	March 15	Delhi	CWC	3	2	63
	59.03	March 15	Delhi	CWC	4	1	49
	59.04	March 15	Delhi	CWC	2	4	130
	59.05	July 8	Poona	AIGC	4	4	171
	59.06	July 8	Poona	AIGC	3	2	64
	59.07	July 8	Poona	AIGC	2	2	67
	59.08	July 8	Poona	AIGC	2	2	68
	59.09	July 8	Poona	AIGC	5	2	62
	59.10	September 20	Delhi	CWC	3	2	66
	59.11	September 20	Delhi	CWC	4	4	173
	59.12	September 20	Delhi	CWC	3	2	68
	59.13	December 6	Surat	CWC	3	2	68
	59.14	December 6	Surat	CWC	4	1	50

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1959	59.15	December 6	Surat	CWC	3	2	70
(Contd.)	59.16	December 6	Surat	CWC	4	2	113
1960	60.01	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	4	4	174
	60.02	January 26	Nagpur	VIII AIS	2	4	131
	63.03	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	3	2	71
	60.04	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	3	2	74
	60.05	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	4	1	51
	60.06	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	3	2	76
	60.07	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	5	1	33
	60.08	January 25	Nagpur	VIII AIS	4	2	114
	60.09	March 20	Nagpur	CWC	4	3	148
	60.10	March 20	Delhi	CWC	3	2	78
	60.11	March 20	Delhi	CWC	4	1	52
	60.12	June 1	Delhi	CWC	4	2	115
	60.13	June 1	Delhi	CWC	3	2	79
	60.14	June 1	Delhi	CWC	3	2	79
	60.15	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	4	1	53
	60.16	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	2	1	16

60.17	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	4	2	116	
60.18	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	4	3	148	
60.19	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	5	1	35	
60.20	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	3	2	80	
60.21	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	4	1	54	
60.22	August 28	Hyderabad	AIGC	5	2	63	
1961	61.01	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	4	1	55
	61.02	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	3	2	82
	61.03	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	3	2	82
	61.04	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	2	4	134
	61.05	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	2	1	19
	61.06	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	4	3	149
	61.07	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	4	1	57
	61.08	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	2	2	69
	61.09	January 1	Lucknow	IX AIS	3	2	84
	61.10	February 5	Delhi	CWC	4	1	59
	61.11	April 22	Patna	CWC	4	2	118
	61.12	April 22	Patna	CWC	4	4	178
	61.13	April 22	Patna	CWC	2	4	138
	61.14	August 25	Jammu	CWC	4	2	120
	61.15	August 25	Jammu	CWC	4	3	150

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1961 (Contd.)	61.16	August 25	Jammu	CWC	4	1	60
	61.17	November 12	Varanasi	AIGC	2	1	22
	61.18	November 12	Varanasi	AIGC	5	4	118
	61.19	November 12	Varanasi	AIGC	4	3	151
	61.20	November 12	Varanasi	AIGC	4	2	121
	61.21	November 12	Varanasi	AIGC	5	2	63
	62.01	March 3	Delhi	CWC	4	4	178
	62.02	May 24	Kota	AIGC	2	4	139
	62.03	May 24	Kota	AIGC	3	2	86
	62.04	May 24	Kota	AIGC	3	2	87
62.05	May 24	Kota	AIGC	3	2	88	
62.06	May 24	Kota	AIGC	5	2	63	
62.07	May 24	Kota	AIGC	4	1	61	
62.08	May 24	Kota	AIGC	4	1	62	
62.09	September 29	Rajamundry	CWC	2	4	140	
62.10	September 29	Rajamundry	CWC	3	2	88	
62.11	September 29	Rajamundry	CWC	5	1	36	
62.12	September 29	Rajamundry	CWC	4	1	63	

1963	62.13	September 29	Rajamundry	CWC	4	1	63
	62.14	October 31	Delhi	CWC	3	2	89
	62.15	October 31	Delhi	CWC	5	1	38
	62.16	December 30	Bhopal	X AIS	3	1	5
	62.17	December 30	Bhopal	X AIS	3	1	5
	62.18	December 30	Bhopal	X AIS	3	2	92
	62.19	December 30	Bhopal	X AIS	4	4	179
	62.20	December 30	Bhopal	X AIS	2	1	24
	62.21	December 30	Bhopal	X AIS	3	2	93
	63.01	January 20	Delhi	CWC	3	2	94
	63.02	April 6	Delhi	CWC	3	2	95
	63.03	April 6	Delhi	CWC	2	4	141
	63.04	April 6	Delhi	CWC	4	3	152
	63.05	April 6	Delhi	CWC	3	2	96
63.06	April 6	Delhi	CWC	5	1	38	
63.07	June 13	Allahabad	CWC	5	4	118	
63.08	June 13	Allahabad	CWC	4	4	182	
63.09	June 13	Allahabad	CWC	4	4	182	
63.10	June 13	Allahabad	CWC	4	1	64	
63.11	June 13	Allahabad	CWC	3	2	96	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1963	63.12	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	5	4	119
(Contd.)	63.13	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	3	2	97
	63.14	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	4	1	65
	63.15	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	4	1	66
	63.16	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	2	4	143
	63.17	August 12	Delhi	AIGC	5	1	40
	63.18	December 3	Delhi	CWC	3	2	98
	63.19	December 3	Delhi	CWC	4	1	68
	63.20	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	2	2	69
	63.21	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	2	4	145
	63.22	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	3	2	99
	63.23	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	5	4	121
	63.24	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	3	2	10
	63.25	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	4	4	183
	63.26	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	3	2	103
	63.27	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	3	2	104
	63.28	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	2	4	148
	63.29	December 30	Ahmedabad	XI AIS	4	1	68

1964	64.01	March 1	Delhi	CWC	3	2	104
	64.02	March 1	Delhi	CWC	4	1	69
	64.03	March 1	Delhi	CWC	3	2	107
	64.04	May 25	Delhi	CWC	3	2	108
	64.05	May 25	Delhi	CWC	5	4	123
	64.06	May 25	Delhi	CWC	3	2	112
	64.07	August 10	Gwalior	AIGC	2	4	148
	64.08	August 10	Gwalior	AIGC	3	2	115
	64.09	August 10	Gwalior	AIGC	4	1	70
	64.10	August 10	Gwalior	AIGC	4	1	70
	64.11	December 4	Patna	CWC	3	2	117
	64.12	December 4	Patna	CWC	2	4	151
	64.13	December 4	Patna	CWC	3	1	7
	64.14	December 4	Patna	CWC	3	2	119
	64.15	December 4	Patna	CWC	4	3	152
	64.16	December 4	Patna	CWC	3	2	119
	64.17	December 4	Patna	CWC	4	1	71
	64.18	December 4	Patna	CWC	5	4	123
1965	65.01	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	3	2	120
	65.02	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	4	4	184

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1965 (Contd.)	65.03	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	2	4	152
	65.04	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	5	1	41
	65.05	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	5	3	97
	65.06	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	2	2	70
	65.07	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	2	2	71
	65.08	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	2	2	71
	65.09	January 24	Vijayawada	XII AIS	4	1	73
	65.10	April 3	Jaipur	CWC	5	1	42
	65.11	April 3	Jaipur	CWC	4	4	187
	65.12	April 3	Jaipur	CWC	4	4	187
	65.13	April 3	Jaipur	CWC	3	2	124
	65.14	July 10	Jabalpur	CWC	3	2	125
	65.15	July 10	Jabalpur	CWC	5	1	45
	65.16	July 10	Jabalpur	CWC	4	2	122
	65.17	July 10	Jabalpur	CWC	4	1	73
	65.18	July 10	Jabalpur	CWC	2	1	71
	65.19	August 17	Delhi	AIGC	3	2	127
65.20	August 17	Delhi	AIGC	4	1	75	
65.21	August 17	Delhi	AIGC	2	1	25	

1965	65.22	August 17	Delhi	AIGC	2	2	73	
	65.23	August 17	Delhi	AIGC	4	1	77	
	65.24	September 27	Delhi	CWC	3	1	8	
	65.25	September 27	Delhi	CWC	3	1	8	
	65.26	September 27	Delhi	CWC	3	2	128	
	65.27	September 27	Delhi	CWC	2	2	74	
	1966	66.01	January 15	Kanpur	CWC	3	2	131
		66.02	January 15	Kanpur	CWC	4	2	123
		66.03	January 15	Kanpur	CWC	4	1	79
		66.04	January 15	Kanpur	CWC	3	2	132
		66.05	January 15	Kanpur	CWC	2	2	75
66.06		May 1	Jullundur	XIII AIS	3	1	9	
66.07		May 1	Jullundur	XIII AIS	4	4	188	
66.08		May 1	Jullundur	XIII AIS	2	4	156	
66.09		May 1	Jullundur	XIII AIS	2	2	76	
66.10		May 1	Jullundur	XIII AIS	4	2	124	
66.11		May 1	Jullundur	XIII AIS	4	4	190	
66.12		May 1	Jullundur	XIII AIS	4	1	80	
66.13		May 1	Jullundur	XIII AIS	2	3	111	
66.14		July 12	Lucknow	CWC	2	4	159	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
1966 (Contd.)	66.15	July 12	Lucknow	CWC	3	2	133	
	66.16	July 12	Lucknow	CWC	4	1	80	
	66.17	July 12	Lucknow	CWC	3	2	136	
	66.18	July 12	Lucknow	CWC	4	1	81	
	66.19	October 1	Calcutta	CWC	4	1	82	
	66.20	November 2	Nagpur	CWC	2	2	78	
	66.21	November 2	Nagpur	CWC	4	4	192	
	66.22	November 2	Nagpur	CWC	2	2	80	
	1967	67.01	March 14	Delhi	CWC	4	4	193
		67.02	March 14	Delhi	CWC	5	2	64
67.03		March 14	Delhi	CWC	5	2	65	
67.04		March 14	Delhi	CWC	4	4	194	
67.05		March 14	Delhi	CWC	2	2	81	
67.06		April 21	Delhi	AIGC	4	4	196	
67.07		April 21	Delhi	AIGC	4	4	197	
67.08		April 21	Delhi	AIGC	2	2	82	
67.09		June 30	Simla	CWC	3	2	137	
67.10		June 30	Simla	CWC	4	4	198	

1967 (Contd.)	67.11	June 30	Simla	CWC	4	1	83	
	67.12	June 30	Simla	CWC	4	4	200	
	67.13	June 30	Simla	CWC	3	2	138	
	67.14	June 20	Simla	CWC	2	4	162	
	67.15	September 19	Baroda	CWC	4	1	84	
	67.16	September 19	Baroda	CWC	2	4	163	
	67.17	September 19	Baroda	CWC	4	4	201	
	67.18	September 19	Baroda	CWC	5	1	46	
	67.19	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	2	2	83	
	67.20	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	3	2	139	
	67.21	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	2	4	165	
	67.22	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	4	4	202	
	67.23	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	5	1	47	
	67.24	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	2	2	83	
	67.25	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	4	4	205	
	67.26	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	3	2	141	
	67.27	December 26	Calicut	XIV AIS	4	1	85	
	1968	68.01	February 13	Delhi	CWC	5	4	123
		68.02	February 13	Delhi	CWC	5	4	125
68.03		March 22	Bhopal	CWC	3	2	141	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1968	68.04	March 22	Bhopal	CWC	3	1	11
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	68.06	March 22	Bhopal	CWC	2	4	171
	68.07	June 14	Gauhati	CWC	4	4	207
	68.08	June 14	Gauhati	CWC	4	1	86
	68.09	June 14	Gauhati	CWC	2	1	27
	68.10	June 14	Gauhati	CWC	2	2	84
	68.11	June 14	Gauhati	CWC	4	2	126
	68.12	September 7	Indore	AIGC	5	4	125
	68.13	September 7	Indore	AIGC	4	4	209
	68.14	September 7	Indore	AIGC	3	2	142
	68.15	September 7	Indore	AIGC	2	2	85
	68.16	September 7	Indore	AIGC	5	3	98
	68.17	September 7	Indore	AIGC	4	3	153
	68.18	September 7	Indore	AIGC	4	4	212
	68.19	December 16	Delhi	CWC	4	4	214
	68.20	December 16	Delhi	CWC	5	1	49
	68.21	December 16	Delhi	CWC	4	3	154

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1969	69.01	February 16	Delhi	CWC	4	2	131
	69.02	February 16	Delhi	CWC	4	2	133
	69.03	February 16	Delhi	CWC	4	3	155
	69.04	February 16	Delhi	CWC	4	4	216
	69.05	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	4	4	217
	69.06	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	2	1	30
	69.07	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	3	2	145
	69.08	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	4	1	90
	69.09	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	2	3	113
	69.10	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	2	2	88
	69.11	April 26	Bombay	XV AIS	5	3	100
	69.12	July 2	Raipur	CWC	4	4	219
	69.13	July 2	Raipur	CWC	4	2	135
	69.14	July 2	Raipur	CWC	4	4	221
	69.15	August 30	Delhi	CWC	4	4	174
	69.16	August 30	Delhi	CWC	2	1	34
	69.17	August 30	Delhi	CWC	4	4	222
	69.18	December 28	Patna	XVI AIS	2	4	176
	69.19	December 28	Patna	XVI AIS	4	2	136
	69.20	December 28	Patna	XVI AIS	4	4	225

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1970	70.01	January 14	Delhi	CWC	4	2	139
	70.02	March 7	Ahmedabad	CWC	2	4	179
	70.03	March 7	Ahmedabad	CWC	5	2	67
	70.04	July 18	Chandigarh	AIGC	3	2	150
	70.05	July 18	Chandigarh	AIGC	4	4	228
	70.06	July 18	Chandigarh	AIGC	2	8	183
	70.07	November 6	Delhi	CWC	4	4	230
	70.08	November 6	Delhi	CWC	2	4	187
	70.09	November 6	Delhi	CWC	3	2	152
	70.10	November 6	Delhi	CWC	4	4	233
	1971	71.01	March 15	Delhi	CWC	5	2
71.02		July 2	Udaipur	XVII AIS	3	2	153
71.03		July 2	Udaipur	XVII AIS	5	2	71
71.04		July 2	Udaipur	XVII AIS	2	4	190
71.05		August 13	Delhi	CWC	3	2	157
71.06		October 9	Madras	CWC	3	2	159
71.07		October 9	Madras	CWC	2	4	194
71.08		November 27	Ghaziabad	AIGC	3	1	12

1972	71.09	November 27	Ghaziabad	AIGC	2	4	197
	72.01	January 27	Bhopal	CWC	3	1	15
	72.02	January 27	Bhopal	CWC	3	2	161
	72.03	January 27	Bhopal	CWC	3	1	16
	72.04	March 20	Delhi	CWC	3	2	162
	72.05	March 20	Delhi	CWC	5	2	74
	72.06	March 20	Delhi	CWC	2	4	201
	72.07	May 7	Bhagalpur	AIGC	3	2	164
	72.08	May 7	Bhagalpur	AIGC	2	2	91
	72.09	May 7	Bhagalpur	AIGC	5	2	76
	72.10	May 7	Bhagalpur	AIGC	5	3	103
	72.11	May 7	Bhagalpur	AIGC	3	2	164
	72.12	July 17	Delhi	CWC	5	4	127
	72.13	July 17	Delhi	CWC	3	2	166
	72.14	November 20	Jaipur	CWC	3	1	36
	72.15	November 20	Jaipur	CWC	2	2	96
	72.16	November 20	Jaipur	CWC	2	3	115
	72.17	November 20	Jaipur	CWC	2	4	203
	72.18	November 20	Jaipur	CWC	4	3	156
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APPENDIX D

DATES AND PLACES REGARDING BJS FORMATION
AT STATE LEVEL

S. No.	State	Date	Year	Place
1	Andhra	December 8	1954	Guntur
2	Assam	October 28	1951	Gauhati
3	Bihar	October 14	1951	Patna
4	Delhi	June 1	1951	Delhi
5	Gujarat	September 17	1951	Rajkot
6	Haryana	November 6	1966	Rohtak
7	Himachal	June 25	1965	Nahan
8	Jammu-Kashmir	December 15	1963	———— ¹
9	Karnatak	September 16	1951	Bangalore
10	Kerala	September 21	1958	Calicut
11 (a)	Madhya Bharat	September 2	1951	Indore
(b)	Vidarbha	October 2	1951	Nagpur
(c)	Vindhya Pradesh	October 2	1951	Satna
(d)	Madhya Pradesh	November 11	1956	Ujjain
12	Maharashtra	August 23	1952	Poona
13	Orissa	June 19	1963	Jharsagudha
14	Punjab	May 27	1951	Jullundur
15	Rajasthan	October 13	1951	Jaipur
16	Tamilnadu	October 3	1958	Madras
17	Uttar Pradesh	September 2	1951	Lucknow
18 (a)	West Bengal	May 5	1951	Calcutta ²
(b)	West Bengal	October 21	1951	Calcutta ³
19	All India	October 21	1951	Delhi

1. Jammu-Kashmir Praja Parishad was merged into All India BJS

2. This formation was then named 'People's Party'

3. 'People's Party' was then named 'Bharatiya Jana Sangh'

Serial No.	Party	1952					1957			
		Candidates			Votes		Candidates			Polled
		Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	
1.	Congress	479	364	74.44	4,76,65,875	44.99	490	371	75.10	5,75,77
2.	Bharatiya Jana Sangh	93	3	0.61	32,46,288	3.06	130	4	0.80	71,40
3.	Swatantra Party	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4.	CPI (Marxist)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5.	CPI	49	16	3.27	34,84,401	3.29	108	27	5.47	1,07,50
6.	PSP	—	—	—	—	—	189	19	3.85	1,25,40
7.	SSP	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8.	Congress (Organisation)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9.	Others	1,253	106	21.68	5,15,47,931	48.66	602	73	14.78	3,24,87
	Total	1,874	489	100.00	10,59,44,495	100.00	1,519	494	100.00	12,05,10

APPENDIX E
LOK SABHA ELECTION RESULTS
TRENDS COMPARISON

		1957					1962					1967				
		Candidates			Votes		Candidates			Votes		Candidates			Votes	
	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	P
5	44.99	490	371	75.10	5,75,79,593	47.78	488	361	73.08	5,15,09,084	44.73	515	283	54.42	5,94,02,754	
8	3.06	130	4	0.80	71,49,824	5.93	196	14	2.83	74,15,170	6.44	251	35	6.73	1,37,15,931	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	173	18	3.64	90,85,252	7.89	179	44	8.46	1,26,59,540	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	58	19	3.66	61,40,738	
1	3.29	108	27	5.47	1,07,54,075	8.92	137	29	5.87	1,14,50,037	9.94	110	23	4.42	75,64,180	
	—	189	19	3.85	1,25,42,666	10.41	168	12	2.43	78,48,345	6.81	109	13	2.50	44,56,487	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	122	23	4.42	71,71,627	
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1	48.66	602	73	14.78	3,24,87,757	26.96	823	60	12.15	2,78,61,002	24.19	1,025	80	15.39	3,47,55,253	
5	100.00	1,519	494	100.00	12,05,13,915	100.00	1,985	494	100.00	11,51,68,890	100.00	2,369	520	100.00	14,58,66,510	

APPENDIX E
 ABHA ELECTION RESULTS
 TRENDS COMPARISON

1962						1967					1971				
Candidates			Votes			Candidates			Votes		Candidates			Votes	
Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	
488	361	73.08	5,15,09,084	44.73	515	283	54.42	5,94,02,754	40.73	441	352	67.95	6,40,40,246	43.68	
196	14	2.83	74,15,170	6.44	251	35	6.73	1,37,15,931	9.41	157	21	4.25	1,07,86,921	7.36	
173	18	3.64	90,85,252	7.89	179	44	8.46	1,26,59,540	8.68	59	9	1.54	44,98,188	3.07	
—	—	—	—	—	58	19	3.66	61,40,738	4.21	85	25	4.83	75,10,889	5.12	
137	29	5.87	1,14,50,037	9.94	110	23	4.42	75,64,180	5.19	87	23	4.42	69,35,627	4.73	
168	12	2.43	78,48,345	6.81	109	13	2.50	44,56,487	3.06	63	2	0.39	15,26,076	1.04	
—	—	—	—	—	122	23	4.42	71,71,627	4.92	93	3	0.58	35,54,839	2.42	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	238	16	3.09	1,52,79,051	10.42	
823	60	12.15	2,78,61,002	24.19	1,025	80	15.39	3,47,55,253	23.80	1,561	67	12.95	3,24,70,439	22.16	
1,985	494	100.00	11,51,68,890	100.00	2,369	520	100.00	14,58,66,510	100.00	2,784	518	100.00	14,66,02,276	100.00	

APPENDIX I
ASSEMBLY ELECTION
TRENDS COMPARE

Serial No.	Party	1952					1957					1962			
		Candidates			Votes		Candidates			Votes		Candidates			Votes
		Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled
1.	Congress	3,192	2,246	68.48	4,38,02,546	42.20	2,888	1,893	65.14	5,14,00,345	45.49	2,852	1,772	62.07	4,65,75,920
2.	Bharatiya Jana Sangh	718	35	1.07	28,66,566	2.76	578	46	1.58	43,72,420	4.03	1,140	116	4.06	63,70,893
3.	Swatantra Party	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,038	166	5.81	77,88,335
4.	CPI (Marxist)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5.	CPI	465	106	3.23	45,52,537	4.38	643	161	5.54	87,21,941	7.70	833	153	5.36	90,12,571
6.	PSP	—	—	—	—	—	1,109	195	6.71	1,13,99,428	10.07	1,064	149	5.22	73,52,361
7.	SSP	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	607	59	2.07	28,48,804
8.	Congress (Organisation)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9.	Socialist Party (1971)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10.	Others	10,986	893	27.22	5,25,79,550	50.66	4,958	611	21.03	3,73,23,177	32.71	5,112	440	15.41	2,49,97,712
	Total	15,361	3,280	100.00	10,38,01,199	100.00	10,176	2,906	100.00	11,32,17,311	100.00	12,646	2,855	100.00	10,49,46,596

APPENDIX F
 ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS
 TRENDS COMPARISON

Year	1962			1967					1969					1972				
	Votes		Candidates			Votes		Candidates			Votes		Candidates			Votes		
	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	Fielded	Won	Percentage	Polled	Percentage	
1967	4,65,75,920	44.38	3,443	1,692	48.50	5,72,52,357	39.96	1,238	480	37.56	2,10,38,775	35.41	2,558	1,936	70.22	5,37,11,611	48.02	
1966	63,70,893	6.07	1,607	268	7.68	1,25,67,918	8.78	824	98	7.67	73,55,009	12.38	1,233	104	3.77	95,75,661	8.56	
1961	77,88,335	7.42	978	257	7.37	95,19,231	6.65	155	11	0.86	6,84,195	1.15	306	15	0.55	16,36,934	1.46	
—	—	—	511	128	3.67	65,79,652	4.60	159	86	6.73	31,27,380	5.26	468	34	1.23	51,66,074	4.62	
1966	90,12,571	8.59	625	121	3.47	59,06,109	4.13	345	66	5.17	34,27,594	5.77	329	112	4.06	46,64,460	4.18	
1962	73,52,361	7.01	768	106	3.04	48,68,720	3.40	215	27	2.11	14,49,870	2.44	—	—	—	—	—	
1967	28,48,804	2.71	813	180	5.17	74,24,633	5.19	478	96	7.51	41,96,026	7.06	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	872	88	3.19	75,39,978	6.75	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	678	57	2.07	50,04,170	4.47	
1961	2,49,97,712	23.82	7,758	734	21.10	3,91,37,889	27.29	3,721	414	32.39	1,81,30,207	30.53	5,741	411	14.91	2,45,51,297	21.94	
1960	10,49,46,596	100.00	16,503	3,486	100.00	14,32,56,509	100.00	7,135	1,278	100.00	5,94,09,056	100.00	12,185	2,757	100.00	11,18,50,185	100.00	

APPENDIX G

CHRONOLOGY

- 1951 May 5 Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji forms 'People's Party' at Calcutta
- 27 'Bharatiya Jana Sangh' is formed at Jullundur by delegates from North West India
- September 8 BJS delegates from West Bengal, Madhya Bharat, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Delhi assemble in Delhi, prepare a 'Draft Manifesto' and call for an All India Inaugural Session of BJS at Delhi on October 21
- October 20-22 'All India Bharatiya Jana Sangh' is formed under the Presidentship of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji; over 500 delegates from various parts of the country assemble at Raghomal Arya Girls' Higher Secondary School New Delhi, for the Inaugural Session
- A rectangular saffron flag with a *Deepak* in the centre is adopted as the Party Flag
 - First party-manifesto is adopted
- 1952 February 10 To prepare the BJS Draft Constitution, a 7-member sub-committee is appointed by the CWC
- March 28 'National Democratic Party' (NDP) is formed by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji in Parliament consisting of BJS, Ganatantra Parishad, Hindu Maha Sabha, Tamilnadu Toilers Party, Akali-Dal,

- (1952)
- Commonweal Party, Dravida Kazhagam, Lok Sewak Sangh and Independents; the total strength becomes 38 *i.e.*, 32 Members from Lok-Sabha and 6 Members from Rajya Sabha
- June 14 Narrowing down of disparities in income to the ratio 1 : 20 is demanded
- 29 Protest Day against JK Assembly's recommendation that Jammu-Kashmir be made an autonomous republic within the Union
- August 7 Nehru-Abdulla Pact of July 24 is severely criticised by Dr. Mookerji in Lok Sabha
- 10 Dr. Mookerji meets Sheikh Abdulla in Srinagar
- 11 Dr. Mookerji attends Praja Parishad conference in Jammu and offers support to its demands
- October 26 'Cow Protection' Day to demand an all India law banning cow slaughter
- November 23 'East Bengal' Day to highlight the sad plight of minorities
- 26 JK Praja Parishad launches Satyagraha in Jammu against the existence of two Flags, two Constitutions and two Presidents in one country; BJS supports the movement
- Dec. 29-31 I AIS at Kanpur; presided over by Dr. S. P. Mookerji
- Party constitution is adopted
- Demand for a Commission for Reorganising States
- South Africa's apartheid policy is condemned
- 1953 March 6 Satyagraha for Integration of Kashmir begins at Delhi
- May 11 Dr. Mookerji enters JK without permit; he is arrested and whisked away to

- (1953)
- May 11 Srinagar Jail
Volunteers from all over the country begin entering JK; 10,750 Satyagrahis participate
- June 23 Dr. S. P. Mookerji becomes a martyr while in jail; the Satyagrah is suspended
- July 7 Pt. Mauli Chandra Sharma is elected President
- Joint Action Committee withdraws the JK Satyagraha
- August 9 Sheikh Abdulla is dismissed from the Prime Ministership of JK and is put behind the bars
- 15-16 AIGC at Allahabad
- December 20 Warning about Chinese aggression
- Call for a 'National Defence Programme'
- 27 'National Defence Week' begins; demonstration against US arms aid to Pakistan
- 1954 January 22-25 II AIS at Bombay; presided over by Pt. Mauli Chandra Sharma
- Call for *Swadeshi*
- April 13 Demand for police action in Goa
- July 22 Liberation of Dadra under the leadership of BJS worker Sri Narwane
- 29 Narwane again leads liberation of Naroли
- August 15 Indian national flag is hoisted on the Portuguese Government Secretariat building at Panjim by a BJS worker Hemant Soman
- 18-19 AIGC at Indore
- The 1954 Election Manifesto is adopted
- November 7 JK Praja Parishad is affiliated to BJS
- Pt. Mauli Chandra Sharma is expelled; Sri Babu Saheb Sohani is elected President

1954-55

Dec. 28-Jan. 2 III AIS at Jodhpur ; presided over by Pt. Prem Nath Dogra

— Call for reorientation of Educational System

1955 April 15 Goa Liberation Committee is formed

June 13 Enrolment of volunteers for Goa Satyagraha begins

23 All India Secretary Sri Jagannath Rao Joshi leads a batch of 101 Satyagrahis into Goa ; he is arrested, jailed and tortured by Portuguese authorities

August 15 BJS leader Raja Bhau Mahakal of Madhya Pradesh falls a martyr to Portuguese bullets in Goa

27-29 AIGC at Calcutta

— Punjabi Suba demand is opposed

— Concern about the plight of Indian settlers in Ceylon

— Concern about the acute distress of Indians in Burma due to the nationalisation of trade etc.

1956 April 19-22 IV AIS at Jaipur ; presided over by Prof. Deva Prasad Ghosh

June 28 All India Secretary Veer Yagya Dutta Sharma begins an indefinite fast at Hoshiyarpur (Punjab) demanding judicial probe into the police atrocities on women processionists there

July 16 Veer Yagya Dutta Sharma ends his fast

21 Call to form a United Independent Indian Christian Church free from foreign support

Dec. 29-31 V AIS in Delhi ; presided over by Prof. Deva Prasad Ghosh

— The 1957 Election Manifesto is adopted

— Call to eradicate communalism through Indianisation

1957 April 20 Demand to remove statues of British Rulers on the occasion of the centenary celebrations of the First War of Independence

June 1 Demand for Second Pay Commission

August 8 An 11-day All India Study Camp begins at Bilaspur

16-18 AIGC at Bilaspur

— Demand to reduce land-tax after the Zamindari abolition

— Warning against cooperative farming

1958 April 4-6 VI AIS at Ambala ; presided over by Prof. Deva Prasad Ghosh

— Demand that there be a provision in the Indian Constitution for the financial resources and elections for Local Bodies

July 19 Demand to reorganise the Bombay state into two separate states of Maharashtra and Gujarat

October 12 Nehru-Noon Agreement is opposed by the CWC

— Concern over the possible consequences of a military coup in Pakistan on October 7

November 2 Protest Day against Nehru-Noon Agreement

Dec. 26-28 VII AIS at Bangalore ; presided over by Prof. Deva Prasad Ghosh

— The 1958 Election Manifesto is adopted

— Concern about the 'Stateless' Overseas Indians

— Demand for inclusion of Sindhi language in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution

— Demand for a binding award by a tribunal on Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute

— Demand for a ceiling on land-holdings capable of yielding about 6 to 10 thousand rupees a year per family

- 1959 February 8 Protest Day against the permit-system for entry into JK
- March 15 Opposition to Berubari Transfer Bill
- 30 Demonstration against Chinese intrusions into Indian territory, before its Embassy
- April 1 Permit-system for entry into JK ends
- June 27 A 10-day All India Study Camp begins at Poona
- July 7-8 AIGC at Poona
- Support to the popular struggle in Kerala against the Communist misrule
- Opposition to some provisions in the proposed Indo-Pak Canal Waters Agreement
- Demand for Tibet's Independence and for its membership of the UNO
- August 28 Sri A. B. Vajpayee demands in Lok Sabha the Government issue a White Paper detailing border disputes and all other developments with China so that the world opinion may be well informed
- September 6 'Defend Indian Borders' Day
- 7 First White Paper on Sino-Indian relations (1954-59) is laid on the Table of the Parliament
- 20 Demand for handing over the border security to the army to get the Chinese aggression vacated
- October 1-21 Countrywide campaign against co-operative farming ; about 50,000 villages are approached
- November 15 'Repel Chinese Aggression' Day
- 1960 January 23-25 VIII AIS at Nagpur ; presided over by Sri Pitamber Das
- Demand for Educational Reforms
- February 27 'No Talks with Chou' Day
- April 10-17 'Stand Firm Week' on the eve of Prime

- (1960)
- August 27-28 Minister Chou's arrival in Delhi
- AIGC at Hyderabad
- Blanket ban on government employees' right to strike is opposed
- Warning about intensive military preparations by China to attack India
- Demand for judicial enquiry into Assam communal disturbances
- September 19 Protest against some provisions of the Canal Waters Agreement
- October 23 'Kashmir Day' to protest against Prime Minister's acceptance of *status quo* with Pakistan in Kashmir
- December 16 Demonstration in front of Parliament House against the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan
- 1960-61
- Dec. 30-Jan. 1 IX AIS at Lucknow ; presided over by Sri A. Rama Rao
- Demand to stop exploitation of UNO and to make it more meaningful
- 1961 February 5 Support to 'Berubari Pratiraksha Samiti' in resisting the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan
- April 22 Warning about rising dissatisfaction in Bastar Vanavasis
- August 25 Warning about the explosive situation in Jammu due to JK Government's blatant discrimination against it
- Nov. 12-15 AIGC at Varanasi
- The 1962 Election Manifesto is adopted
- 1962 February 10 'No Compromise' Day against the acceptance of Colombo Proposals
- May 24-27 AIGC at Kota
- Concern at deterioration in Indo-Nepalese relations

- (1962) July 1 Demonstration against rise in Railway fares
- September 29 Call to intensify agitations against regressive taxes
- October 31 Pledge for all help to war efforts
— Call to help Tibetan Freedom Fighters
- Dec. 29-31 X AIS at Bhopal; presided over by Acharya Raghuvira
— Demand to make the Third Plan defence-oriented
— Demand for reorientation of foreign policy with a view to take cognisance of the emerging of the Multi-polar character of international politics
- 1963 January 20 Demand for demilitarisation of Tibet
- May 14 Acharya Raghuvira meets with a fatal car accident while on an election tour in Uttar Pradesh
- June 13 Prof. Deva Prasad Ghosh is elected President
- August 11-12 AIGC at Delhi
- December 15 JK Praja Parishad merges into Bharatiya Jana Sangh
28-30 XI AIS at Ahmedabad; presided over by Prof. Deva Prasad Ghosh
- 1964 February 9 'East Bengal' Day to protest against the massacre of Hindus in Pakistan
- May 17 'Kashmir is India' Day
- August 10-15 AIGC at Gwalior
— AIGC at Gwalior discusses the draft of the document 'Principles and Policy' including 'Integral Humanism'
- November 3-6 A sub-committee of the CWC approves the draft of the Document 'Principles and Policy'

- (1964) Dec. 4 Demand for judicial probe into charges of corruption against Orissa Ministers
— Demand for an independent Nuclear Deterrent
— CWC approves the Document 'Principles and Policy'
- 1965 Jan. 23-26 XI AIS at Vijayawada; presided over by Pt. Bachhraj Vyasa
— The Document 'Principles and Policy' is adopted
- February 22 'Official Language' Day to protest against the extra-ordinary power being given to every state to have the use of English at the Centre as an Associate Official Language for any length of time
- 1965 March 17 Pakistani Rangers occupy Kanjarkot in Kutch
25 Pak aggression continues; they occupy Ding
- April 9 Pak attack on Sardar Post and Vigokot
24 Pakistan's further attack on Point 84
— Demand for taking back Kanjarkot
- May 2-9 'Change the Plan' Campaign
- June 30 Demonstrations and arrests against the proposed Kutch Pact
- July 1 India signs Kutch Pact with Pakistan
4 'Anti-Kutch Cease-fire' Day
10 Demand for a 10-mile security zone along the border in Assam to safeguard against possible Pak attack
- Jul. 23-Aug. 9 About 1,00,000 demonstrations in various parts of the country against Kutch Pact
- August 5 Massive Pak infiltration into Kashmir
16 Historic demonstration in front of Parliament House against the Kutch Pact (BBC estimates participation by 5,00,000)

- (1965) Aug. 17-18 AIGC at Delhi ; protest against the proposed meeting with the Pak Foreign Minister in New Delhi
- 19 Meeting with the Pak Foreign Minister in Delhi is put off
- Indian armies liberate Kargil posts
- September 1 Pak attacks Chhamb ; Indo-Pak War begins
- 6-23 BJS mobilises civilian support to War efforts : carrying food to soldiers on the front, help in mopping up Pak infiltrators and parachuters, blood donation, women's aid in nursing the wounded, collection and supply of required material to hospitals, traffic regulation responsibility in Delhi, canteen arrangements for the Jawans in transit, looking after the families of Jawans, public honour to the families of the War Heroes, defence committees in wards and villages, night patrolling in sensitive areas, civil defence, 'Vijaya Vrat' to save food ; blankets, woollen garments, medicines and milk powder for about 2 lac displaced persons from the War areas
- 17 Russia advises cease-fire and suggests a meeting between Prime Minister Shastri and President Ayub on Russian soil ; BJS opposes involvement/presence of a third power
- 23 Cease-fire
- 27 Homage to valiant War Heroes
- 1966 January 10 Tashkent Declaration
- February 5 'Anti-Tashkent Declaration' Week begins
- 6 'Retain Haji Pir' Day
- 15 Demonstration before Parliament House against Tashkent Declaration

- (1966) March 9 All India Secretary Veer Yagya Dutta Sharma goes on an indefinite fast to preserve the unity of Punjab
- 16 Veer Yagya Dutta Sharma ends his fast ; Government assures to maintain all feasible links of unity between the two new units, reorganisation of Punjab without any religious, communal or sectarian considerations and full safeguards for the linguistic and other rights of minorities
- All India Bar Association appoints an enquiry committee of 3 retired High Court Judges to enquire into charges of police atrocities on the people of Punjab and other happenings
- April 13 Petition signed by 50,000 Vanavasis is submitted to the Madhya Pradesh Assembly demanding land-reforms ; farmers and Vanavasis stage Satyagraha in Bhopal for land-reforms
- Apl. 30-May 2 XIII AIS at Jullundur ; presided over by Prof. Balraj Madhok
- Demand for an open enquiry by an enlarged Enquiry Commission into the police killings in Bastar
- Demand to bring pressure on Portugal to release the freedom-fighters Sri Mohan Ranade and Dr. Mascarenhans
- July 12 Devaluation of Rupee is denounced
- Support to the people of Mauritius in their fight for Freedom
- November 2 Warning about widespread and deep public resentment against government's apathy towards the national demand for banning cow slaughter ; support to the All Party Cow Protection agitation
- The 1967 Election manifesto is adopted

- 1967** March 5 Coalition government is formed in Bihar; BJS is a constituent
- 12 Coalition government is installed in Punjab with BJS among the coalition parties
- 14 Decision to join coalition governments is approved by the CWC
- 18 In Delhi Metropolitan Council BJS forms the Executive Council
- 24 A non-Congress coalition is formed in Haryana; BJS supports the government but does not join it
- April 6 A coalition government is formed in UP; BJS is in the coalition
- 21-23 AIGC at Delhi
- Decision to join non-Congress governments on the basis of time-bound minimum common programme is endorsed; but people are cautioned not to expect miracles from these governments which suffer from inherent limitations
- June 30 Demand to treat the Naxalbari menace as a law and order problem
- Demand to appoint a permanent Finance Commission to apportion from time to time resources between Centre and States according to their growing needs
- July 31 A coalition government including BJS is installed in Madhya Pradesh
- Dec. 26-30 XIV AIS at Calcutt; presided over by Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya
- Appeal for relief to Koyna earthquake victims
- Opposes imposition of any language; allowing the highest education and also UPSC Examinations through regional languages is suggested

- 1968** January 26 'Reduce Voting Age to 18 Years' Day
- February 11 Martyrdom of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya; the body is found lying near railway track at Moghul Serai Junction
- 13 Sri Atal Behari Vajpayee is elected President
- 23 Pledge Day is observed; all branches resolve to rededicate themselves for BJS ideals
- March 22 Warning against 'non-Proliferation Treaty'
- April 14 Protest Day against Tribunal's award regarding Kutch
- 14-21 Satyagraha in Khawada near Bhuj (Gujarat) against the handing over of areas of Kutch to Pakistan
- June 17-23 Kisan demonstrations at 167 tehsil and district centres in U.P.; about 60,000 farmers participate
- July 8-11 All India Women's Training Camp at Nagpur
- 14 'Save Assam' Day to demand a defence oriented high-power Commission for the reorganisation of Eastern Region
- 21 Demonstration before Russian Information Centre Delhi to protest against Russian arms aid to Pakistan; 800 arrested
- August 25 'Save Czechoslovakia' Day
- September 7 Support for the demands of Central government employees
- October 1-20 Demonstrations at 150 block-centres in Bihar against maladministration under President's rule; 30,000 participate
- 8 Special Sessions Judge at Varanasi begins trial of the accused in Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya's mysterious murder
- Dec. 1-2 U.P. Provincial Harijan and Backward Classes Conference demands land-reforms and other facilities

- (1968) 16 Vindictive attitude of government towards employees who participated in September 19 strike is deplored
- 1969 March 28 'Implement Gajendragadkar Commission Report' rally in Jammu; 15,000 participate
- April 24 All India Study Groups meetings at Bombay
- 25-27 XV AIS at Bombay; presided over by Sri Atal Behari Vajpayee
- Demand to withdraw the Black Acts which encroach upon the legitimate Trade Union Rights
- Demand for a High-power Expert Commission to consider all Regional issues in an integrated manner
- May 11-18 Demonstrations to uphold women's honour and condemnation of the Ravindra Sarovar incident at Calcutta
- June 2-July 16 Satyagraha to oppose the formation of Malapuram district in Kerala on communal basis which might become a security risk also; Pt. Bachhraj Vyas leads
- June 2 Demand for a High-power Judicial Commission to find out the truth about Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya murder mystery
- 9 Special Sessions Judge in Varanasi acquits the accused in Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya's murder case and comments: "The problem of truth about the murder still remains."
- 22 Seventy-two MPs belonging to almost all parties demand the guilty to be brought to book in the Deendayal Upadhyaya murder mystery
- July 2-8 All India Study Camp at Raipur
- August 5 Decision announced in Parliament to

- (1969) appoint a Commission of Enquiry to probe into the murder mystery of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya
- October 12 Kerala State Harijan Conference
- 16 'Rabat Humiliation' Protest Day
- 23 Notification issued appointing Chandrachuda Commission for Upadhyaya murder case
- 26 50,000 people led by Sri Vajpayee present a 21-point Memorandum to the U.P. Chief Minister at Lucknow
- December 13 A memorandum containing 21 demands for the Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes is submitted to the Chief Minister by the Kerala Pradesh Jana Sangh
- 28-30 XIV AIS at Patna; presided over by Sri Atal Behari Vajpayee
- Warning about the danger to Democracy from the Congi-Communist-Muslim League Trinity
- BJS Study Cell presents the 'Swadeshi Plan' at Patna
- Call for the Indianisation campaign to subordinate all the narrow loyalties to the overriding loyalty for the Nation
- Appeal to all nationalist and democratic parties to supplement their politics of competition with politics of cooperation
- Warning about an early Lok Sabha poll being inherent in the situation
- 1970 January 28 Protest against atrocities on minorities in East Bengal
- Feb. 8-15 'Strengthen Democracy Week' to commemorate the Second Death Anniversary of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyaya
- March 1 Demonstrations against proposed rise in

- (1970)
- March 1 Railway fares
III class railway fares are reduced
- April 5-20 Agitation against price-rise and heavy taxation
- June 28 'East Bengal Day' to mobilise support and sympathy for the displaced persons from East Pakistan
- July 18-19 AIGC at Chandigarh
- BJS Study Cell releases 'Plan for Full Employment'
- Decision to collect mass signatures on a Memorandum to the President of India demanding (1) Inclusion of 'Right to Work' in the Fundamental Rights, (2) Production of Nuclear Deterrent, (3) Reduction of voting age to 18 years, (4) Time-bound programme to allot land to the landless labour specially to those belonging to the Scheduled Castes/Tribes and other Backward Classes, (5) Interest-free and easy 5-year loans to farmers having uneconomic holdings
- September 7 Demand in Rajasthan to issue *Patta* for Re 1.00 only to the Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes and slum-dwellers
- October 20 Chandrachud Commission submits its report to the Government
- November 6 Suggestion to draw up a Code of Coalition Conduct to provide guidelines to coalescing parties regarding their *inter-se* relations
- Appeal to the Annual Conference of Governors to spell out in clear terms the limits of a Governor's discretion and suggest statutory guidelines to govern his discretionary powers
- Prediction of an early Lok Sabha poll; call for Party units to get set for the poll and gear up election machinery

- (1970) 27 Chandrachud Commission Report regarding the murder mystery of Pt. Upadhyaya is laid on the Table of Parliament
- 1971 January 18 The 'War on Poverty' Manifesto for the mid-term poll of Lok Sabha is issued
- February 8-15 'Save Democracy' Week from the growing menace of the Congi-Communist-Muslim League Trinity
- March 9 Over 2 lac signatures obtained on a memorandum from the slum-dwellers and Backward Classes of Maharashtra; demonstration in front of Assembly House in Bombay
- 25 Mass demonstration by Vanavasis at Katghora in Bilaspur (M.P.) for land-reforms etc.
- April 14 'Demands Day' on Dr. Ambedkar's birthday throughout Maharashtra by the Harijans and Backward Classes
- 25 'Independent Bangladesh' Day
- June 6 'No-tax-on-the-common-man' day
- July 3-4 XVII AIS at Udaipur; presided over by Sri Atal Behari Vajpayee
- August 1-12 'Recognise Bangladesh' Satyagraha; over 28,000 arrested
- 13 Cautious endorsement of Indo-Soviet Treaty; 'The Treaty should be judged by its working and not by its wording'—says BJS
- September 25 Demand Day to recognise Bangladesh immediately
- Nov. 1-15 Anti-price-rise agitation; three phases :
(i) Collection of data of prevailing prices
(ii) Ladies demonstrations on district centres on Nov. 8
(iii) Demonstrations by underfed and underclothed on 'Children's Day' 14th Nov.

- (1971) Nov. 27-28 AIGC at Ghaziabad
- Demand for ceiling on urban property ; ceiling suggested is Rs. 2 lacs in construction value plus 1000 sq. yds of land for one family ;
 - Demand for a Special Pay Commission to review the pay-scales and emoluments of the Defence Personnel
 - Demand that India be given a permanent seat in the Security Council; 'The 26 years old structure of UN is out of date'— opines BJS
 - Demand to strengthen the Indian Navy to make it the biggest in the Indian Ocean for the security of India and peace in South Asia
 - Appeal to mobilise one lac blood-donors to meet the Bangladesh War requirements
- December 3 Pakistan attacks India ; Bangladesh War begins ; BJS mobilises civil efforts : to donate blood for the wounded Jawans, to collect materials for the displaced persons from Tharparkar and Chhamb areas, running of canteens for Jawans moving through railways and roadways and also collection and supply of necessary materials to hospitals
- 17 'Protest Day' against hasty cease-fire
 - 19 'Victory Day' to celebrate nation's Victory in the 'Indo-Pak War' and welcome the birth of Bangladesh
 - 22-24 Satyagraha by Vanavasis in Bhopal ; over 600 are arrested in front of Assembly House for demanding land-reforms
 - 23 A delegation of MPs including those of BJS, hands over to the Prime Minister a memorandum signed by over 105 MPs demanding a judicial probe into charges against the Haryana CM Sri Bansilal

- 1972 January 6 Janata Party of Bihar joins Bharatiya Jana Sangh
- 27 Warning about another Tashkent after Assembly elections
 - The 1972 Election Manifesto is adopted
- March 20 BJS urges 'Package Deal' in order to ensure durable peace
- April 2 'No Second Tashkent' Day
- May 5-7 AIGC at Bhagalpur
- Demand for Electoral Reforms including change in the Electoral System
 - Demand for granting full rehabilitation and Citizenship Rights to all displaced persons from Sind
 - Suggestion to fix the ceiling on land yielding about Rs. 1,500 net monthly income per family
 - Urges to take steps to increase the rate of growth to 10 per cent with complete self-reliance
 - Demand to fix a ceiling of Rs. 2000 per month per family on expendable income
- June 4-11 Demonstrations before 44 All India Radio centres in the country demanding and end of the misuse of AIR and TV for party ends and for making an Autonomous Corporation for them
- 19 President Atal Behari Vajpayee undertakes a token fast at the Hutatma Chowk Bombay to protest against atrocities on Harijans in Maharashtra
- July 5 An attack on BJS Central Office Delhi, by Congress(R) mob including some Congress(R) VIPs; it is successfully repulsed
- 7 Another Congress(R) attack on Calcutta BJS Office
 - 13 About 1000 women stage *Dharna* in front of the PM's residence in protest against the Simla Agreement

- (1972) 25 Sri Atal Behari Vajpayee M.P. starts Satyagraha at Gadra Road (Rajasthan) against Indian troops withdrawals from occupied Pak territory
- 31 Over 50,000 persons demonstrate before Parliament to protest against the Simla Agreement
- August 3 Satyagraha in Sukho-chak (Sialkot Sector) is led by Sri Jagannath Rao Joshi, M.P.
- 7 Agitation against price-rise begins; two killed in Khera (Gujarat) by police bullets
- 8 Satyagraha at Suigam (Gujarat) is led by Dr. Bhai Mahavir M.P.
- 11 Veer Yagya Dutta Sharma begins *Dharna* at Bhairon Nath Temple (Sialkot Sector)
- 15 Sri Arvindo Centenary is celebrated to pledge for Akhand Bharat
- October 31 Over 584 Vanavis arrested while picketing the government offices in Wynad (Kerala); 101 Vanavis go to Trivendrum for demonstration demanding ownership rights over the lands under their possession
- November 20 Demand for a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the functioning in India of all Foreign Intelligence agencies
- Dec. 3-17 'Jai Jawan' Fortnight
- 17 Protest Day against the surrender of Chhamb, Dhum and Ghikot to Pakistan

APPENDIX H

THE KUTCH PACT*

AGREEMENT DATED 30TH JUNE, 1965
Between the Governments of India and Pakistan

WHEREAS both the Governments of India and Pakistan have agreed to a cease-fire and to restoration of the *status quo* as at 1 January 1965, in the area of the Gujarat/West Pakistan border, in the confidence that this will also contribute to a reduction of the present tension along the entire Indo/Pakistan border;

WHEREAS it is necessary that after the *status quo* has been established in the aforesaid Gujarat/West Pakistan border area, arrangements should be made for determination and demarcation of the border in that area;

NOW, therefore, the two Governments agree that the following action shall be taken in regard to the said area:

Article 1

There shall be an immediate cease-fire with effect from 00.30 hrs. GMT, July 1, 1965.

Article 2

On the cease-fire :

- (i) All troops on both sides will immediately begin to withdraw;
- (ii) This process will be completed within seven days;
- (iii) Indian police may then re-occupy the post at Chhad Bet in strength not greater than that employed at the post on December 31, 1964;
- (iv) India and Pakistan police may patrol on the tracks on which they were patrolling prior to 1 January 1965,

*Due to oversight this Pact could not find its rightful place on page 211 in Volume 3. Hence it is being given here.

provided that their patrolling will not exceed in intensity with which they were doing prior to 1 January 1965 and during the monsoon period will not exceed in intensity that done during the monsoon period of 1964;

- (v) If patrols of Indian and Pakistan police should come into contact they will not interfere with each other, and in particular will act in accordance with West Pakistan/India border ground rules agreed to in January 1960;
- (vi) Officials of the two Governments will meet immediately after the cease-fire and from time to time thereafter as may prove desirable in order to consider whether any problems arise in the implementation of the provisions of paragraphs (iii) to (v) above and to agree on the settlement of any such problem.

Article 3

In view of the fact that:

(a) India claims that there is no territorial dispute as there is a well established boundary running roughly along the northern edge of the Rann of Kutch as shown in the pre-partition maps, which needs to be demarcated on the ground;

(b) Pakistan claims that the border between India and Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch runs roughly along the 24th Parallel as is clear from several pre-partition and post-partition documents and therefore the dispute involves some 3,500 square miles of territory;

(c) At discussions in January 1960, it was agreed by Ministers of the two Governments that they would each collect further data, regarding the Kutch-Sind boundary and that further discussions would be held later with a view to arriving at a settlement of this dispute;

(f) As soon as officials have finished the task referred to in Article 2(vi), which in any case will not be later than one month after the cease-fire, Ministers of the two Governments will meet in order to agree on the determination of the border in the light of their respective claims, and the arrangements for its demarcation. At this meeting and at any proceeding before the tribunal referred to in Article 3(ii) and (iv) below, each Government will be free to present and develop their case in full;

- (ii) In the event of no agreement between the Ministers of the two Governments on the determination of the border being reached within two months of the cease-fire, the two Governments shall, as contemplated in the joint communique of October 24, 1959, have recourse to the Tribunal referred to in (iii) below for determination of the border in the light of their respective claims and evidence produced before it and the decision of the Tribunal shall be final and binding on both parties;
- (iii) For this purpose there will be constituted, within four months of the cease-fire, a Tribunal consisting of three persons, none of whom would be a national of either India or Pakistan. One member shall be nominated by each Government and the third member, who will be the Chairman, shall be jointly selected by the two Governments. In the event of the two Governments failing to agree on the selection of the Chairman within three months of the cease-fire they shall request the Secretary General of the United Nations to nominate the Chairman;
- (iv) The decision of the Tribunal referred to in (iii) above shall be binding on both Governments, and shall not be questioned on any ground whatsoever. Both Governments undertake to implement the findings of the Tribunal in full as quickly as possible and shall refer to the Tribunal for decision any difficulties which may arise between them in the implementation of these findings. For that purpose the Tribunal shall remain in being until its findings have been implemented in full.

In witness whereof the undersigned have signed the present Agreement.

Done in duplicate at New Delhi this thirtieth day of June 1965 in the English language.

For the Govt. of Pakistan
(Sd. Arshad Husain)

For the Govt. of India
(Sd. Azim Husain)

APPENDIX J
PRINTING AMENDMENTS

In Volume 1

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Printed</i>	<i>Amended</i>
(ix)	16	Policies	Policy
(ix)	22	Policies	Policy
37	21	pérent	per cent
39	5	unemployed	unemployed
56	4	block	bloc
66	33	holding	holdings
71	21	belive	believe
73	10	puisory	pulsory
78	21	problems	problem
71	16	at the	at the cost of the
80	20	attendance	in attendance
83	3	potect	protect
91	30	expenditure	expenditure
92	13	with	to
105	17	of	to
105	29	iuculate	inculcate
109	1	of democracy	for democracy
109	6	in	to
162	31	Governments	Government
163	7	honour	honour
163	16	aad	and
164	11	mores	moorings
170	16	able-defend	able to defend
174	8	Nations	Nation

In Volume 2

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(ix)	22	Policies	Policy
30	22	June 4	June 14
69	9	[March 15, 1959; Delhi, CWC]	[July 8, 1959; Poona, AIGC]
85	32	June 4	June 14
90	3	unhygenic	unhygienic
91	16	April 25	April 26
109	22	Funamental	Fundamental
110	31	patriotic	patriotic
115	3	April 25	April 26

Page	Line	Printed	Amended
129	24	of the	the
135	37	nither	neither
143	15	surprise	surprise
160	23	will	will
162	8	devaluation	devaluation
162	14-15	bewilderment	bewilderment
167	8	undesirable	undesirable
181	27	school feeding of	feeding of school
191	9	budget of	budget in the
212	18	July 30	June 30
212	19	Sept. 26	Sept. 19
213	5	June 4	June 14
213	6	June 4	June 14
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213	10	April 25	April 26
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19	14	cautioning	cautioning
20	10	re-unification	re-unification
36	40	Agreements	Agreement
40	33	Governments	Government
57	21	force	farce
70	36	whatever	whatsoever
83	27	desire	desire
102	12	is gone	has again gone
115	8	cas	seas
127	38	1958	1965
132	22	pact	pacts
138	11	af	of
152	39	doubly	dipole
160	1	only helped	only not helped
160	19	on one	no one
176	21	throughout	throughout
179	29	Indian	India
180	20	revolved	resolved
183	19	and	an
193	14	Tex	Text
195	3	The	Tse
210	5	Will	With
211	4	Tashkent	14. Tashkent
212	37	ordes	order
214	29	international	international
231	27	lobies	lobbies
232	25	officials	officials'

Page	Line	Printed	Amended
232	28	reorganisation	recognition
233	5	on	of
233	27	Chau	Chou
234	17	reciprocity	reciprocity
236	4	meaningful	more meaningful
Note—(i) On page (xv) after line 16 for Kutch Pact see Volume 5.			
(ii) On page 33 after 'and' add 'France in this connection will result in the transfer of'.			
(iii) On page 211 after line 3 for Kutch Pact see Volume 5.			
(iv) On page 232 after line 31 add 'talks 25, 92'.			
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38	40	Rules	Rulers
41	17	barbariously	barbarously
43	23	dissention	dissension
49	23	October 15	October 12
70	37	withdrawal	withdrawal of
78	19	our	out
78	32	on	no
79	21	will	well
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90	36	of	of
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128	4	varying	vying
137	35	of pro-	to pro-
168	13	ar	of
176	7	ef	far
204	9	ho	who
215	4	institute	institution
227	21	substitute	supplement
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37	28	the English	English
40	29	the English	English
47	21	September	September

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63	17	Hydrabad	Hyderabad
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95	32	for	far
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96	25	too	to
96	36	V AIS	VI AIS
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