

Vision Document 2004

Election Manifesto 2004

**An idea whose time has come:
India as a Developed Nation and
a Great Power**

L

Introduction

Dear Countrymen,

Elections to the 14th Lok Sabha will take place in April-May 2004. The Bharatiya Janata Party along with its partners in the National Democratic Alliance, has entered the electoral fray seeking a renewed mandate under the visionary leadership of Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. On this occasion, I am pleased to present before you the Vision Document 2004, which sets forth our Party's core beliefs, basic commitments, and our priority agenda for the next five years and beyond.

India is an ancient civilisation with a rich cultural and spiritual heritage. We have perennial rivers, fertile land, hardworking kisans, industrious workers, skilled artisans, great intellectuals, a robust scientific and technological establishment and capable entrepreneurs. Why, then, did India lag behind in development? The answer lay in the Congress party's wrong policies and long misrule.

The Congress era in Indian politics is over. The era of the BJP has begun. India has now embarked on a path of rapid progress and all-round development. India is more ambitious, more self-confident and more capable now than ever before.

For the BJP our vision, our political journey and our distinctive identity have always been personified by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Since the inception of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, and the founding of the BJP, Shri Atalji has been our leader, guiding the Party throughout its steady march forward in the past five decades, inspiring countless Indians with his poetry, his thoughts, his tapasya and his towering personality. Because Shri Atalji best personifies our Party's vision, we have decided to illustrate this document

with pictures showing different facets of his political life.

I do hope that this Vision Document succeeds in persuading you to give an absolute majority to the BJP and a two-thirds majority to the NDA in the 14th Lok Sabha.

Vande Mataram!

– M. Venkaiah Naidu
President
Bharatiya Janata Party

A Summary

- 1.1 Making India a Developed Nation and a Great Power by 2020, and creating an unshakeable national resolve to achieve this goal.
- 1.2 Further strengthening national security both external and internal – to overcome present and future challenges.
- 1.3 Further broadening and deepening of economic reforms, based on a self-reliant approach, for sustained double-digit GDP growth rate to achieve complete eradication of poverty and unemployment; end of regional and social disparities; and bridging the urban-rural divide.
- 1.4 Achieving a quantum improvement in the quality of life of all Indians by fulfilling their basic needs in education, healthcare, nutrition, drinking water, housing, sanitation, and cultural development.
- 1.5 Launching the Second Green Revolution to unleash the tremendous growth potential in Indian agriculture and agro-based industries, eliminating waste in the food chain, and to ensure doubling of income of even a marginal farmer by 2010.
- 1.6 Bringing vibrancy to small-scale industries, cottage enterprises and activities of rural artisans; revitalization of traditional industries like textiles; and giving due recognition and full encouragement to the informal sector of the economy.
- 1.7 Giving India a world-class infrastructure in power, telecom and IT, roads, railways, air travel, ports, shipping and inland navigation, markets and the financial sector.
- 1.8 Making India a major exporting nation, a global

manufacturing hub; a preferred service provider to the world; a preferred country for higher education and healthcare; a leading creator of R&D; putting India at the centre of the Knowledge Economy; and making India a major tourist destination in the world.

- 1.9 Preparing India for the momentous shift taking place in the world economy, in which low-cost economies can score a big march over high-cost economies by building competitive strengths in manufacturing and services; enriching our human resources and reforming our economy towards this end, and turning our young population into a huge opportunity in the era of globalisation.
- 1.10 Dealing with the challenge of water on a war-footing with a three-pronged approach: Launch of the River-Linking Project; Massive encouragement for micro initiatives such as watershed management, check dams, rainwater harvesting, drip irrigation, etc; Cleaning up of rivers and traditional water bodies.
- 1.11 A massive rural development programme based on the concept of an Ideal Indian Village.
- 1.12 A massive urban renewal programme, based on the concept of an Ideal Indian City.
- 1.13 Comprehensive Good Governance Reforms, encompassing administrative reforms, judicial reforms, electoral reforms, devolution of powers to States and effective empowerment of Panchayati Raj Institutions and urban local bodies.
- 1.14 Commitment to construction of a magnificent Ram Mandir at Ayodhya; Amicable resolution of the issue through dialogue for starting a new chapter in Hindu-Muslim relations;
- 1.15 Educational development, economic upliftment, and empowerment of minorities; and ending the majority-minority distinction in politics.
- 1.16 Vigorous pursuit of the ideals of social justice, economic justice and empowerment of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Nomadic and Denotified Tribes, OBCs, and the poor among the Forward Classes.
- 1.17 Ban on religious conversions through fraudulent and

coercive means.

- 1.18 Intensification of the peace and development process in Jammu & Kashmir and the North-East. Ensuring early return of Kashmiri Pandits and other displaced people to their native places.
- 1.19 Commitment to women's all-round empowerment; the BJP is ready to back any consensus formula to ensure early legislation for women's reservation in Parliament and State Legislatures.
- 1.20 Legislation to ensure that important offices of the Indian State can be occupied only by those who are India's natural citizens by their Indian origin.
- 1.21 Empowerment of the Civil Society to promote people's participation in development at all levels and for creating effective dispute resolution mechanisms outside the realm of the government and the judiciary.
- 1.22 Making population control a people's movement, with non-coercive disincentives for a two-child norm, and incentives for a girl child.
- 1.23 Preservation and propagation of India's rich cultural heritage.
- 1.24 Unleashing 'Yuva Shakti' and making India a major sports power in the world.
- 1.25 Intensifying dialogue with Pakistan to find a lasting solution to all bilateral issues; working for a multi-polar world, with India as one of the poles; further raising India's standing in the world; and securing for India a meaningful and steadily growing role in international affairs.

□

Introduction

2.1 India on the Move

The people of India will elect the 14th Lok Sabha in the elections to be held in April-May 2004. The Bharatiya Janata Party, as the leading constituent of the National Democratic Alliance, enters this electoral battle seeking a renewed and bigger mandate for the NDA, with a significantly larger representation for itself, in the next Lok Sabha. We do so on the basis of our Performance, Vision and Leadership, the proud performance of our Government; our clear vision and programme for making India a strong, secure, and integrally Developed Nation by 2020; and the inspiring leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee which is the continuing link between our performance so far and our pledge for the future.

In 1999, the people voted for the National Democratic Alliance. The Bharatiya Janata Party was the largest constituent of the NDA and the single largest party in the Lok Sabha. Our promise to the people then was encapsulated in the assurance: "Able Leadership, Stable Government". On both counts, we have more than fulfilled our promise.

The Vajpayee Government's achievements in strengthening national security, countering cross-border terrorism, fortifying national unity, setting India on the path of high socio-economic growth, making development the national mantra, and raising India's image and standing in the international community have created a surge of hope and national pride.

The Pokharan-II blasts in May 1998 triggered a process of national resurgence. India successfully beat back post-Pokharan sanctions imposed by big powers. The same countries are now keen on strengthening comprehensive relations with India. There

has been a significant reduction in cross-border terrorism. India has also played a widely acclaimed role in creating international awareness and solidarity on the issue of jihadi terrorism.

India's economic fundamentals are robust and its strengths envied. Today ours is one of the fastest growing economies in the world; India's GDP growth rate is estimated to be over 8 per cent this year. Our Government has heralded a Connectivity Revolution in India. Some of the largest and most ambitious projects are now underway for improving India's infrastructure with highway connectivity, rural roads connectivity, telecom and Internet connectivity, railway connectivity, port and airport connectivity. The past five years have seen the largest ever number of BPL families rising above the poverty line over a comparable period in independent India's history.

Major steps have been taken for addressing the long-neglected needs of agriculture. Agricultural credit has been nearly trebled and over 3.5 crore farmers have been given Kisan Credit Cards. Interest rates have been significantly lowered. Minimum Support Prices for over 25 crops have been raised every year. An innovative Farm Income Insurance Scheme has been introduced.

In a short time, India has emerged as a leading power in Information Technology. In a short time, our manufacturing sector has restructured itself and become globally competitive. Individual Indians have always scripted success stories in India and overseas; now India as a whole is big news. Today, India stands tall in the international community. Its voice is heard and respected. Our people are finding fresh recognition and new audiences.

There is a rapidly widening belief, both in our own country and all over the world, that India is poised for a great leap forward.

Ours is an ancient nation with a civilisation that is more than 5,000 years old. We have inherited a glorious cultural heritage, which the entire world marvels at. India has time and again shown unmatched resilience to overcome the vicissitudes of history, to emerge resurgent. The time of Indian Renaissance has arrived again. We have set the stage to reclaim our rightful inheritance as a Great Power contributing to humanity's all-round progress.

2.2 The Congress era in Indian politics is over

The BJP holds the Congress Party, which ruled India for the longest period since Independence, principally guilty for the many

problems that our Government inherited. Half a century is not too short a time for a country to be liberated from the curse of poverty and backwardness. India did make considerable progress during this period. But this progress fell woefully short of her potential as well as her needs.

This wide gap between promise and performance was the result of the wrong policies of successive Congress governments. They promoted corruption, weakened institutions of the State and failed to mobilise people's participation in the development process. The Congress Party weakened the bonds of national unity and social harmony for partisan gains. Allowing itself to be reduced from a great party of the Freedom Movement to a tool in the hands of a family, it sought to reduce the world's largest democracy to dynastic rule.

The Congress era in Indian politics is now over. And the BJP's era – the era of nationalist, democratic and development-oriented politics – has begun.

India is today a nation once again on the move. We have recovered our bearings. After five decades of wasted opportunities, the Vajpayee Government has infused new life and vigour into the soul of India. From being a nation of unrealised potential, its policies and performance have helped unleash India's positive energies.

2.3 Atalji's Leadership: A Source of Immense Pride

The BJP is proud that it has given India and the world a leader of the calibre of Shri Vajpayee. As Prime Minister, he has harnessed the national energy and transformed the national mood. With his fierce integrity, long tapasya, commitment to the ideals of democracy, indomitable patriotism and statesmanship, he has shown that he is an embodiment of India's best political traditions.

Shri Vajpayee has demolished the Congress Party's self-serving myth that it alone, and a member of the Nehru family alone, can rule India. He has effected a mindset change in the country. In polity, his leadership has demonstrated that coalition governance can be stable and successful. In society, his personality has promoted the values of tolerance, understanding and partnership. In our neighbourhood and in the world, his statesmanship has championed the cause of peace and dispute resolution through dialogue, while resolutely guarding our national interest.

Under Shri Vajpayee's leadership, an atmosphere of distrust and disharmony has been replaced by a spirit of cooperation and consensus. The highhandedness and partisanship that marked the Centre's relations with the States have given way to a healthy Union. With a good blend of national outlook and legitimate regional aspirations, the NDA Government has brought the diverse sections of our society closer together.

The Prime Minister has shown unprecedented earnestness to resolve outstanding and inherited problems. Thus, Jammu & Kashmir is returning to peace, normalcy and development after what seemed to be an unending era of strife, terror and separatist activities fomented from across the border. The fulfilment of his promise to hold free and fair elections in the State in 2002 was a major milestone in this process.

Peace talks in the North-East are also making headway. No Central Government in the past paid as much attention to the developmental needs of this important region as the Vajpayee Government has. For the first time since Independence, a separate ministry has been established for this purpose.

The BJP considers the Joint Statement issued during the Prime Minister's January visit to Islamabad a historic foreign policy success for India. For the first time, through this joint statement, Pakistan has committed itself to preventing the use of any part of the territory under its control for terrorist activities aimed against India.

If Shri Vajpayee won the hearts of Indians and the admiration of the international community with his firm leadership during the Kargil War, he is repeating the feat now with his earnest pursuit of peace-through-dialogue with Pakistan. The whole world today recognizes him as a **"Man of Peace"**.

Shri Vajpayee has boldly demolished the culture of cynicism and negativism that impaired the national character. He has inspired India to think big, implement big, and believe in itself. He has motivated the youth to nurture big dreams and to work hard to realize them. He is indeed **"The Great Unifier"**, binding India's aspirations, energies and diversities. □

The Context of Election 2004

For the people of India the 2004 general election is an opportunity to reaffirm faith in the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and in the policies of the NDA Government. These have yielded initial results and, taken forward, will definitely produce big gains for India and all Indians.

The 2004 general election is also an opportunity for all Indians to reject the grim, feel-pain record of the Congress Party and endorse the feel-good mood generated by the our Government.

Every election has a specific context. According to the BJP, the two main issues of Election 2004 are: good governance and accelerated, all-round development. There is a new type of hunger in India – the tremendous hunger for development. It is especially acute in rural areas and among the urban poor. They want to free themselves from poverty, backwardness and underdevelopment. They want to see an end to regional and social imbalances in development. They want the rural-urban divide to be bridged. They want the best opportunities for themselves and their children. They want a standard of living that is fulfilling. They want dignity. They want security and prosperity.

India is now impatient to get to the top. India wants to be the best. One billion Indians want to show to themselves, and to the world, what they can do.

India has had enough of negativism. The BJP is committed to making India a Developed Nation and a Great Power on the global stage.

We have the leadership, we have the commitment and we have the vision to make India shine ever brighter.

In 2004, we seek a decisive mandate for India. □

Our Basic Mission and Commitments

4.1 Politics as a means to serve the Nation:

From modest beginnings, the BJP has grown steadily to emerge as a stable pole of Indian politics. Our growth is rooted in our distinctive ideology and the tireless dedication of millions of our karyakartas throughout the country. In Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, ably assisted by Shri Lal Krishna Advani, we have a leadership that has guided and inspired our Party for decades. For the BJP and the fraternal organisations that constitute our extended Nationalist Parivar, politics and power have never been ends in themselves, but a means to serve the people and to contribute to India's attainment of Param Vaibhav (peaks of glory).

4.2 Strengthening India's Democracy:

The BJP is deeply committed to strengthening India's democracy and to making its institutions more effective in fulfilling the aspirations of our people. We are proud that our Party has nurtured the best traditions of internal democracy in India's political class. In the years to come, we shall continue to broaden the interaction between the Party organization and the people, between the people and their elected representatives, and between the Party and the Government to make governance more dynamic, more responsive and more responsible.

4.3 Integral Humanism:

The BJP is proud of its commitment to the philosophy of Integral Humanism, as enunciated by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. We believe that development cannot be measured by economic indicators alone. Development must be holistic. It must fulfil the

material and non-material needs of all individuals and promote a symbiotic relationship between the individual and society, in which the individual works for society, and society, in turn, cares for the individual. Development must also keep in mind environmental concerns, local and community traditions, and the quality of life.

The BJP believes that economic progress should not be at the cost of family values. The family constitutes the social unit of stability, welfare, and continuity of cultural traditions. Its importance can never be undermined. Integral Humanism teaches us that our nation too is a family and that India itself is a part of the larger human family.

4.4 Cultural Nationalism:

The BJP draws its inspiration from the history and civilisation of India. We believe that Indian nationhood stems from a deep cultural bonding of the people that overrides differences of caste, region, religion and language. We believe that Cultural Nationalism for which Indianness, Bharatiyata and Hindutva are synonyms – is the basis of our national identity.

Contrary to what its detractors say, and as the Supreme Court itself has decreed, Hindutva is not a religious or exclusivist concept. It is inclusive, integrative, and abhors any kind of discrimination against any section of the people of India on the basis of their faith. It rejects the idea of a theocratic or denominational state. It accepts the multi-faith character and other diversities of India, considering them to be a source of strength and not weakness. It firmly upholds secularism, understood as *Sarva Pantha Samabhav* (treating all faiths with respect).

However, the BJP unflinchingly holds that differences in faith cannot challenge the idea of India as One Nation or undermine our millennia-old identity as One People. This is why, we rejected the two-nation theory on the basis of which our Motherland was tragically partitioned in 1947. Thus, Cultural Nationalism is the most potent antidote to communalism, divisiveness, and separatism of every kind, and a guarantor of our national unity and national integration.

4.5 Ram Mandir in Ayodhya:

The BJP reaffirms its commitment to the construction of a Ram temple in Ayodhya. As Maryada Purushottam, Ram is an inspiring cultural symbol of India. His birthplace in Ayodhya is

also associated with the religious sentiments of crores of Hindus. The BJP remains committed to its stand that the judiciary's verdict in this matter should be accepted by all. However, we believe that dialogue, and a negotiated settlement in an atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill, are the best way of achieving this goal. The BJP appeals to the religious and social leaders of the Hindu and Muslim communities to speed up the process of dialogue and bring it to an amicable and early fruition. We hope that these efforts will succeed in heralding **a new chapter of amity in Hindu-Muslim relations** and fortify national integration.

4.6 Religious Freedom, our Core Value:

Contrary to the propaganda of the Congress and our other political opponents, Shri Vajpayee's government has not discriminated against minorities, nor curtailed their religious freedoms in any manner. In statecraft, we will continue to be wedded to our founding ideal of "Justice for All, Appeasement of None". We envision the day when the distinction between "majority" and "minority" disappears in the political field, even while people practise their respective faiths unhindered.

The BJP gives a three-point assurance to minorities: **Education, Economic upliftment, and Empowerment**. At the same time, we appeal to them to change their old mindset vis-à-vis the BJP and strengthen the hands of Shri Vajpayee in the coming elections.

4.7 Consensus over Uniform Civil Code:

The BJP believes that all laws, including personal laws, must be in accordance with the guarantees available to all citizens under the Indian Constitution. The Constitution calls for the enactment of a Uniform Civil Code. The Supreme Court has reiterated this need. Therefore, this cannot be seen as an issue of any single political party. The BJP views Uniform Civil Code primarily as an instrument to promote gender justice. We believe that social and political consensus has to be evolved before its enactment.

4.8 Swadeshi:

The BJP believes that every civilisation has its own innate genius. We are committed to **Swadeshi, the philosophy of India First**, and to the path of self-reliance. Swadeshi means faith in

indigenous institutions and a strong belief that the future of India must be secured by Indians themselves.

The BJP believes that India's goal of achieving a double-digit annual GDP growth rate on a sustainable basis can be achieved principally by mobilizing our own domestic resources. A strong, efficient and high-growth Indian economy, in which Indian products, services and entrepreneurs dominate the domestic and global markets, is our concept of Swadeshi. This can be achieved by making Indian products and services competitive on both cost and quality.

4.9 Globalisation:

The BJP believes that, to reduce the risks and challenges of globalisation and to enhance its opportunities and gains, it is imperative to bridge the current divide between the developing and developed economies. This divide is enabling the developed nations to secure unfair advantages for themselves in global trade, investments, agriculture and services. They give huge trade-distorting agricultural subsidies to their own farmers, but object to the legitimate pro-farmer measures by developing countries. The NDA Government has been at the forefront of defending the interests of Indian kisans by bringing about a coalition of developing countries against such unjust practices of developed countries. We did so successfully at the WTO meets in Doha and Cancun. Our Government has also successfully defended India's case in other matters such as patents. This approach shall continue.

The BJP is of the view that **a big shift is taking place in the global economy**, and India should be prepared to take advantage of it. This shift favours low-cost economies over high-cost economies in manufacturing and services, provided the former have sufficient competitive strengths on the counts of cost, quality and technology. The Indian economy is rapidly acquiring these strengths. The BJP is committed to accelerating this process by further reforming our economy, modernizing our infrastructure, enriching India's human resources, and augmenting our capabilities in science and technology. This will place our predominantly young population in an advantageous position vis-à-vis many advanced nations in the world that are projected to have a demographic disadvantage

in the coming decades. This is the Swadeshi approach to turning globalisation into an opportunity for India in the 21st century.

4.10 Underpinnings of Our Economic Vision:

The BJP believes that India must greatly enhance her economic strength, in order to enhance her national strength and become a Great Power. Towards this strategic goal, the BJP is committed to ensuring faster economic growth with equity, employment, and social justice.

The underpinnings of our economic vision are: steady enhancement of the productivity of our human and natural resources with the best use of science, technology, management and HRD practices, both modern and traditional; removal of regional and social imbalances; bridging the urban-rural divide; minimizing the gap between the rich and poor; maximizing developmental opportunities for all citizens; and environmental protection.

The BJP believes that, as India moves from being a developing country to a developed one, our economic policy has to have a two-pronged approach: policies to achieve faster economic growth combined with effective welfare measures for the poor. Today the foremost national developmental objective is banishment of poverty by increasing our national wealth. The surest way to achieve this goal, as Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya had emphasized four decades ago, is: **“Work for Every Hand and Water to Every Land”**. Agriculture continues to be the backbone of India’s rural economy, sustaining the livelihood of a majority of our population. Government policies must, therefore, be geared to encourage domestic savings and directing them into productive, entrepreneurship-promoting and employment-generating investments, especially in agriculture and other areas of the rural economy.

The BJP believes that wealth creation should be applauded and encouraged. However, conspicuous consumption goes against the cultural ethos of India. We are not in favour of selfish advancement of the few. Rather, the BJP believes in the multiplication of universally accessible entitlements for the majority.

The BJP is committed to greater consumer choice. We believe that the creation of monopolies, both in the public and private sector, are undesirable, except when dictated by national security.

We believe in a responsible fiscal regime marked by modest deficits, low inflation and a steadily strengthening rupee.

4.11 India's Cultural and Spiritual Heritage:

The BJP considers India's priceless cultural and spiritual heritage to be our intangible national wealth. It has protected our family system, sustained our national life over the millennia and given India her unique identity in the world. We are proud that all the world's religions have their footprint in India. We believe that a proper use of our cultural and spiritual resources can greatly aid India's developmental endeavours because of their enormous power to mobilize people's energies. This cultural and spiritual heritage displays immense diversities, which should be cherished and celebrated by all Indians as our common endowment.

We consider it to be the bounden duty of the Government and citizens alike to preserve and further augment this wealth of a diverse heritage. In this context, the BJP applauds the NDA Government's decision to launch national missions for the preservation of manuscripts, monuments, and other facets of our cultural, artistic and spiritual heritage. However, a lot more needs to be done, considering the neglect of this crucial aspect of nation-building in the past.

□

Our Priority Agenda for the Next Five Years

(The BJP has suggested specific measures under the following areas for inclusion in the NDA's Manifesto for Election 2004.)

5.1 Defence

The BJP has always attached the highest importance to national security. We are proud of the NDA Government's historic initiatives to strengthen India's defence capability and preparedness. We commit ourselves to carrying forward the work done in the past five years. Our priorities will be: speedy implementation of all the ongoing programmes for modernisation, acquisition and capability enhancement; minimizing delays and procedural bottlenecks, which push up costs and cause obsolescence; achieving greater efficiency in defence spending; giving a further boost to indigenisation of defence production and encouragement to private sector participation; and making defence exports a thrust area.

The BJP would also work for further augmentation of welfare measures for ex-servicemen and war widows, creating adequate opportunities for retired officers to contribute to development activities where they can put their skills and training to productive use; and making service in the Armed Forces an attractive career option for the educated Indian youth.

5.2 Internal Security

The BJP believes that creating a society free of fear, and ensuring safety and security to all citizens form the cornerstone of good governance. Our war on terrorism, which has shown

encouraging results in the past five years, will continue with unflagging determination. Building on the significant reduction of communal and caste violence in the past five years, we shall work with redoubled zeal to realise our vision of a riot-free India.

The long misrule of the Congress Party weakened India's internal security apparatus and reduced its capacity to counter jihadi terrorism, left-wing extremism, organised crime, and, in some States, even to maintain law and order. For the first time since Independence, the NDA Government conducted a comprehensive review of the internal security scenario, started to act on its recommendations and launched a massive programme to modernise our police and paramilitary forces. The BJP is concerned at the inadequate utilization of the police modernization fund in several States, even though the need for it is glaring. We will work with State Governments for time-bound implementation of this programme with utmost urgency.

We will continue our efforts to build political consensus to enact a Central law, and constitute a federal agency to deal with federal crimes like the Telgi scam, which encompass several States. We will also work with the States to urgently implement police reforms that would make the police and security forces more people-friendly, more sensitive towards the grievances of the poor, weaker sections of society, and women.

The BJP recognises the growing menace of left-wing extremism, which extends from the Nepal border to Andhra Pradesh, as one of the most serious challenges to India's internal security. Overcoming this menace, with the closest possible cooperation among the affected States and the Centre, will be our priority. Since the fight against Naxalite outfits can be successfully waged primarily by isolating them from local populations, our Government will take further steps to speed up development activities, encourage people's participation in them, and ensure that their benefits actually reach the poor.

5.3 Jammu & Kashmir

The unity of India is not only sacred to the BJP, but also a paramount commitment. We have always believed that Jammu & Kashmir, including the PoK, is an integral part of India. We

hold that the age of redrawing national boundaries is over. While recognizing that the Constitution provides for certain transient and temporary provisions for Jammu & Kashmir, we believe that the immediate challenge before the Centre and the State is to involve all sections of society in eliminating terrorism, accelerating economic development and strengthening popular governance that can provide people-friendly administration. The imperative for security operations has to be balanced with respect for human rights. We are committed to ensuring early return of Kashmiri Pandits and other displaced people to their native places.

We believe in balanced development of all the three regions of the State – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh – without any discrimination against any section of the State’s population. To ensure this, the BJP is committed to a three-point programme:

- (a) Autonomous Regional Councils for Jammu and Ladakh with adequate financial and administrative powers;
- (b) Protection of the original demographic identity of the three regions.
- (c) Equitable distribution of funds from the Centre.

The BJP strongly condemns the recent move by the Government of J&K to introduce a law that discriminates against women marrying outside the State in matters of inheritance rights. We will do everything democratically possible to stop such anti-women moves.

5.4 North-East

The NDA Government has given unprecedented attention to the development of the North-Eastern States. Consolidating the gains already made, we are committed to achieving:

- (a) Restoration of peace and normalcy in all the disturbed regions by dialogue with all groups who are willing to give up the path of violence, and by firmly dealing with those who continue on this path.
- (b) Ensuring that the ethnic identities of all the people in the North-East are protected.
- (c) Putting an end to infiltration from Bangladesh and vigorously pursuing the 3-D formula – Detect, Delete, and Deport.

- (d) Accelerating economic development that provides growth opportunities to all.
- (e) Development of the communication infrastructure to overcome the constraints of physical distance.
- (f) Making all Indians more aware of the rich history and cultural heritage of our North-Eastern States, including Sikkim.
- (g) Expanding regional economic cooperation with countries in our eastern neighbourhood and in South East Asia.

The BJP is also committed to imparting further momentum to the activities of the Island Development Authority to attend to the needs of the people of Andaman & Nicobar and Lakshdweep Islands.

5.5 Poverty Alleviation

The BJP stands committed to tackling dire poverty on a war footing. The persistence of abject poverty after more than 50 years of Independence is a result of both misrule and the faulty policies followed by the Congress. In the past six years, the number of Indians living below the poverty line has diminished significantly. However, an unacceptably large number of our citizens are so steeped in poverty that they are unable to reap the full benefits of India's march forward, or to contribute their fullest to it.

We shall wipe out the problems of poverty and backwardness by mounting a five-pronged attack:

- 5.5.1 By policies aimed at fully harnessing India's productive potential and creating national wealth;
- 5.5.2 By policies that ensure distributive justice by expanding the basket of opportunities for all;
- 5.5.3 By policies that direct greater governmental investment and incentivise more private investment in backward and rural areas;
- 5.5.4 By policies and programmes that bring vibrancy to the rural economy, expand and deepen rural markets, and thus create large-scale employment and self-employment opportunities locally.
- 5.5.5 By continuing and further strengthening Antyodaya schemes targeted at BPL families and social security schemes aimed at the unorganized sector.

- 5.5.6 By effecting time-bound distribution of surplus land and making the rural poor partners in the development of wasteland;
- 5.5.7 By giving inalienable ownership rights to tribals who have been traditionally living on forest lands.

5.6 Second Green Revolution

The route to agricultural prosperity and rural regeneration lies in scientific management of water, land and bio resources, and better linkages with both domestic and export markets. Our vision has three objectives: (a) Indian agriculture should meet the growing domestic demand; (b) it should emerge as an important global player; and (c) agriculture should become remunerative even to small farmers with shrinking landholdings.

The first Green Revolution enabled India to achieve self-sufficiency in food. However, it did not address many critical problems in agriculture and food economy. The BJP believes that a Second Green Revolution is needed to increase farm productivity, achieve crop diversification, reduce waste and add value at every stage in the food chain linking the kisan to the consumer. Towards this end, we will continue to give a boost to dairy, poultry and other food-processing industries. We will promote horticulture, floriculture, sericulture, and cultivation of bio-fuels, medicinal plants and bamboo in a big way. We will take up crop insurance scheme and the newly launched farm income insurance scheme for effective and large-scale implementation. Comprehensive reform of agricultural markets; free movement of agricultural goods throughout the country; setting up of cold storages, godowns and grain banks; intensification of technology transfer and agricultural extension services; and support to organic farming will be given priority in the Second Green Revolution.

Agricultural workers, many of whom are marginal farmers themselves, form a large section of the rural poor. The BJP is committed to lifting them above BPL levels, ensuring sustainable year-long employment with minimum wages, enhancing their labour productivity, expanding the social security net for them, and improving their overall quality of life.

The BJP is fully committed to preserving India's animal wealth especially, to protection of Gau Mata (Cow) and her progeny. We shall evolve a consensus to bring a Central legislation in this regard.

5.7 Support to Cottage Industries

Revitalization of India's cottage industries, arts and handicrafts forms the pivot of the BJP's vision of faster economic growth with equity and employment. Towards this end, we will intensify our efforts to ensure that the banking sector and government departments are receptive to their special needs. We will improve linkages with domestic and export markets for their products. Activities of the Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC) and its affiliate bodies, which have done remarkable work in the past five years, will be given greater support.

5.8 Making India a Global Manufacturing Hub

The BJP believes that India can become the manufacturing hub for the world. India's capability to achieve this goal is evident from the highly encouraging initial successes in pharmaceuticals, automobiles, auto-components, engineering goods and some other products. We aim to provide the conditions for a broad manufacturing base that can export its products all over the world, and can compete not only on cost but also on quality and technology. In the process, we aim to actively facilitate the creation of global Indian brands and Indian MNCs. Our small and medium enterprises (SMEs), the KVIC sector, and traditional industries such as textiles, gems and jewellery and leather, have a huge potential to contribute to this endeavour. This potential will be unleashed through suitable policy and institutional measures. We will take necessary steps to realize similar growth potential in our food-processing, telecom and IT hardware, and other industries.

A competitive manufacturing sector requires the simultaneous fulfillment of various conditions. They include a network of good roads and railways, efficient ports and airports, low-cost and reliable power, cutting-edge communication and IT infrastructure, strengthening of India's core sector oil and natural gas, steel, coal, minerals, metals —, quality educational institutions that provide a

skilled workforce, a sophisticated financial sector which can meet low-cost capital needs of businesses, modern trading environment, and, above all, maximum government facilitation with minimum government interference. Specifically, firm and quick steps will be taken to put an end to the tyranny of the Red Tape and the Inspector Raj, which breeds corruption, drains the growth potential and demotivates Indian entrepreneurs.

We are proud that India has successfully embarked on this growth-oriented path. Unlike during the Congress years, the “Made in India” brand is making waves in global markets. We envision a future when it will dominate world markets in a wide range of products, creating large-scale prosperity and employment at home. The BJP will actively work for the realization of this vision.

5.9 Putting India at the Centre of the Knowledge Economy

The BJP is proud of the spectacular achievements of India’s software professionals and entrepreneurs both at home and abroad. They have not only given India a new stream of wealth-creation and employment generation, but also brightened our country’s image globally. The BJP believes that this is just the beginning, and the best of India in the emerging Knowledge Economy is yet to come.

To achieve this, we have to consolidate India’s leadership in software exports and strengthen our IT hardware industry. We also have to expand our share in employment-intensive IT-enabled services across the value spectrum through enterprises like call centers and Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) centres. The BJP sees India emerging as a preferred service provider to the world in an ever-widening range of services, including high-paying professional services of teachers, doctors, lawyers, managers, accountants, and scientists. We will fully support our bio-technology sector, which is making rapid strides. India has acquired impressive self-reliant strengths in space research, peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and civilian applications of defence research. These strengths will be further augmented and commercialised appropriately. We will also strive to develop Indian businesses in other frontier areas of technology, such as micro-electronics, nano-technology, new materials, etc.

To achieve these ends, we have to make India a front-ranking

nation in scientific and technological R&D. Partnership between Indian businesses and CSIR, DRDO, ICAR, ICMR, ISRO, BARC, IITs, universities and other government-supported research institutions will be vastly expanded. We will actively encourage more foreign companies to set up their R&D centers in India or start joint R&D activities with Indian entities. Our NRI and PIO professionals and entrepreneurs would be encouraged to participate in this partnership.

5.10 Our Vision for an Ideal Indian Village

Majority of India's population continues to live in villages. However, the neglect of the development needs of villages is one of the particularly damning parts of the legacy left behind by the long Congress misrule. This is clear from two stark facts: even after five decades of Independence, as many as 1.86 lakh villages one-third of all villages in the country were deprived of good roads; and as many as 60% of our rural households have no toilets.

In line with what Mahatma Gandhi had said, the BJP believes that India cannot rise to her full potential without the revitalization of rural India. Our vision of an ideal Indian village is one that has the following attributes: (a) self-reliant society and dynamic economy that makes best use of local human and natural resources and has linkages to the national and global economy; (b) modern infrastructure and basic amenities – bijlee, sadak, paani, education, quality healthcare at the nearest place, and sanitation – that are needed to ensure a high quality of life for all inhabitants; (c) full employment to all able-bodied persons; (d) free of social and economic exploitation; (e) a harmonious, cooperative and caring environment; (f) Antyodaya or concern for the development of the last man; (g) effective functioning of Panchayat bodies with people's participation and involvement of voluntary organisations; and (h) a vibrant cultural life that displays both modernity and pride in Indian traditions.

The BJP is committed to taking all our villages towards this ideal. We have taken several important steps in this direction, the most notable among them being the blueprint of a new comprehensive rural development initiative called PURA (Provision of Urban Amenities in Rural Areas). PURA aims at providing

four types of connectivity to every Indian village: Physical Connectivity, Digital Connectivity, Knowledge Connectivity, and Market Connectivity to every rural cluster in the country. Speedy implementation of this programme will be our priority.

5.11 Our Vision for an Ideal Indian City

India is rapidly urbanizing. At the same time, Indian cities and towns are groaning under unplanned and unaesthetic growth, made evident by their overstretched infrastructure, severe shortage of basic amenities, proliferation of slums, and unhygienic environment. This has affected the quality of life of all sections of the urban population most of all the urban poor. The continuance of this reality is incompatible with our vision of India as a Developed Nation.

No previous government paid as much attention to urban renewal as the Vajpayee Government has done since its inception. HUDCO's loans for urban infrastructure rose by 550% during the past six years, compared to the previous 28 years.

Our vision of an ideal Indian city is one in which our cities (a) provide a high quality of material and cultural life to all their inhabitants, with strong human bonds that is the hallmark of Indian society; (b) have good infrastructure, civic amenities, and pollution-free environment; (c) are free of slums and illegal encroachments, and display aesthetic city planning; (d) preserve their unique tangible and intangible heritage; (e) are engaged in promotion knowledge and diverse creative pursuits; (f) Have good municipal governance with strong community participation and, above all, (g) serve as engines of India's rapid economic growth, providing adequate employment opportunities and ideal conditions for entrepreneurs and professionals to flourish in the era of globalisation.

The BJP is committed to working towards this ideal by introducing major urban governance reforms and massively expanding the programme for urban renewal in the coming years.

5.12 Dealing with the Challenge of Water

The BJP recognises that scarcity of water in both rural and urban areas has assumed serious proportions in many parts of the country. There is an urgent need for a people's movement, supplementing government efforts, for conservation, management and rational

use of this scarce resource for drinking, agriculture, industry and domestic purposes. The problem needs a multi-pronged strategy that combines both mega and micro initiatives. We remain fully committed to starting work on the interlinking of rivers, with due consideration for environmental protection and rehabilitation of displaced people.

However, we attach greater importance to millions of local initiatives for desilting of tanks, lakes and reservoirs, restoration of wells, recharging of natural aquifers, building check dams, promotion of drip irrigation, desalination of sea water, rainwater harvesting, recycling of water, and other means of water conservation and efficient water management. Cleaning of all polluted rivers and traditional water bodies, with people's participation of the kind that was evident in olden times, should be taken up in a mission mode.

5.13 Dealing with the Challenge of Employment

The BJP recognizes that unemployment is a major problem faced by a significant section of the Indian youth. At the same time, we confidently state that no other government in the past paid as much attention to dealing with this problem, and achieved so much success, as did the NDA Government. It is our Government, which, for the first time, promised to facilitate creation of one crore additional employment and self-employment opportunities each year. We have substantially succeeded in fulfilling this promise. Between 1999-2002, for which official figures are available, 84 lakh employment and self-employment opportunities were created on average, per year.

The nature of employment generation has altered with the changing nature of the economy. Government jobs and jobs in the organized industry are shrinking not only in India and this is true of Congress and Communist-ruled States too but all over the world. At the same time, large-scale employment and self-employment opportunities have come up in services and the unorganized sector (whose preponderance in the Indian economy has been steadily growing), housing and road construction, telecom and IT, tourism, etc.

In the coming years, our strategy to deal with the challenge of employment will be four-pronged:

- 5.13.1 Sustaining a high rate of annual GDP growth 8% going up to double digits and broadbasing the growth in employment-generating sectors of the economy.
- 5.13.2 Higher allocation to, and better implementation of, the Government's employment and self-employment generation schemes such as the Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana, which is the biggest food-for-work programme since Independence launched by our Government, self-help groups, etc.
- 5.13.3 Evaluating every development policy and programme from the point of view of its potential to create employment and self-employment opportunities. Policies and programmes that promise to deliver this goal will be given special thrust. Thus, agri-processing, support services for agriculture, textiles, handicrafts, wasteland development, social forestry, housing and construction activities, renewal of urban infrastructure and amenities, retail trade, tourism, transportation, etc. will be given priority in terms of investment and facilitation.
- 5.13.4 Providing special thrust to vocational education and training to match the needs of the economy. In rural areas our focus will be mainly on skill upgradation of people engaged in traditional occupations. In urban areas our focus will be mainly on enhancing the employability of students and youth, and create an aptitude for self-employment and entrepreneurship.

5.14 Developing a Democracy of Stakeholders

The BJP is committed to continuing reforms in the financial sector that have contributed to better performance of the corporate sector and the evolution of well regulated stock markets. We believe that the gains of this process must be shared more equitably. Today, less than 2 per cent of Indians are retail investors. We believe that the base of investment in equities must be broadened. The BJP believes that the advantages of low interest credit must be shared by all productive forces in society, including small businesses, the self-employed and farmers.

The BJP is proud that the vigilance and intervention of the Union Government have helped revive institutions like the UTI. We believe that public financial institutions and corporate houses must conduct themselves with exemplary responsibility.

5.15 Widening the Social Security Net

The BJP is proud of the NDA Government's initiative to launch a social security scheme for 37 crore people in the unorganized sector. Expanding its coverage and its effective implementation will be our commitment. The BJP believes that all Indians must have access to competitive and well regulated pension and insurance schemes tailored to every income level. The needs of senior citizens, widows, disabled persons, etc. will continue to receive our special consideration. We shall ensure that money invested will be both secure and will fetch good returns.

□

Focus on Social Development

The BJP believes that faster economic growth cannot be an end in itself; rather, it is a means to ensure a high quality of life to all citizens by fulfilling their material needs and satisfy their social, educational and cultural aspirations.

6.1 Education for All

We believe that both society and the Government at all levels must give top priority to meeting the goal of “Quality Education for All” since education aids both economic growth and social development. Its importance in the emerging Knowledge Economy has increased manifold. Enriched human resources of our one billion population can propel India into a higher orbit of development with limitless possibilities in the new century.

The BJP’s ideal of good education is one expressed in Swami Vivekananda’s profound words: “Education for Man-Making and Nation-Building”. India needs a system of education that opens the doors of knowledge to all citizens, develops their talents and skills, anchors them strongly in human values and Indian culture, reinforces their patriotism, and equips them to explore opportunities both in India and abroad.

Because of inadequate and unbalanced attention by successive governments in the past, India continues to face major challenges in education. Our strategy for overcoming these challenges and unleashing the potential of India’s enviable human resources has the following underpinnings:

- 6.1.1 Steadily raising the total spending on education to 6% of the GDP by 2010, with enlarged public-private partnership.
- 6.1.2 Achieving complete eradication of illiteracy within a

decade. For this, we will ensure that every child goes to school, every school is made accountable to the community, every State is made accountable for its quality education status, and appropriate resources both from Government and non-government sources are mobilized to match our ambitious goals.

- 6.1.3 Further intensification of measures aimed at education of the girl child, and spread of education among SCs, STs, OBCs and minorities.
- 6.1.4 Improving the standards of education at all levels of the Educational Pyramid from primary to university.
- 6.1.5 Making quality education affordable to a common Indian family. No student should be deprived of access to higher education for lack of resources. Hence, scholarships and soft loans should be made widely available.
- 6.1.6 While encouraging private investment, necessary steps will have to be taken to check commercialization of education.
- 6.1.7 Rectifying the biases in history education, increasing the moral and cultural content in syllabi, and restoring the neglected focus on character-building.
- 6.1.8 De-bureaucratising the administration of our educational institutions; autonomy to centers of excellence; empowering teachers; and maximizing community participation.
- 6.1.9 Enlarging the partnership between Government and the private sector, and between industry and universities, to promote world-class R&D.
- 6.1.10 Making India a preferred higher education destination for students from all over the world. This would not only reduce huge spending abroad by rich Indians, but also enable India to earn significantly from higher education.

6.2 Healthcare for All

The BJP believes that healthcare is a basic need and rightful entitlement of every citizen. Hence, its provision should be made immune to the citizen's economic status. Wrong policies, inadequate resource allocation, and neglect of our country's traditional wisdom by the Congress governments have created daunting problems in this field. The BJP's strategy to overcome them, and to enable India

to move quickly towards the goal of “Health For All”, is guided by the following principles:

- 6.2.1 The Centre and State Governments should together facilitate manifold increase in spending on healthcare, with enlarged public-private partnership.
- 6.2.2 The priority of public spending should be on primary healthcare, with a focus on preventive rather than curative measures.
- 6.2.3 Increasing people’s awareness about health issues and making them take good care of themselves by cultivating healthy habits and lifestyles; towards this end, building a strong physical and sports culture among all age-groups.
- 6.2.4 Healthcare should be made affordable to the poor and middle classes.
- 6.2.5 The NDA Government’s good work in promoting yoga, ayurveda, naturopathy and other systems of indigenous medicine should be vastly intensified.
- 6.2.6 Private and foreign investment in tertiary and super-specialty healthcare should be encouraged. However, all private healthcare establishments should have enhanced obligation for treating poor patients.
- 6.2.7 Public-private partnerships should be institutionalized on the widest possible scale.
- 6.2.8 Concerted efforts should be made for India’s emergence as a centre of health tourism.

6.3 Social and Economic Justice

The BJP has always been a strong votary of social justice for SCs, STs, OBCs and other disadvantaged social groups. Going beyond the traditional advocacy of this important cause, we have also been consistently emphasising two related imperatives (a) social justice is incomplete without economic justice and political empowerment; and (b) The means to secure social justice (samajik nyay) have to also promote social harmony (samajik samarasata).

To advance these ideals, the BJP commits itself to:

- 6.3.1 Strict implementation of provisions of the policy on reservations. A major drive has to be launched for filling up all backlogs in jobs and promotions for SCs, STs and

OBCs.

- 6.3.2 Private sector enterprises will be incentivised for creating more educational, training, employment and entrepreneurship opportunities for SCs and STs.
- 6.3.3 Strict enforcement of laws to check atrocities against SCs, STs and other weaker sections.
- 6.3.4 Provision of greater financial resources and better managerial resources for the delivery of education, healthcare, and other social security services to the poor and weaker sections of society.
- 6.3.5 Improvement in the functioning of various Commissions and Finance Corporations for the development of SCs and STs.
- 6.3.6 Operationalisation of the newly announced Commission for Nomadic and Denotified Tribes and development corporation for the shepherd community.
- 6.3.7 Safeguarding and promoting the economic wellbeing of fishermen and others engaged in traditional occupations.
- 6.3.8 Serious consideration to the recommendations of the newly established Commission for examining reservations for the poor among “Forward Classes”.

6.4 Welfare of Tribals

Of all the deprived and neglected sections of society, tribal Indians suffered the most during the long Congress rule. Their ability to benefit from the policy of reservations in education and jobs has remained far less than that of the Scheduled Castes and OBCs. Many of them have been uprooted from their habitations and livelihoods in forests. Frequently they are victims of exploitation by powerful local interests and harassment by the police and government officials. They rank the lowest in literacy, longevity, health status and other indicators of human development.

The BJP is committed to ending the plight of India’s tribals. Ours was the first government, since Independence, to set up a separate ministry for tribal welfare and also a separate commission and a separate finance and development corporation for tribals. We shall take necessary steps for regularization of land rights of tribals living on forest lands and for promoting their economic

activities based on forest produce. These measures, in addition to providing them livelihood security, will also help in preservation of our forests. The BJP believes that, as the original inhabitants of forests with a deep attachment to their natural endowments, tribals are the best protectors of our depleting forest and wildlife resources. We will also take steps to preserve tribal art and culture, honour tribal heroes, and frustrate efforts to create a wedge between tribals and non-tribals.

6.5 Women's Empowerment

The BJP is committed to gender equality and justice. We consider educational, social, economic and political empowerment of women to be one of the preconditions for making India a Developed Nation. Our Party is committed to providing women an enabling environment free from injustice and violence in the public as well as the private sphere, which would pave the way for women to contribute to every walk of life. We would develop strategies to enable women in balancing work and family by introducing a national childcare plan, decent wages, workplace flexibility, and greater career opportunities.

The BJP believes that every able-bodied woman should have at least some source of livelihood, so that she can enjoy economic independence within the framework of a harmonious family. Education not only equips her to raise her economic and social status, but also helps our country realize many of its developmental goals. Accordingly, the BJP commits itself to eliminating gender disparities in both education and property rights. In official records of schemes such as giving land or a house, woman will be made a joint beneficiary having precedence over man. Opportunities for women in training, employment, self-employment and entrepreneurship will be expanded. Simultaneously, we will intensify governmental and societal efforts to ensure safety for women, and clamp down on female foeticide, dowry, trafficking and rape.

India has a very rich tradition of the social reforms movement where men championed the cause of women. In the 21st century, it is once again necessary for men to play a constructive role in establishing gender equality. They can play an especially crucial role in ensuring dignity of women and eliminating violence against

them.

Ours was the first party to raise the demand for 33% reservation for women in Parliament and State legislatures. We remain committed to this goal. It is well known that the NDA Government did its best to enact the Women's Reservation Bill. However, the Congress and some other parties sabotaged it. The BJP is prepared to support any alternative proposal for women's reservation, on which broad consensus can be forged. We believe that the nation's commitment to take this revolutionary step forward can no longer be kept in abeyance.

6.6 Population Control

The BJP is convinced that neglect of the imperative of population control is one of the main causes for the shortcomings in India's all-round development. The Vajpayee Government has taken steps to overcome this neglect. We believe that the goals and targets set in the National Population Policy can be realized only by making it a people's movement. State Governments – especially in those States that are lagging behind – and communities have to be energized. The BJP also believes that the time has come to introduce a set of incentives and non-coercive disincentives for the success of this campaign. We are in favour of providing incentives for the girl child within a two-child norm. Our Party shall build consensus over ways that would ensure success of this mission.

6.7 Securing a Bright Future for India's Children

India is home to the largest child population in the world. Every fifth child in the world is an Indian. Hence, what happens to India's children will determine not only India's future, but also the future of the world. For the BJP, securing a bright future for India's children is both a moral obligation and a matter of political urgency. We are proud of the Vajpayee Government's initiatives in this regard for example, making free and compulsory elementary education a fundamental right through a Constitutional amendment; launching 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan', the biggest ever educational programme since Independence; and vastly enlarging the scope of the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) to cover nearly all the blocks in the country.

We are committed to further intensifying our efforts to put the needs, aspirations and rights of children at the heart of our development agenda. Drastic reduction in infant and maternal mortality, special focus on the education of the girl child, ending malnutrition among children from poor families, elimination of child labour, and the care of orphans will be our priority.

6.8 Unleashing India's 'Yuva Shakti'

Demographically India is a Young Nation. Nearly 65 per cent of our population is below the age of 35. This 'yuva shakti' (youth power) is a source of immense strength and hope for the India of our dreams in the 21st century. Our first priority is to ensure that every young Indian is gainfully employed or self-employed, securing not only their own livelihood but also contributing to their family's well-being and to the country's progress. By their very nature, young people are an overflowing reservoir of energy, enthusiasm, creativity, idealism and patriotism. It is the duty of the government and society to create opportunities for the full flowering of these attributes. Care should be taken to see that their grievances and resentment over any issue are not exploited by parochial and anti-social elements.

The spirit of adventure among the youth and their natural inclination for voluntary service need to be promoted. Infrastructure for sports, arts, cultural activities and social service, and support for youth organizations engaged in these activities, need to be stepped up at all levels from the national to the local. In particular, Indian sports, which have suffered marginalisation, deserve special encouragement. We are proud that the Vajpayee Government not only created a separate Ministry for Sports and Youth Affairs for the first time since Independence, but also effected a five-fold increase in the allocation for sports in the Tenth Plan. The BJP's vision is to see that India emerges as a major Sports Power in the world over the next ten years. We will work for the realization of this vision. □

Good Governance Issues

7.1 Governance Reforms

The principal aspect of the Congress misrule was its failure to transform India's hard-won Swaraj (self-governance) into Su-raj (good governance). It caused the government to enter every sphere of our national life, excessively enlarging the ordinary citizen's interface with the public authority. The overload of the government has led to inefficiency, harassment and corruption. Rather than being at the service of the people, the state machinery has reduced them to being supplicants. Its lack of transparency and accountability has alienated the people. Its highly bureaucratic working has undermined their entrepreneurial energies and discouraged citizens' initiatives. In the absence of people's active participation, policies and programmes frequently fail to deliver desired results.

Punitive levels of taxation created a national culture of dishonesty. The licence-permit-quota raj produced a shortage economy and bred corruption and nepotism. The government was often the cause of the problem and not the solution.

The BJP is committed to making the role of the government more focused and effective by initiating a set of reforms for Good Governance with the same priority as economic reforms. Specifically, we will make the government's interaction with citizens more people-friendly and service-oriented. We will make the government's principal role in the economy that of a facilitator and creator of the necessary environment for the creative energies of the people to find full expression. We will reduce discretionary powers vested with public authorities, and base the exercise of such powers on objective criteria. We will ensure exemplary punishment for infringement.

The BJP is committed to removing all non-financial barriers to economic growth such as delays in clearances and decision making; obsolete laws, unnecessary procedures, and habitual litigation; lack of adequate empowerment of officers at appropriate levels; and lack of a level-playing field in the functioning environment of executives in the public sector vis-à-vis their private sector counterparts.

7.2 Re-orienting the Priorities of Government

The BJP believes that the thrust of the Union government in future should be on the core areas of national security, internal security, macro-economic management, and creation and upgrading of infrastructure. It should also expand the scope and improve the quality of services and amenities in the social sector, particularly targeted at the poor and disadvantaged communities. The government's traditional function of administration and upholding the rule of law and justice will have to be further strengthened.

In the economic sphere, the government should progressively withdraw from involvement in non-priority sectors. It should create more avenues for entrepreneurship in a well-regulated competitive framework. In general, it should reduce its role in manufacturing and services business, where the private sector can serve the people better except where it is required for strategic reasons, to prevent private sector monopolies, run important utilities, or in exceptional circumstances.

At the same time, there is a need to enhance systemic capabilities for better policy formulation in the social sector, better designing of schemes and programmes, and, above all, better monitoring of their implementation. Towards this end, there is a need to maximize community participation and involve voluntary organizations, professional experts at all levels. In short, efficiency, accountability, responsiveness, pro-poor attitude, and treating the people as one's masters will be the hallmark of administrative reforms in the years to come.

7.3 Judicial Reforms

The BJP is firmly committed to the independence of the judiciary. At the same time, we acknowledge that judicial bottlenecks

have become a major source of harassment for ordinary citizens. They are also acting as an obstacle to our economy growing faster. Therefore, we shall speed up judicial and legal reforms on an urgent basis. Our specific commitments are:

- 7.3.1 Considerable enhancement in allocations to improve the physical and operational infrastructure of our courts;
- 7.3.2 Increasing the number of courts and appointment of more judges at all levels;
- 7.3.3 Reform of the criminal justice system to make dispensation of justice simpler, quicker and more effective;
- 7.3.4 Extension of Fast-Track Courts to all layers of the judiciary;
- 7.3.5 Expansion of alternative dispute redressal mechanisms through Lok Adalats and Tribunals;
- 7.3.6 Setting up a National Judicial Commission for appointment of judges and ensuring judicial ethics.

7.4 Electoral Reforms

The NDA Government has introduced certain important electoral reforms such as rightsizing of the Council of Ministers at the Centre and in States, open ballot in Rajya Sabha elections to check misuse of money power, the facility of proxy vote to defence personnel, etc. We have made political funding more transparent. The BJP will pursue this agenda vigorously by working towards state funding of elections. We shall evolve a consensus to prevent entry of criminal elements into politics. In cooperation with other political parties, the BJP will consistently strive to raise the standards of Parliament and State Legislatures and making their functioning more effective.

The BJP firmly holds that the high offices of the Indian State legislative, executive and judicial should be occupied only by those who are India's natural citizens by their Indian origin.

7.5 Effective Empowerment of Panchayati Raj Institutions

The BJP believes in Gandhiji's philosophy that Ram Rajya cannot become a reality without Gram Rajya. We are committed to decentralisation and grassroots democracy, with the village as the unit, through transfer of power from the Centre to the States, from State governments to Panchayati Raj Institutions and from

impersonal bureaucracies to communities. We believe that effective empowerment of Panchayati Raj Institutions is the most urgent good governance task for achieving the cherished ideal of speedy and all-round rural development. The 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution, introduced by the Congress government, devolved many important functions to Panchayati Raj Institutions. However, they failed to equip these institutions with necessary financial and administrative powers to discharge their Constitutional obligations. The BJP will remove this shortcoming by enacting, if necessary, a new Constitutional amendment.

The institution of the Gram Sabha will be strengthened. We believe that it is the most effective platform for promoting grassroots democracy, since it enables all the people in a village to discuss every developmental work, scrutinise the allocation and spending of funds, and evaluate the performance of panchayat and government functionaries.

7.6 Improving Fiscal Health of State Governments

The BJP believes that the distortions introduced by Congress governments in the past have undermined the financial viability of States. Several policy and administrative measures have become necessary to stop unproductive expenditure and enhance the resource mobilisation powers of States and institutions of local government. The BJP will strive to build political consensus, which is critical for achieving this objective.

The NDA Government has initiated the process of liberating India from an overdose of controls. It has abolished many state monopolies, simplified procedures, cut red tape in many places and eased controls. The BJP is committed to a simplified and low tax regime. Lower taxes encourage entrepreneurship, less tax evasion, a dynamic work culture and enable people to save more and spend more on themselves, their families and their communities. At the same time, efforts will be intensified to further expand the population of tax payers to reflect the growing preponderance of services in our economy, ensure better compliance, and plug significant leakage of tax revenue at various levels.

7.7 War on Corruption

The BJP believes that corruption is the greatest hurdle in India's developmental march. It has weakened the moral fabric of our society and polity. The long years of Congress rule have created a system of governance and administration where power is frequently misused for personal gain. Ordinary citizens often have difficulty getting their work done in government offices, without paying bribes. The BJP believes that the menace of corruption has to be fought at all levels. This requires both systemic reforms especially electoral and administrative reforms – and heightened public action. No single political party can win the fight against corruption on its own. However, the BJP is committed to playing a leading role in its eradication.

7.8 Empowering Civil Society

After Independence, the Congress Party let the country down on good governance. It also created an atmosphere of "statism", which made the Government machinery all-powerful and the people excessively dependent on it. As a result, the people's initiative and their efforts to solve their own local problems took a back seat. The Government did not sufficiently trust the organizations of civil society, and the people in turn did not trust the Government to deliver. The lack of people's participation in government-led development became one of the principal reasons for India's slow progress.

The BJP believes that this has to be changed by empowering communities, voluntary organizations, not-for-profit groups, and respected senior citizens in society. The NGO sector, too, needs to apply self-correctives for it to play its role in the developmental process. We believe that there is a big scope for enlisting the cooperation of religious establishments of all denominations, which command large followings, in schemes and programmes for social development. We also believe that empowerment of the Civil Society will help in achieving dispute resolution ranging from local disputes over minor issues to major ones over contentious issues – outside the realm of the judiciary and government. This vision is consistent with the traditional Indian approach to dispute resolution.

7.9 Strengthening India's links with the Indian Diaspora

The BJP believes that the growing achievements of the vast Indian diaspora are a matter of pride and a source of strength for India. Similarly, India's growing strength and its rising global stature are also a matter of pride and a source of strength for the Indian diaspora. Together we constitute the Great Indian Family. We are proud of the NDA Government's unprecedented efforts to broaden and deepen the emotional, social and economic links of NRIs and PIOs with their cultural motherland. These links will have to be comprehensively strengthened in the years to come.



India and the World

With the world recognizing India as an emerging power, our foreign policy has to become far more active, creative and sure-footed. This process has already begun under the NDA Government, which has launched a number of bold initiatives over the past five years. Our Look-East Policy has greatly strengthened the India-ASEAN relationship, reinforcing our close cultural links with this region in the past with new links in trade, technology and transport. We have recently given economic cooperation within SAARC a new impetus, creating the promise of free-trade in South Asia. Our economic cooperation with China is growing at an amazing speed. We have further strengthened our strategic partnership with Russia, expanded relations with USA, intensified our dialogue with the European Union, and rejuvenated traditional bonds with countries in West Asia, Central Asia, and Africa.

The BJP believes that this new pro-active and self-confident thrust of India's foreign policy should be continued. Our aim should be to secure for India a steadily broadening role in international affairs, so that we can contribute meaningfully to the global community's collective ability to deal with the challenges of today and tomorrow.

The broad contours of the BJP's vision for India's external affairs in the coming years are:

- 8.1 Continue the dialogue process with Pakistan for a lasting solution to all the outstanding issues, including Jammu & Kashmir, on the basis of the Joint Statement issued in Islamabad in February 2004.
- 8.2 Work towards realizing the vision for a South Asian Economic Union with a common currency for the region.

- 8.3 Continue the dialogue process with China to achieve a mutually satisfactory resolution of the boundary issue, which is an objective of strategic interest for us.
- 8.4 Intensify efforts to create suitable alliances to secure access to new energy sources.
- 8.5 Work for the creation of a cooperative multipolar world order, with India as one of the poles.
- 8.6 Continue efforts to secure permanent membership of the UN Security Council.

□

9. Conclusion

“Shaktishali Bharat ke liye Shaktishali BJP”

For the past five years, Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has given India a purposeful and dynamic government, ending the debilitating period of destabilization perpetuated by the Congress. Under him, India has entered the 21st Century with greater self-confidence, vastly enhanced capacity for achievement, and soaring expectations.

The remarkable progress made in the past six years is, however, only a beginning. India still has a long way to realise its full potential begins to flower. Inspirational leadership and good governance have put development on top of the political agenda. The BJP is committed to carrying forward this process and further strengthening it over the next five years and beyond.

Our vision is to make India a Developed Nation by 2020; strong in security, strong in national unity, strong in economy, strong in democracy, strong in diplomacy, and, above all, strong in every parameter of human development of all her one billion people.

Our vision is to make the 21st Century India’s Century.

History has chosen the BJP to provide political leadership to our national endeavour to realize this vision. “*Shaktishali Bharat ke liye Shaktishali BJP*” is our clarion call.

A renewed and stronger mandate in Election 2004 an absolute majority for the BJP and a two-thirds majority for the NDA is the crucial first step to realise this dream.

To recall the Prime Minister’s ringing words, “India’s destiny is linked to victory for the BJP and the NDA.”

A renewed mandate for Shri Vajpayee is a mandate for India’s renewal.

Vande Mataram!

Manifesto: NDA

Election Manifesto 2004

**An Agenda for Development,
Good Governance and Peace**

Introduction

The first National Democratic Alliance Government was elected to office in 1998. It was re-elected in 1999. Under Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visionary leadership, the NDA is seeking a renewed mandate, in the 2004 General Election, to serve the nation for another five years.

The NDA had promised to end political instability created by the Congress party's dangerous destabilizing tactics. We have done so by giving India a stable and purposive government under an able leader.

Adhering to the canons of 'Coalition Dharma' mutual trust, regular consultation, consensus building, and acceptance of a common approach, the NDA has shown how a coalition can work unitedly to fulfill the people's aspirations.

We have lived up to our 1999 manifesto declaration: 'The NDA is a representative of both national interests and regional aspirations. The NDA is ... the mirror-image of our nation's unity in multifaceted diversity, rich pluralism, and federalism.'

The NDA Government has taken India forward on all fronts during the past five years. Our common manifesto in the 1999 elections was called, 'An Agenda For a Proud, Prosperous India'. Today, India is more prosperous than ever before. There is greater pride, hope, and self-confidence among Indians than ever earlier. Today, India stands tall on the international stage, with greater prestige and recognition.

In five years, our country has demonstrated its ability to overcome the legacy of past problems and to embrace the opportunities of the 21st century. There is peace on the Indo-Pak border, entirely due to the Government's firm but bold efforts to

enable bilateral relations to move from seemingly never-ending enmity to amity. An atmosphere has been created for resolving all outstanding issues through dialogue. This positive development is pregnant with possibilities not only for India and Pakistan, but also for the future of South Asia.

Jammu & Kashmir basks again in the sunshine of regained peace, well set now on the road to development. The holding of free and fair elections in 2002, and the commitment to a dialogue process, has generated new hope in the State. Troubled parts of the North-East are seeing fruits of the NDA Government's consistent pursuit of peace and conflict-resolution through dialogue. The NDA Government is now resolving the problems left in these regions as legacies of long Congress misrule.

We have finally left behind our years of stagnation and slow economic growth that marked most of the first fifty years of our independence. A GDP growth rate of 8%, which our opponents had cynically derided as 'Mungeri Lal ke haseen sapne', has become real and will be exceeded, despite the country having faced a string of natural calamities. Last year, our efficient and effective management of severe drought situation in fourteen States, was without precedent. Prices of essential commodities remain under control.

Agricultural production will surpass all previous records. Our forex reserves exceed the \$110 billion mark.

Many areas of India's manufacturing sector, earlier written off by critics, have now attained global competitiveness. The past five years have not only brought pride to the 'Made in India' label, but have also made 'Served from India' the first choice of global companies. This sunrise sector has generated new employment. This new offshoot of the Knowledge Economy complements India's globally recognized strengths in software exports, which have grown more than five times in the last five years to cross Rs. 48,000 crore.

Poor and inadequate infrastructure, which was the debilitating legacy of the Congress years, has been replaced by a world-class infrastructure for India, built by Indians, in India. We have set in motion what the Prime Minister has aptly termed as a 'Connectivity Revolution'. Telecom connectivity, Internet connectivity, highway connectivity, and rural roads connectivity are just the initial, visible successes of this revolution. We are determined to replicate these

successes in other critical areas of infrastructure power, railways, airports, ports, irrigation, etc. where bottlenecks have severely constrained economic growth and employment generation.

The past five years has seen a huge boom in housing construction. We have over-fulfilled our promise, made in 1999, of facilitating construction of twenty lakh new houses each year. We take pride in the fact that the Vajpayee Government built more houses for the rural poor under the Indira Awaas Yojana in the last five years than the Congress or Congress-supported governments did in the previous fourteen years since the inception of the scheme.

Creating one crore additional employment opportunities a year was an important promise contained in our 1999 manifesto. We have substantially fulfilled that promise. Between 2000-2003, 82 lakh employment and self-employment opportunities were created on average each year. The Rs. 1,000-crore Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana, started by our Government, is the biggest food-for-work program since Independence.

Our Government launched some of the biggest-ever social development initiatives in the world. These include the Antyodaya Anna Yojana and the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. The coverage of the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), which is the world's largest early childcare program, was greatly expanded. Major initiatives, such as establishment of a separate ministry for tribal affairs, were taken to promote the cause of social justice.

We now seek a renewed term to carry forward our agenda. Responding to the aspirations and expectations of the people, the NDA has made 'Development', 'Good Governance', and 'Peace', as the main issues for Election 2004. Our commitment to these issues is further affirmed in this Manifesto.

India is prosperous, and developing. Millions of Indians have got employment, bought houses, use cell phones, and are getting better education for their children. Yet, millions more still await their chance of benefiting from and contributing to the Great Indian Dream. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's advocacy of 'Antyodaya', the NDA Government is committed to reaching the fruits of development to all; for we believe that the deprived and the denied have the first call on the resources and the attention of the Indian State.

Our vision

India as a Developed Nation

Our Goal: 8 to 10% GDP growth rate on a sustainable basis over the next five years, with eradication of poverty by 2015. Clear five-yearly milestones for economic growth and social development will be set for each State and district.

Our Guiding Principle: Faster growth with employment, equity, social justice, reduction in regional imbalances, and the urban-rural divide.

The NDA believes that GDP growth, at an annual rate of 8 to 10% on a sustainable basis, is achievable. This will realize our strategic vision of making India a Developed Nation. We have full faith in the capacity of our hardworking kisans and workers, enterprising businessmen and traders, innovative managers, professionals, talented scientists, and dedicated administrators to achieve this goal.

The NDA is committed to making India an economic superpower through a seven-pronged strategy of:

1. India as the food factory of the world.
2. India as the global manufacturing hub.
3. India as the service provider to the world.
4. India as the centre of the knowledge economy.
5. India as the global tourism destination.
6. India as the global healthcare destination.
7. India as the global higher education destination.

□

Agriculture

The NDA Government gives highest priority to agriculture, since it is the mainstay of India's overall development. Our main objectives are:

1. Bring vibrancy to the rural economy.
2. Make agriculture remunerative even to small and marginal farmers by doubling the income of kisans by 2010, reducing the cost of cultivation, enhancing yields, and increasing prices receivable by farmers. We have, for the first time since Independence, set up a National Kisan Commission to address these imperatives.
3. Double the rate of growth of public and private investment in agriculture.
4. Make India's eastern States, which have fertile land and plenty of water, a new food basket of India.
5. Increase the access of our farmers to markets, to competitive sources of finance, and to knowledge that allows them to compete in a global economy.
6. Increase value addition and reduce wastage at every stage in the food chain linking the kisan to the consumer, so that both benefit.
7. Make India the 'Food Factory' of the world by producing high quality processed foods for global markets.

For achieving these objectives, the Prime Minister will formally launch the Second Green Revolution on August 15, 2004. Since agriculture is a state subject, the NDA will make efforts to secure the participation of States in implementing the following tasks under the Second Green Revolution, which will lead to an 'Ever Green' Revolution.

Land, Water, and Power

1. Work will commence on the River-Linking Project, whose principal beneficiaries will be our farmers in water-scarce areas.
2. Completion of all the ongoing irrigation projects (major, medium, and minor) within five years to create irrigation for an additional 35 million hectares of land.
3. A Master Plan for ground water recharge will be implemented throughout the nation.
4. Mandatory community participation in planning, execution, and maintenance of irrigation projects through mechanisms such as Water Users' Associations.
5. Every district will draw up a comprehensive water management and soil enrichment strategy.
6. A campaign will be launched to encourage drip irrigation, sprinkler irrigation and greenhouse technology. Land under these water-efficient systems will be increased five-fold in five years. Our slogan for this campaign would be 'More Crop per Drop'.
7. A National Mission for Rainfed Agriculture will be launched to benefit two-thirds of India's cropped area, and 80% of small and marginal farmers who are dependent on rains. It will focus on the watershed approach, use of better seeds, dissemination of relevant farm technologies, soil enrichment, and commercialization of everything that grows on arid lands, including weeds and wild plants.
8. Adequate supply of quality power will be ensured to all farmers by 2009.
9. Wasteland development for agriculture, horticulture, afforestation, bio-mass production, cultivation of bamboo and bio-fuels, and other productive uses will be taken up on a mission mode. All programs, currently under different ministries, will be brought under a single agency. The National Wasteland Development Board will be reactivated to put at least 25 million hectares of wasteland to productive use by 2009 that is, by doubling the rate of coverage under all the existing programs. The Centre will draw up a model law for better management of land and other natural resources through community

participation, private investments, corporate-cooperative collaboration, and by making landless labourers, small farmers, ex-servicemen, and unemployed youth partners in every initiative for wasteland development. The model law will be commended to State Governments to pass similar legislations and set up suitably empowered authorities to implement this important mission.

10. Organic farming will be promoted to reverse soil degradation produce 'natural' foods that are becoming popular the world over. Fiscal and other forms of support will be given for production of bio-fertilizers and bio-pesticides.
11. Leasing in and leasing out of lands within farmers would be permitted through enabling legislation.
12. With the cooperation of the State governments, all revenue records and land transfer systems will be computerized and linked to a Geographical Information System.

Finance and Insurance

1. Greater Plan Funds shall be earmarked for agriculture, irrigation, rural development and allied areas.
2. A Task Force will be set up to recommend, within the first six months, policy and institutional measures to promote private sector investment in agriculture, especially in small and medium-scale irrigation projects, farm R&D, human resource development, post-harvest management, and marketing. Public and private investments, as well as investments by farmers themselves, will be synergized through partnerships. It needs to be underscored that private investment in agriculture does not mean corporate farming.
3. Timely and adequate farm credit to kisans is as important as timely and adequate water for his crops. Therefore, steps will be taken to ensure enhanced credit flow to the sector, make credit affordable at interests lower than prime lending rates (PLR), eliminate procedural delays, and introduce greater competition in credit delivery. The process of giving all eligible farmers a Kisan Credit Card will be completed before August 15, 2004. Card-holders

- will be able to use ATM facility wherever it exists. Our aim will be to create a well-developed farm credit system, which will end the need for farmers to go to money lenders.
4. Projects under the newly announced Loknayak Jaiprakash Narayan Fund of Rs. 50,000 crore for agriculture infrastructure and credit will be given fast-track clearance.
 5. The Government will give priority attention to strengthening cooperative banks and other cooperative credit institutions. The Rs. 15,000-crore fund announced for this purpose in the interim budget will be made operational. Necessary steps will be taken to ensure that cooperative institutions are run on professional and sound commercial lines, while retaining their democratic character.
 6. All States will be encouraged to bring their cooperative laws in conformity with the Multi-State Cooperative Act passed by the Centre.
 7. Full support will be provided for setting up cold storages, godowns, grain banks, and fodder banks. Kisans keeping their produce in accredited godowns/grain banks will be entitled to avail bank credit with the introduction of Negotiable Warehouse Receipts.
 8. The comprehensive crop insurance scheme and the newly launched farm income insurance scheme will be more intensively and efficiently implemented.

Technology, Training, and Extension Services

1. Launch of a national program to use bio-technology for evolving plants that consume less water, are drought-resistant, contain more nutrition, give higher yield, and are environmentally safe.
2. Resources for agricultural R&D will be trebled in the next five years. Its focus on new yield-enhancing and cost-reducing agriculture practices, new seeds, etc. To close the gap between 'Lab to Land', multiple kinds of partnerships will be established between the Indian Council for Agricultural Research (ICAR), Krishi Vigyan Kendras, agriculture universities, agri-business companies, and farmers' organizations.
3. Agriculture extension and consultancy services will be

made a thrust area, with private sector participation. Necessary bank credit and institutional support will be made available for the establishment of at least one 'Krishi Seva Kendra' in every village. The 'Kisan Call Centre' service (which uses a nationwide toll-free telephone number 1551. will be made operational nationwide and in all local languages. Besides benefiting farmers, these agri-consultancy services will create employment and income-enhancing opportunities for over five lakh educated youth and local agriculture experts.

4. Opportunities for education and training in agriculture and allied activities will be vastly expanded. Our aim will be to ensure that every farmer undergoes some training or participates in some farm-education program every year.
5. A comprehensive, countrywide program will be launched for the technological improvement of farm machinery, implements, and tools.

Agricultural Markets

1. States will be given incentives to amend the Agricultural Produce and Marketing Committee (APMC) Act and abolish mandi taxes. This will enable farmers to access competitive markets, sell their produce directly to processing industries and to consumers, thus realizing better prices.
2. All the remaining restrictions on the free movement of agricultural goods across any part of the country will be removed within one year. The Essential Commodities Act will be revised.
3. A Rs. 1,000 crore Mandi Development Fund will be created to support modernization of agriculture markets.
4. Commodity exchanges will be encouraged to reach futures trading services to all farmers through smaller contract sizes and by covering a wider range of crops. This will lessen the dependence on Minimum Support Prices.
5. The present system of setting Minimum Support Prices by the Commission on Agricultural Costs and Prices will be reviewed to further benefit all kisans.
6. The present system of procurement through the Food

Corporation of India will be revamped to make it cheaper to buy, store, transport, and export food grains.

7. A chain of farmers' haats (markets), on the pattern of 'Ryuthu Bazaar' in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, will be established throughout the country, where farmers can sell directly to customers.

Food Processing

1. The NDA believes that the food processing industry can make our rural economy vibrant in the same manner that IT has made our national economy prosper. Currently, we process only 2% of the value of our agricultural produce. A Task Force shall come up with an action plan to raise this to 10% in five years. It will comprehensively address the main problems facing India's food processing industry: size, fragmentation, inefficiency, low value-addition, low quality standards, and inadequate logistical support. It will enable the industry to meet the needs of Indian consumers both at the low end and the high end. It will enable industry to access agriculture produce directly from farmers, and suggest ways to step up exports, including to organized retail outlets abroad.
2. Tariff and investment support for setting up food processing industries, especially in backward regions, will be stepped up.
3. The foremost task in food processing in India is to reduce the distance between production and processing. Therefore, every rural branch of a bank will be required to identify agro-processing potential in its region and finance such enterprises. Local administration will be required to provide necessary infrastructure support. We shall set up a chain of Primary Processing Centres close to the farmers. These will sort, grade, process, store, and pack agricultural and horticultural produce for shipment to markets and further value-addition.
4. A Unified Food Law, the lack of which is a critical impediment in the faster development of food-processing industries, will be enacted within the first six months.
5. An independent Food Regulatory Authority will be set

- up within six months. This shall be responsible for setting and enforcing standards for all food products.
6. A Task Force will be set up, within first three months, to recommend short-term and long-term measures to address the problems faced by sugarcane growers and sugar mills, and to enable Indian sugar industry to become a major player in global markets. Production of ethanol and power through co-generation plants will be stepped up.
 7. India is the largest milk producer in the world. Yet, less than 5% of milk production is processed. A Dairy Industry Development Plan will be drawn up, within the first six months, with the principal aim of enhancing rural incomes and employment generation. It will provide increased fiscal and investment support for dairy units, especially in northern and eastern States. The focus of this plan will be doubling capacity in five years, technology upgradation, expansion of the domestic market, and realization of the industry's full export potential. It will also address the downstream side of the industry – better species, fodder, veterinary services, credit needs of kisans, etc.
 8. Major thrust will be given to the poultry industry to double egg production, quadruple poultry meat production, and increase exports from Rs. 250 crore to Rs. 1,000 crore. This is expected to increase employment in poultry from the current 20 lakh to 50 lakh in five years. Poultry farming will be recognized as an agricultural activity and all benefits applicable to agriculture will be extended to it.
 9. An experts' committee will be set up, within thirty days, to recommend measures to minimize wastage and damages along the food chain.

Crops

1. An action plan for massive crop diversification, multi-cropping, and doubling per-acre yields of all crops will be prepared. Every village will be encouraged to set its own yearly targets. Successful farmers will be suitably recognized.
2. Efforts will be intensified to achieve self-sufficiency in pulses and oil-seeds in five years.

3. Horticulture and floriculture production will be doubled in five years. Vegetable cultivation and mushroom farming, especially near towns and cities will be promoted.
4. Additional measures will be initiated for addressing the problems faced by growers of plantation crops – tea, coffee, coconut, areca nut, rubber, cashew and spices, for enabling India to retain its leadership position in these crops.
5. The national missions for development of bio-fuels and bamboo, which were launched last year, will be made operational. Cultivation of medicinal plants and aromatic plants, which have considerable export potential, will be further promoted.
6. A Technology Mission for improving jute production and value-addition will be launched.

Animal husbandry and Fisheries

1. Animal husbandry, which provides full and partial employment to over two crore Indians, will be fully promoted to achieve the ends of rural prosperity and social justice. A National Cattle Development Board will be set up with adequate budgetary support. Among other things, it will prepare a program for improvement of livestock breeds, with a major thrust on genetic improvement of indigenous cattle, buffalo, and other animals linked to the rural economy. Establishment of Goshalas and Pinjrapoles will be encouraged. Efforts will be made to evolve consensus for passing a Central legislation for protection of cow and her progeny. Recommendations of the newly-established National Cattle Commission will be implemented.
2. A National Commission for Fisheries and Aquaculture will be set up for promoting all-round development of marine and inland fisheries, and speedy socio-economic progress of fishermen. Deep sea fishing industry will be developed to take advantage of India's long coastline and its exclusive economic zone. Fishermen's cooperatives will be helped to modernize their trawlers, set up cold storages and processing plants, and establish direct linkages with domestic and foreign markets.

3. India is the second largest wool producer in the world. However, our wool industry is by and large at a low level of quality and value realization. An action plan will be prepared for its modernization and expansion. The newly established Development and Finance Corporation for the Shepherd Community will be made operational.

Agricultural Workers

Effective steps will be taken to ensure sustainable year-long employment, with minimum wages for agricultural workers. They will be brought under the social security scheme for unorganized workers and the proposed Antyodaya Swasthya Yojana. They will be given priority in rural housing. Training programs for raising their productivity and skills will be encouraged.

Other issues

1. Women play a major, albeit unrecognized, role in Indian agriculture. A special scheme will be launched to empower women in kisan families, enrich their capabilities, and augment their incomes.
2. An extensive campaign will be launched to educate Indian kisans about the WTO Agreement on Agriculture, the challenges and opportunities in global trade in agriculture after the removal of Quantitative Restrictions, and how a partnership between the government, businesses, cooperatives, and kisans can help the country meet the challenges and capture the opportunities.

The 'Second Green Revolution' will follow a strategy distinctly different from the one that defined the First Green Revolution. The latter focused mostly on the popularization of high-yielding crop varieties to overcome food shortage. In contrast, the Second Green Revolution will embrace the entire Agro-Economy, from the farmer to the consumer. It will harness a bouquet of new technologies, space, IT, BT. It will also focus on water-efficient irrigation systems, environment-friendly pesticides, precision agriculture, agriculture markets, food processing, rural infrastructure, etc.

Many of the activities mentioned above are looked after by different Departments and Ministries. For better coordination, a Cabinet Committee on Agriculture and Rural Development will

be set up.



Rural Development

The Government's main thrust in the coming five years will be to bridge the rural-urban divide through implementation of the PURA (Provision of Urban Amenities in Rural Areas) program. Under this program, to be implemented in ten thousand rural clusters across the country in five years, every cluster will be provided with four types of connectivities:

- (a) physical connectivity, which includes good roads and power supply;
- (b) digital connectivity, which includes modern telecom and IT services;
- (c) knowledge connectivity, which includes good schools and vocational training centers; and
- (d) market connectivity, which includes good market infrastructure.

Specifically,

- Village electrification will be completed by 2007 through an accelerated implementation of the program to cover 1 crore households and 1 lakh villages.
- All villages will have primary health centers within the village, dispensaries within five to eight kilometers, and referral hospitals within twenty kilometers.

PURA will be launched before August 15, 2004.

Rural Sanitation

Lack of safe drinking water and sanitation is the cause of 80% of all diseases and ailments. 67% of India's rural population and 22% of our urban population has no access to toilets. This is a source of

embarrassment and discontent among the youth, especially young women. The NDA is committed to changing this sad reality.

The Total Sanitation Campaign, launched by the NDA Government in 1999, has been a remarkable success. Necessary funds will be mobilized to ensure that all the TSC projects will be fully implemented in five years, ensuring that all the 8.4 crore uncovered rural households will have access to basic sanitation either their own or community-owned. There shall be no Anganwadi centre or rural/urban school without water and toilet facilities by 2005. Priority will be given to girls' schools and schools in tribal and remote areas.

Drinking water

More than Rs. 40,000 crore have been invested in the rural water supply sector during the last five decades by the Central and State Governments. However, the results have not been commensurate with this investment, primarily because the schemes did not have an in-built mechanism for people's participation, panchayat ownership, and bureaucratic accountability. The NDA Government removed this shortcoming by launching the 'Swajaldhara' program in December 2002. Under this, 90% of funds on capital cost would be given by the Centre directly to Panchayats. The remaining 10% of the capital cost and full Operation and Maintenance (O&M) responsibility will be borne by the community.

All the existing rural drinking water supply schemes would be brought under the reforms agenda of 'Swajaldhara' – making them 'demand-driven' rather than 'supply-driven' to ensure their long-term sustainability. Adequate funds will be mobilized for its enlarged implementation with the following commitments:

- (a) Every rural habitation in the country, including those that have slipped back into the Partially Covered or Non-Covered status, will be provided an assured source of drinking water supply by 2007;
- (b) A community-based program for water quality monitoring would be initiated;
- (c) Water supply departments and *nigams* of State Governments would be reformed;

- (d) Panchayats would be given incentives for rainwater harvesting, raising ground-water levels, and augmentation and cleaning up of water sources such as village ponds, wells, rivulets, etc.



Infrastructure

The Connectivity Revolution, which was launched by the NDA Government, and has already yielded visible results in several sectors, will be further accelerated. Specifically, our Government will do the following in the coming five years:

Roads

1. Timely completion of the National Highway Development Project (nearly 15,000 km): Phase 1 (Golden Quadrilateral) by 2005; Phase 2 (East-West and North-South Corridors) by 2008; Pradhan Mantri Bharat Jodo Pariyojana (additional 10,000 km, linking all those State capitals not covered by NHDP, as well as important commercial centers in all the States, to NHDP with 4/6 lane highways) by 2009.
2. Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana: Linking all rural habitations with a population above 1,000 by 2005; linking all rural habitations with a population above 500 by 2007.
3. Private investment in public transport systems will be encouraged. States will be given incentives to speed up restructuring of their road transport corporations. At least five thousand new buses will be added to their fleets every year through a special fund. A separate fund for improvement of all the Inter-State Bus Terminals and District Bus Stations will also be set up.
4. In addition to road construction, a program for creation of road services like parking facilities, hotels, shops, medical facilities, business centers, food kiosks, etc. in a well-planned manner, will be taken up.
5. Road safety has not received adequate attention in India.

As many as 78,000 people die in road accidents each year. The Government will start a National Road Safety Mission, with necessary legal, regulatory, technology and mass awareness measures.

‘Sampoorna Sadak Connectivity’

A new program called the ‘Pradhan Mantri Pradesh Sadak Yojana’ (PMPSY) will be launched to improve all the State Highways and district roads in the country. These are the weak link in our road network that includes world-class national highways on one end and rapidly improving rural roads on the other end. The blueprint of this program, including its funding and monitoring, will be prepared after detailed consultation with State Governments. Reform of State PWDs and participation of the private sector will be the highlights of this new project. PMPSY will provide the missing link in the comprehensive road connectivity revolution, to be called the ‘Sampoorna Sadak Connectivity’ initiative, whose other three links are already being implemented by our Government namely, National Highways Development Program (NHDP), Pradhan Mantri Bharat Jodo Pariyojana (PMBJP), and the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY).

Railways

Railways are the lifeline of our nation. They are also the most important logistical support system for the Indian economy. Unprecedented expansion and modernization of India’s railway infrastructure over the next five years will be our commitment.

1. Implementation of works under the Rs. 15,000-crore National Rail Vikas Yojana, launched in December 2002, will be completed in time.
2. Implementation of the Rs. 20,000-crore Remote Area Rail Sampark Yojana, which was announced in the interim railway budget in January 2004, will start this year. Under this ambitious new initiative, all incomplete railway projects in remote and backward areas of our country, whose completion by the earlier ‘Congress speed of implementation’ would take 20 to 25 years, will be completed within the next 5 years.
3. We shall complete the rail connectivity from Kanyakumari

to Kashmir, to complement the completion of the four-lane highway connectivity from Kanyakumari to Kashmir, by speedily implementing the Udhampur-Katra-Baramulla railway line. The first ever train will roll into Kashmir Valley before August 15, 2007, carrying the Prime Minister as its first passenger.

4. Implementation of works under the Rs. 17,000-crore Special Railway Safety Fund, set up by the NDA Government in 2002, will be completed in time. The Technology Mission for Railway Safety will be made operational in 2004. Our aim will be to reach standards of railway safety in advanced countries by 2008.
5. Speed of goods trains on important lines will be increased to over 100 kmph.
6. The Railway Design and Standards Organization (RDSO) will be completely overhauled to make it a world-class R&D organization, with strong external linkages, capable of infusing new technology, which our railway network requires.
7. Operation Cleanliness will be completed by 2007 to give a new image to Indian Railways.
8. Metro rail projects will be started in many more cities. The 'Skybus' system shall be promoted on a pilot basis.
9. At least one bullet train project will be initiated.
10. A Rs. 5,000-crore Railway Station Improvement Fund shall be set up to improve passenger amenities in all important railway stations over five years. The fund will be raised from railway users and augmented by public-private partnerships.

Railway Reforms

Long-overdue reforms in the structure and functioning of Indian Railways, its finances, tariff fixation, investment plans, and project implementation will be speedily implemented. All non-core activities will be corporatized with their own effective board management. Critical projects will be re-designed to attract non-budgetary and private investments. The huge value hidden in the assets of Indian Railways, and in its under-utilized capacities, will be realized. Devolution of powers to zonal and lower levels

will be effected. An independent Rail Tariff Regulatory Authority will be set up on the lines of the Central Electricity Regulatory Commission.

Ports and Shipping

1. 'Sagar Mala', conceived by the NDA Government in 2003, is the most ambitious ever program for development and modernization of India's ports, shipping, shipyards, and inland navigation. Its aim is to make India a major maritime nation in the world, harnessing the long coastline that our country is blessed with. To be completed in ten years, it envisages new investments of over Rs. 100,000 crore, coming mostly from private and foreign investors. 'Sagar Mala' will be launched before August 15, 2005.
2. The operational efficiency of all major Indian ports will be raised to global standards within five years. Towards this end, the Government will effect complete overhaul in the management of Indian ports, including corporatizing each port and bringing private investment and management skills.
3. Sethusamudram project in Tamil Nadu will be speedily completed.
4. Rail and road connectivity to ports will be further improved.
5. The value of unused and under-used land and production assets in ports will be realized.
6. Major boost will be given to global shipping under the Indian flag.
7. Employment potential in seafaring will be fully harnessed through a National Maritime University of India with associated training colleges.

Airports and Civil Aviation

1. The proposed new 'Open Skies' Civil Aviation Policy will be adopted within the first thirty days.
2. Ten Indian cities, designated to be developed as Global Cities, will have world-class airports.
3. Planned fleet acquisition program of Indian Airlines and Air India will be completed before the end of 2004. Air India will be promoted as India's proud national carrier.

4. All airports in the country will be brought under the framework of public-private partnerships.
5. Air connectivity to remote areas, such as in the North-Eastern States, will be further strengthened.
6. New international airport projects for Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore and Hyderabad will be completed within the next three to four years and the Prime Minister will inaugurate them before August 15, 2008.
7. One hundred small airstrips across the country will be activated for daylight flying of small passenger and cargo planes. This will bring air connectivity to many district centers in remote and backward areas.

Telecom and IT infrastructure

1. Further accelerating the revolution in telecom connectivity, which began in 1999, the number of telephones will be increased from 7 crore at present to more than 30 crore by 2009. This will ensure that, on average, every alternate Indian family will have a telephone.
2. No Indian village will be without telecom services after 2007. Rural teledensity will be increased more than five-fold in five years.
3. The number of Internet connections will be increased five-fold from 40 lakhs at present to 2 crore.
4. PCOs will be encouraged to become multi-purpose IT kiosks and serve as the e-interface between citizens and providers of services, including government services. These will create several lakh new employment opportunities.
5. Broadband communication can revolutionize all sectors of the Indian economy. It can also bring about a paradigm change in the content and delivery of education and entertainment. Therefore, a comprehensive policy will soon be formulated to promote affordable broadband connectivity. This will embrace all the landline and wireless phone users, cable TV homes, and cinema halls. Promotion of state-of-the-art wireless technologies will be a key part of this policy.
6. India's economy, government and education will be IT-enabled at all levels. Implementation of a national

E-Governance strategy will begin before August 15, 2004. E-Seva will be made the common platform for citizens to pay bills for electricity, telephone, water, etc., register property, procure and submit government forms, etc. We will drastically reduce the need for citizens to go to a government office for services which can be rendered electronically.

7. IT in Indian languages, including in the area of content creation, will be given special thrust.
8. Postal services will be revamped, modernized, and IT-enabled to provide a range of commercial and governmental services to the people.
9. Every high school and every college in the country will be given access to a high-speed Internet connection with access to rich educational content in local languages.

Meeting The Challenge Of Water

1. The River-Linking Project will be launched before August 15, 2004. An initial set of identified schemes will be implemented, with public participation, by 2015. An effective rehabilitation package for the project-affected persons shall be finalized and implemented.
2. Massive encouragement and legislative backing for local and micro initiatives such as watershed management, rainwater harvesting, drip irrigation, de-silting of tanks, lakes and reservoirs, restoration of wells, recycling of water, etc.
3. Cleaning up of rivers and traditional water bodies, with community participation, will be supported.
4. Desalination plants will be set up in coastal towns.
5. An independent Water Tariff Authority will be set up in each State to decide the water tariffs for industrial, commercial, residential, and agricultural usage.
6. A campaign will be launched to make people aware of the need to conserve every drop of water.

In view of the utmost importance and urgency of this issue, a 'National Drinking Water Program' will be launched within the first thirty days. The Ministry of Finance will be directed to provide all required resources to implement this program in a time-bound

manner. A Task Force will be set up to work out the modalities of this program, including innovative ways of financing it.

Power

In 1998, the NDA Government inherited not only an extremely difficult power situation, but also a defective power policy and a flawed sector reform program. We took immediate steps to change the direction of reform and reorient the policies and programs with a view to setting right the situation. Priority was given to reforms in distribution by providing Rs. 20,000 crore for improving the distribution network and another Rs. 20,000 crore for giving SEBs incentives to reduce their losses. By enacting the Electricity Act, 2003, the NDA Government gave a big push to power sector reforms. Our future commitments in this critical sector will be:

1. Elimination of electricity shortages by 2012; significant reduction by 2009.
2. At least 50,000 MW of additional generation capacity will be created over the next five years. Work on projects with a combined capacity of 12,000 MW (of which 8,000 MW in the private sector) will start before the end of 2004.
3. Robust National Grid – 25,000 MW of power transfer capability by 2009.
4. SEB losses to be reduced to less than Rs. 5,000 crore by 2009 from the current figure of Rs. 24,000 crore.
5. T&D losses shall be significantly reduced.
6. Power sector reforms, envisaged in the Electricity Act, will be completed before end of 2004.
7. Every consumer of electricity in India, including farmers, would be connected through digital, tamper-proof meters in the next three years.
8. Implementation of the 50,000 MW Hydroelectric Initiative.
9. Implementation of the 100,000 MW Thermal Power Initiative.
10. A major push for harnessing non-conventional energy sources. A National Program for biomass-based decentralized power generation in rural areas will be started.
11. Energy conservation campaign will be intensified by

promoting energy saving technologies.

We promise that the above tasks, when accomplished, will create not only a vibrant and healthy power sector, but the country will experience the benefit of power sector reforms, in the same manner as is being experienced in the Telecom Sector.



Industry

1. An action plan will be drawn up, within six months, to make India a global manufacturing hub in areas where we have established our competitive strengths: pharmaceuticals, automobiles, auto-components, engineering goods. New industries, especially in hi-tech areas, will be identified for development of such strengths.
2. In view of the good results achieved by industrial units that restructured themselves in recent years, this process will be further facilitated to cover all the remaining units. Our aim will be to eliminate all idle or grossly underutilized capacities in Indian industry in five years.
3. Indian capital goods industry, automobile industry, pharmaceutical industry, chemicals and petrochemicals industry, gems and jewelry industry will be encouraged to move up the technology ladder and value chain and to become global players.
4. Restructuring PSUs will be speeded up to enhance their profitability. Public sector executives will be empowered to have greater operational freedom and flexibility. Effective measures will be taken to stop losses incurred by ailing government undertakings. The process of disinvestment, which yielded good results this year, will be continued primarily to enhance and realize the hidden wealth in PSUs.
5. Out of the 461 projects being monitored by the Department of Programme Implementation, 100 will be taken up for fast-track completion in two years.
6. The Centre will facilitate the creation of a world-class

industrial park in every State that is ready to lend necessary support.

7. We shall facilitate the creation of world-class Indian multinationals.

Coal

1. New coal mining projects will be started in 2004 to enhance existing capacity by 50 million tonnes. Focus will be on coking coal required for steel plants, and on coal for thermal power stations.
2. Necessary legislation will be introduced for encouraging private initiatives in the coal sector.
3. Restructuring of coal PSUs to make them more efficient and profitable.

Oil & Natural Gas

1. Enhanced oil production through increased exploitation of own resources as well as purchase of ownership in oil fields overseas.
2. Dependence on fossil fuels to be lessened through a concerted drive for harnessing non-conventional energy sources.
3. Competition in the oil and natural gas sector will be promoted through introduction of multiple players in the supply of products.
4. Commercial exploitation of discovered gas fields will begin by 2005.
5. Gas grid quadrilateral covering the entire country will be completed by 2007.
6. The Petroleum and Natural Gas Regulatory Board Bill will be enacted.

Steel & Aluminum

1. Policy and fiscal support will be provided for doubling steel production capacity in five years.
2. Improvement in technology for production of special and high-value steels.
3. Aluminium plants will be encouraged to become global players.

Mines

1. Policy will be reoriented, within three months, to encourage private investment in the mines sector.
2. Single-window clearance for harnessing of mineral resources such as iron ore, limestone, bauxite, and precious metals in an environmentally sustainable manner.
3. A raw material use policy will be unveiled in the mines sector.

Textiles

1. The government will launch a new initiative, to be called the Kabir Integrated Handloom Development Project, with an initial allocation of Rs. 1,000 crore. To be implemented in all the nearly two hundred plus handloom clusters in the country, it will have five growth objectives:
 - (a) to sustain and further increase the domestic market for handloom products.
 - (b) to boost handloom exports from the current Rs. 3,000 crores to Rs. 10,000 crore in five years.
 - (c) to lift every handloom weaver's family above poverty level.
 - (d) to create sustainable employment for at least 10 lakh more people in the handloom sector.
 - (e) to help handlooms move up the value chain. Necessary fiscal and other support will be given to achieve the above objectives.
2. The end of the Multi-Fibre Agreement and the quota regime in 2005 presents an opportunity to India's textile industry. The Government will assist the industry to reap this opportunity. Specifically,
 - (a) The powerloom industry will be helped to move up the value chain by upgrading technology, adopting shuttleless looms and becoming integrated textile units.
 - (b) Units in the mill sector will be enabled to become total textile solution providers. Consolidation and aggregation will be encouraged.

- (c) India's strength in being the largest producer of yarn will be innovatively harnessed.
 - (d) Cotton growers' problems will be comprehensively addressed.
3. A Task Force for Garment Industry will be set up to catalyze a ten-fold increase in investment in making garments for both the domestic and export market. Globally, stitching garments is the fastest way to create medium-skilled jobs, especially jobs for women. India, which is among the most efficient suppliers of yarn, will be made the biggest garment maker in the world by 2009.

Small & Medium Enterprises

1. The focus of our effort will be to facilitate SMEs becoming thriving businesses in a sustainable way, with a strong presence in global markets. Towards this end, we shall enact a SME Development Act and back this up with other regulatory reforms.
2. The Credit Guarantee Fund Scheme will be restructured by lowering its fees to 1% and by increasing the limit to Rs. 50 lakh.
3. A Rs. 1,000 crore Infrastructure Incubation Development Fund will be set up for incubating technocratic entrepreneurs in the SME sector.
4. Strong measures will be initiated, within six months, to put an end to the tyranny of the Inspector Raj, which breeds, corruption, drains the growth potential and demotivates our entrepreneurs in this sector. The cost of complying with regulation, and the time that SSI entrepreneurs have to spend in dealing with government authorities will be reduced to the barest minimum.

Cottage Industries

1. A National Policy on Cottage Industries will be unveiled before the end of 2004. Its focus will be to ensure that this sector, which is crucial from the point of view of poverty alleviation, employment generation and social justice, is placed on a sustainable high-growth path in the fast-changing external environment. Provision of necessary

infrastructure and credit support, strong linkages with domestic and export markets, product innovation to meet customer demand, technological upgradation, training and professional management will be comprehensively considered in the new policy.

2. Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC) and its affiliate bodies, which have done remarkable work in the past five years, will be given greater support. Specifically, the large network of KVI outlets across the country will be innovatively leveraged to strengthen this sector.
3. In particular, KVIC's Rural Employment Generation Program (REGP) will be fully supported to realize its target of creating 25 lakh additional employment and self-employment opportunities in the next five years.
4. It will be made obligatory for government offices, undertakings and government-supported business establishments to procure a certain percentage of products from the KVIC sector.
5. The 'Khadi' brand will be repositioned domestically and popularized globally, in view of the recent success of KVIC's products bearing this name.
6. A 'Vishwakarma Initiative' will be launched for craftspersons and rural artisans to preserve their traditional skills and knowledge, upgrade them, and adapt to new challenges. It will especially support the youth in artisan families to bring new technology and management practices to age-old family skills.

Knowledge Economy

The NDA is committed to making India as the Centre of the Knowledge Economy.

1. India's IT industry would be fully supported to reach the goal of \$50 billion exports by 2008 by consistently moving up the value chain. Advanced IT applications will be encouraged.
2. India has a unique opportunity to become the 'back office' service provider to the world. India's opportunity in the Call Centre business and BPO enterprises will be fully

harnessed. Comprehensive measures will be taken to rapidly expand employment potential in these IT-enabled services, especially in high-value services that can be rendered by our talented professionals, teachers, doctors, lawyers, managers, accountants, consultants, scientists, etc.

3. Fiscal and policy support will be given to enable India to become a major manufacturer of telecom, IT hardware, and consumer electronics products both for domestic and export markets. Foreign companies will be encouraged to set up fabrication facilities for chips.
4. Government will strengthen support for the biotech industry through a variety of measures, including greater funding for development of world-class R&D capabilities. Besides supporting private R&D projects, greater public-private partnership between industry and academic institutions will be encouraged. The patent regime will be strengthened.
5. Licensing procedure for biotechnology industries will be streamlined and delays in clearances will be eliminated by completely overhauling existing regulatory agencies. There will be a single-point clearance for biotech products, to be issued within sixty days.
6. An action plan will be prepared to make India a global platform for research, design, and development. The Government will give incentives foreign companies that spend huge amounts on R&D to set up their R&D centers here. Our target is to see that at least 50% of the 'Fortune 500' companies have a sizeable part of their R&D facility located in India.
7. The NDA Government is proud that a reversal of 'brain drain' – 'brain gain' has started in recent years, for the first time in Independent India. We will convert this 'trickle' into a 'torrent' by creating attractive conditions for the best Indian talent abroad to return to India or to participate in collaborative work. We will also encourage foreign scientists and professionals to come and work here in big numbers. The time has come to declare India as the land of opportunity for top-order talent in diverse fields.

Science & Technology

The NDA believes that science and technology have a vital role in the success of almost every initiative that figures in this Agenda—from the Second Green Revolution to raising India’s social development profile. We are proud that our Government not only checked declining support to India’s science and technology establishment, but placed spending on S&T on an upward curve.

1. Our focus in the coming five years will be three-pronged:
 - (a) further encourage public and private spending on S&T.
 - (b) further improve the outcome and output of this spending to match global standards.
 - (c) further integrate the activities and goals of our S&T institutions with India’s overarching goal of becoming a Developed Nation by 2020.
2. The Science and Technology Policy will be vigorously implemented.
3. Space research, peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and civilian applications of defense research will be further promoted, building on India’s self-reliant strides in these areas. Partnership between CSIR, DRDO, ICAR, ICMR, ISRO, BARC, IITs, universities, and other government-supported research institutions with Indian industry will be speedily expanded.
4. ISRO’s ambitious ‘Chandrayan’ program’, which aims to send India’s first space mission to the moon before 2008, will be fully supported.
5. Further steps will be taken to remove bureaucratism in the functioning of our S&T institutions. Each of them will be encouraged to develop a bold vision for their future growth to achieve dominance internationally.
6. Fundamental research in diverse fields will be promoted.
7. Recent efforts to preserve, catalogue, and develop India’s indigenous traditions in science and technology will be further encouraged.
8. Efforts at creating a scientific temperament in society, raising popular awareness about science, and promoting the spirit of innovation will be both recognized and supported.

Trade & Commerce

1. Big changes have come about in the global trade environment in the past decade or so. Simultaneously, India's ambition to become a major player in global trade is being matched by growing domestic capability. In response to these two trends, a separate Ministry for International Trade will be created to deal with the challenges and to capture opportunities in global trade in a focused way.
2. Special Economic Zones will be promoted as vehicles for overall growth. An SEZ Promotion Council, with wide industry participation, will be created in the Ministry of Commerce as an apex body.
3. Multi-commodity exchanges – both in the private sector and through public-private partnerships will be promoted. Our focus here will be to secure for India leading positions in global trade in agricultural commodities, metals, and a wide range of other commodities.
4. Organized retail trade on the international pattern will be promoted as a new engine of growth for trade and employment through appropriate legal and fiscal measures. 26% FDI in retailing will be allowed. Sourcing of Indian products by foreign retail chains will be encouraged.
5. India's vast market has potential for generating high growth and thereby reducing poverty and economic inequalities. Internal trade barriers hamper growth. They will be identified and removed.
6. EXIM Bank's capital base will be strengthened to enable it to lend more to exporters.

'Behtar Bazaar Plan'

Bazaar has always been at the center of India's social life and played a crucial role in driving the economy. Removing inefficiencies in our markets from the village haat to wholesale markets in cities and introducing new efficiencies into them will be our priority. The Centre will work closely with State Governments on a time-bound plan of action, to be called 'Behtar Bazaar Action Plan', which will include the following initiatives:

- (a) Every city and tehsil town in the country will draw up its own 'Behtar Bazaar Action Plans', with people's participation, identifying problems and solutions thereof.

- (b) Strengthening the connectivity to markets and provision of adequate infrastructure facilities power, water, telecom and IT services, parking lots, etc. and redevelopment/relocation where necessary, will be at the core of these action plans.
- (c) HUDCO and commercial banks will be encouraged to fund this initiative, to be implemented through public-private partnerships. For markets that mainly support agriculture and the rural economy, this will be considered priority sector lending.
- (d) Traditional trading communities in Indian society, who have a wealth of knowledge and experience in this field, will be suitably encouraged.

Globalization

1. The NDA Government will continue to defend India's interests, especially the interests of our kisans, at the World Trade Organization. Along with other developing countries, we shall work towards restraining developed nations from securing unfair advantages in global trade, investments, agriculture, and services.
2. The NDA Government will prepare India to take advantage of the big shift that is currently taking place in the global economy. This shift favors a low-cost economy like India's, which has developed sufficient competitive strengths in cost, quality and technology, over high-cost economies in manufacturing and services. Our Government will enlarge these strengths by further reforming our economy, modernizing our infrastructure, enriching India's human resources, and augmenting our capabilities in science and technology.

Housing

The NDA Government remains committed to the goal of 'Housing for All by 2010'.

1. Encouraged by the success of our program to facilitate construction of twenty lakh additional houses each year, we propose to raise the target to thirty lakh each year. The additional one million houses will be meant exclusively

- for weaker sections of society.
2. Banks will be encouraged to extend housing loans with low interest rates to rural populations.
 3. A new national program will be launched to enable people with kutcha houses in rural areas to upgrade them into pucca houses.
 4. Cities will be encouraged to take up large-scale mass housing projects for the poor and middle classes.
 5. States will be encouraged to repeal the Urban Land Ceiling Act, amend the Rent Control Act, and reduce stamp duty on property transactions and lease agreements.
 6. The stock of rented houses will be vastly increased and renting a house will be made easier by providing a strong, but simple legal framework that protects the interests of both landlords and tenants.
 7. Incentives will be given for investments in repairing dilapidated buildings.

Urban Renewal

The Government will launch a major national program for slum improvement and rehabilitation, based on a progressive national policy that harmonizes the basic living and livelihood rights of the urban poor with the imperative of planned urban development. Towards this end, the Valmiki Ambedkar Aawas Yojana (VAMBAY), which has met with enthusiastic response, will be redesigned and its scope will be widened to cover integral development of slum habitations. Innovative ways will be evolved for raising finances, maximizing people's participation, and strengthening the commitment of municipal bodies for the success of this initiative. The long-term aim of this initiative is to make Indian cities slum-free by 2020.

1. Municipal governance will be strengthened.
2. A model central law will be enacted to stop illegal encroachments. States will be encouraged to pass similar legislation.
3. HUDCO's lending for urban renewal projects will be further enhanced. Municipal bodies will be enabled to raise resources from the bond market for their urban renewable needs.

4. The size of the City Challenge Fund will be raised from the present Rs. 500 crore.
5. At least ten Indian cities will be developed as Global Cities, with world-class airports, efficient mass transportation systems, high quality of social infrastructure, vibrant cultural life and a dynamic environment for economic growth with strong global linkages.
6. The infrastructure and other urban renewal needs of Mumbai, the country's commercial capital, will be addressed.
7. We recognize that municipal bodies have become the weakest link in our system of governance. Also, the problems and needs of big cities have become too complex to be handled in old ways. Therefore, the NDA proposes to elevate municipal corporations in the ten proposed Global Cities to the level of City Governments, within their respective States. These would be vested with requisite financial, judicial, planning, and law-enforcement powers. After evolving a political consensus on this issue, necessary legislative and administrative changes will be introduced.
8. At least twenty new cities and satellite towns will be developed on completely futuristic lines.
9. An Urban Road Development Fund on the lines of the fund for NHDP will be set up. This will fund two hundred flyovers a year in smaller cities and big towns, as well as pedestrian subways and widening of roads.
10. We shall create a state-facilitated, but privately funded and implemented program of urban mass housing for lower and middle classes.
11. The 'Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan' program will be redesigned with enlarged scope and enhanced resources to make our cities cleaner. It will be turned into a people's campaign with strong government support at all levels. Adequate number of community toilets, run on the pay-and-use principle, will be constructed within three years in every city. Efficient collection and productive utilization of garbage will be made mandatory. Cities and neighbourhoods that demonstrate success stories will be suitably recognized.

Informal Sector

A National Policy for promotion of the Informal Sector will be unveiled before the end of 2004. It will provide livelihood protection to millions of people engaged in this sector, by freeing them from the scourge of extortion and harassment. Legal recognition will be accorded to entrepreneurs and self-employed people in the informal sector and their assets, so that they can enter into contracts, avail bank loans, benefit from various government schemes, and get better market access for their products and services. These and other measures will help them thrive in their myriad occupations, and create more employment opportunities.

Self-help Groups

Self-Help Groups in India are already a big success story. Over 15 lakh SHGs have been formed so far, providing bank-supported micro-finance to their members. Women's SHGs, under the 'Swashakti' program, have been particularly successful in increasing family incomes of the rural and urban poor and in advancing the cause of women's economic empowerment. They also have the best record in repaying bank loans.

Building on the experience so far, our Government will prepare an action plan to promote SHGs as a people's movement for participatory economic development. Innovative partnerships between SHGs, NGOs, banks, and markets will be created. The private sector will be involved in a big way. Special incentives will be provided for women's SHGs to be formed in every neighborhood. This is possible in a wide variety of occupations such as SHGs of handloom weavers that enable them to access yarn, improve designs, and bypass market intermediaries to get better value for their products; or women's marketing co-operatives in vegetables, fish and other agro-products. Northern States, and in other areas where SHGs are still weak and fewer in number, will be specially targeted.

We will give a formal, legal framework to SHGs. A suitable law, enabling micro-credit operations and nurturing them to be scaled up, will be enacted.

Tourism

An action plan will be prepared within the first six months for developing India as a major tourism destination in the world. One of its important milestones would be to increase foreign tourist arrivals from 30 lakh now to 1 crore by 2009, and 2 crore tourists by 2015. Its other features would be:

1. A strategic marketing plan (such as the 'Incredible India!' campaign) with adequate funding will be implemented to achieve a strong India tourism brand.
2. Higher earnings from tourism from US \$3 billion at present to US \$10 billion by 2009.
3. Creation of 1 crore additional employment by 2009, and 2.5 crore by 2015, based on the multiplier effect of tourism on various economic activities.
4. Establishment of five world-class Indian Institutes of Travel and Tourism on the lines of IIMs, with private investment.
5. Visa on arrival; common tourist visa for SAARC countries; simplify visa requirements; reduce visa fees and grant visas within 24 hours.
6. Integrated development of India's 6,000 km-long coastline through cruise and beach tourism.
7. The Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) provisions will be relaxed for tourism and critical urban development projects.
8. Rationalization and simplification of taxes; Tax holidays on large capital investments in tourism.
9. Creation of at least two world-class theme parks based on India's civilizational and spiritual heritage.
10. The North-East will be promoted in a special way to create new tourism destinations for foreign tourists.

Domestic Tourism

A similar focused approach will be adopted for promoting domestic tourism. Every district will be encouraged to prepare a District Tourism Development Plan, harnessing its own unique attractions, setting targets, and offering good infrastructure and affordable amenities. A new thrust will be given to developing adventure tourism and rural tourism. A Pilgrimage Tourism Development Fund will be created to improve infrastructure, amenities, and cleanliness standards at 100 important centers of

pilgrimage across the country in five years. Substantial contribution to the fund will come from pilgrims themselves, through a user charge mechanism.

Media and Entertainment

1. The entertainment industry occupies an important place in the cultural and social life of our nation. Its size, reach, recognition, and influence have grown remarkably in recent decades – both nationally and internationally. The decisions taken by our Government have greatly helped India’s film and TV industry in recent years. Both have a huge potential for further growth, including in the area of employment generation. A National Policy for India’s Entertainment Industry will be prepared, within six months, to realize its growth potential.
2. A broad-based committee will be set up to formulate a National Media Policy that would comprehensively address all the complex issues that have emerged in recent years.

Labour

1. The NDA Government has recently unveiled a progressive social security scheme for 37 crore people in the unorganized sector, the first of its kind since Independence. Its speedy and effective implementation will be our priority.
2. We recognize that in a labor-rich society like India, our strategy for achieving 8 to 10% GDP growth rate will have to rest primarily on boosting labor productivity. Therefore, a nationwide program will be launched to raise labor productivity by increasing the percentage of trained manpower in India’s workforce from less than 10% at present to at least 50% by 2020 with five-yearly milestones.
3. The working of Employees State Insurance Corporation (ESIC) will be reviewed and necessary steps will be taken for its improvement.
4. Recommendations of the Second Labor Commission will be implemented with necessary modifications to further strengthen welfare, training, and employment creation provisions.

Environment Protection

The NDA views the depletion of India's precious environmental assets with great concern. We believe that sustainable development is possible with the effective protection of all our environmental assets.

1. Building on the recent achievement in increasing India's forest cover, further measures will be taken to promote afforestation, social forestry and agro forestry. States where depletion has reached critical levels will receive greater attention. Joint Forest Management, which institutionalizes community partnership, will be further strengthened.
2. Vehicular pollution will be controlled by stringent standards on all motor vehicles at the manufacturing stage itself and by promoting the use of clean fuels.
3. Environment impact assessment of development projects and industrial clusters will be strengthened.
4. Development of 'Green' technologies will be further encouraged.
5. Regulation of pollution control norms will be decentralized to States and local self-government bodies so that the people suffering from pollution have a say in the mitigation process.

□

Employment Generation

The NDA is committed to the goal of eradicating unemployment. Our Government will continue to follow a strategy of accelerated economic growth, which is capable of generating gainful employment for all those who can work. An essential aspect of this strategy is the recognition that the nature of employment generation in India, in line with trends in many other countries, has changed with the changing nature of our economy. Employment generation in government offices and in the capital-intensive segment of industry has a reduced role in this strategy. However, employment and self-employment opportunities are coming up on a large scale in services and in the unorganized sector whose relative weightage in the Indian economy is steadily growing.

This new trend of employment generation is already visible in many parts of India. Many young people are finding jobs and self-employment in different service sectors in not just big cities but also in small towns. These are not jobs in the traditional sense, but they offer opportunities and new challenges for personal growth. Our Government will fully support this trend through necessary policy and institutional measures, including through provision of social security to people in the unorganized sector.

In the NDA's common manifesto in 1999, we had promised to create one crore additional employment and self-employment opportunities each year. This commitment shall continue. We will follow a three-pronged strategy to fulfill this promise:

- (a) Sustaining a high GDP growth rate of 8 to 10% yearly; a fast growing economy will create more employment and self-employment opportunities;
- (b) Raising the employment-elasticity of the economy by focusing the growth in the employment-generating sectors of the economy;
- (c) Enlarging the scope of government schemes that create employment, such as the food-for-work Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana. Such schemes will receive greater budgetary support in 100 backward districts.

As has been indicated in this document, our Government will continue to promote many initiatives that have considerable

potential for employment generation for different sections of our society. In rural areas these are: agriculture and agro-processing, wasteland development, agro-forestry, social forestry, dairy, poultry, animal husbandry, agriculture extension services, cottage industries, self-help groups, housing and road construction, transportation, etc.

In urban areas, we will promote employment, self-employment and entrepreneurship opportunities in retail trade, housing and construction, food, transportation, tourism, services in the informal sector, telecom and IT, manufacturing, garments, entertainment, financial services, education and training, etc.

Enhancing the employability of employment-seeking youth, in line with the changing needs and opportunities in the economy will be made a priority. Employment is fundamentally linked with education. Therefore, we have affirmed our commitment to carry out a major overhaul of our school and college education. Training in skills will begin in secondary schools. When a student matriculates, she/he will have acquired some job-oriented skills. The University Grants Commission is redesigning college curriculum to enable students to have greater flexibility in the choice of subjects and pursue multiple job-oriented diploma courses simultaneously. Colleges will be encouraged to offer – singly or collaboratively – a variety of subjects and courses in areas that need skilled manpower.

There are as many as 2,800 diverse trades in India, each requiring a sound domain knowledge and good skills. Knowledge and skills in these can be upgraded in a scalable fashion through IT-based distance learning, television, and broadband internet connectivity. Our Government will promote these new technologies in affordable ways. We will encourage creation of educational content in local languages to be used on these platforms. We will also promote new well-regulated certification mechanisms. We will

give incentives to the private sector to participate in job-oriented education and training in a big way – both in urban as well as in rural areas. There would be no age barriers to admissions for pursuing these courses. We are confident that all these new initiatives would touch the lives of millions of our young women and men, raise their skills and productivity, provide them with fulfilling employment opportunities and improve the quality of products and services in India beyond recognition.

Balanced Development

1. A Monitoring Committee for Elimination of Regional Disparities will be set up to focus on developmental imbalances between and within States.
2. Accelerating economic growth and all-round social development in the northern and eastern States, where a majority of India's population lives, will be our priority in the coming years.
3. Additional, dedicated budgetary resources will be provided for faster development of backward areas in each state.

Social Justice And Empowerment

1. A Monitoring Committee for Elimination of Social Disparities will be set up to focus on social and economic justice for SCs, STs, OBCs, denotified and nomadic tribes, and the poor among forward classes and minorities. States will be encouraged to set up similar committees.
2. A National Tribal Policy will be enunciated for the all-round socio-economic development of our vanvasi brethren.
3. Regularization of land rights of tribals living on forest land and promotion of their livelihood activities based on forest produce, if necessary by suitable amendments in the forest laws.
4. Provisions of the policy on reservations will be strictly implemented. A major drive will be launched for filling up all backlogs in jobs and promotions for SCs and STs. Private sector enterprises will be given incentives for creating more educational, training, employment and entrepreneurship opportunities for SCs and STs.
5. Functioning of various Commissions and Finance

Corporations for the development of SCs and STs will be improved.

6. Laws to check atrocities against SCs, STs, and other weaker sections will be strictly enforced.
7. The newly announced Commission for Nomadic and Denotified Tribes will be made operational.
8. Reservations for the poor among 'Forward Classes' will be introduced after receiving recommendations of the Commission set up for this purpose.
9. Special encouragement will be given for preservation of the artistic and cultural traditions of SCs and STs, and for honoring their heroes.

Minorities

1. A Minorities Development Agenda will be unveiled within the first six months to focus on a 3-E program: Education, Economic upliftment, and Empowerment.
2. The Agenda will especially address the needs of those belonging to poor and backward families, ensuring that they get an equitable share in government-supported schemes in education, housing, etc.
3. The working of the Minorities Commission will be reoriented to address their developmental and welfare issues.
4. The NDA Government gave unprecedented encouragement to the promotion of Urdu language and to the modernization of Madarasa education. This will continue.
5. A concerted effort will be made to increase minorities' representation in administration and public bodies.

□

Economic Reforms

1. The tax to GDP ratio will be improved through further widening and deepening of the tax base.
2. Rationalization and simplification of tariffs and removal of most exemptions within two years.
3. States will be given incentives to switch over to VAT. The Centre will ensure a hassle-free transition to the new tax regime, especially for small traders and businesses.
4. Tax evasion and corruption will be reduced through administrative measures and end-to-end computerization of the entire tax system. All shops and commercial establishments will be encouraged, through appropriate incentives, to make their transactions computer-based in three years.
5. There shall be a single destination to electronically pay all taxes and regulatory charges – whether Central, State, or local – for all classes of business.
6. Pension reforms will be speeded up. The Pension Regulator shall be mandated to come up with a scheme that creates an individual but portable pension-fund account for all workers, whether in the private sector or in the public sector, in the organized or in the unorganized sector.

Financial Sector Reforms

1. All currently proposed financial sector reforms in banking, insurance, foreign investment, and capital markets will be completed within the next six months.
2. The principal aim of reforms in the banking sector will be to bring efficient banking services to the doorstep of every customer. To achieve this, greater competition will be created by extending the reach of PSU banks and expanding the activities of private banks.
3. Consolidation of PSU banks will be encouraged.
4. Indian banks will be encouraged to enlarge their footprint overseas.
5. The role of development banks and financial institutions will be enlarged to provide necessary funds for projects.

6. The reach of insurance will be considerably enhanced in the next five years.
7. FDI limit in insurance will be revisited to further widen India's insurance sector, and to strengthen its global linkages.
8. We will take steps to make it easy for smaller firms to raise moneys from the stock markets as well as for small investors, especially from smaller towns to invest in the stock market. We shall double the number of individuals who own shares in the next five years.

State Finances

1. Restructuring of debts by State governments will be further encouraged and pursued.
2. States will be encouraged to carry out fiscal reforms and to reduce revenue deficit in every State to zero by 2006.
3. Political consensus will be evolved to reduce unproductive expenditure and enhance States' own resource mobilization.



Social Development

Our goal in Social Development will be to bring about all-sided improvement in the quality of life of all Indians by fulfilling the basic needs of every citizen in education, healthcare, nutrition, drinking water, housing, sanitation, and cultural development.

To achieve this overarching objective, and to reverse the previous trend of inadequate investment in this sector, the Government will create a special 'Social Development Fund' of Rs. 100,000 crore to be invested over five years.

Education for All

1. Total spending on education will be raised to 6% of the GDP in five years, with enlarged public-private partnership at every level of the educational pyramid.
2. Literacy rate of 85% will be achieved in five years. Our vision is to see that Indian society becomes fully literate by 2015. For this, we will launch a multi-pronged campaign to ensure that every child goes to school, every school is made accountable to the community, and every village and town is made accountable for its quality education status. Appropriate resources both from Government and non-government sources will be mobilized to match our ambitious goals. Innovative tools like computer-based and TV-promoted functional literacy will be employed. The 'Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan' will be made into a people's movement.
3. Spread of education among SCs, STs, OBCs, and minorities, and activities aimed at removing gender disparities in education at all levels, will receive increased support.
4. A special fund of Rs. 1,000 crore a year will be created, partially through a cess on all non-needy students, to improve all primary school buildings in rural areas in five years.
5. 'Akshaya Patra', as a national mid-day meal program, will be made operational.
6. The entire school and college education system will be overhauled and made employment-oriented. Opportunities

for skill development and vocational training will be maximized.

7. A Standards Improvement Campaign, to be named after Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee (who became the youngest ever vice-chancellor of the prestigious Calcutta University), will be launched to raise the quality of education in colleges and universities. Institutions that perform well will be suitably recognized.
8. No student would be deprived of access to higher education for lack of resources. Scholarships and soft loans would be made widely available to all needy students. A National Education Development Fund will be established for this purpose.
9. While encouraging private investment, effective steps will be taken to curb commercialization of education.
10. The focus on Indian culture, heritage, and ethical values in syllabi will be strengthened. Character-building and all-round development of the student's personality will be emphasized. Sports, physical training, and social service will be mainstreamed into the educational system.
11. The growing de-emphasis of Bharatiya languages in school and college education will be checked. Teaching in the mother tongue will be encouraged.
12. Efforts will be intensified for the propagation of Sanskrit.
13. Establishment of hostels, especially for women's education, will be encouraged.
14. Administration of our educational institutions will be freed of bureaucratism. Community participation in managing their activities and monitoring their performance will be encouraged.
15. Centers of excellence in higher education are India's pride.

They will have requisite autonomy to become the best in the world.

16. Five new IITs will be established before 2005.
17. Our vision is to make India a global hub for higher education and regain the glory of the Nalanda era. For this, an action plan will be prepared to elevate at least 25 Indian universities and 100 colleges to international standards in every respect. All our IITs, NITs, IIMs, IISc, AIIMS-like medical institutes, and other reputed higher educational institutions (both existing and proposed) will be further supported. Public-private participation will be fully activated to realize the above vision, which would not only raise India's stature globally but also enable our country to earn significant foreign exchange.

Health for All

For the NDA, 'Health For All' is not a mere slogan. It is our avowed objective, a cherished goal; indeed, a commitment to our people, which we will strive to fulfill. Access to affordable healthcare is a basic need, which must be provided for.

1. Total public spending on healthcare at present is 2% of the GDP. This figure will be doubled in the next five years. Our Government has already taken an important step in this direction by setting up the National Commission on Macroeconomics and Health, which is co-chaired by the Finance Minister and the Minister of Health and Family Welfare. Investment by the private sector, including by NRIs, for providing healthcare in India will be encouraged. Public-private partnerships will be enhanced.
2. We will implement in a time-bound manner the Pradhan Mantri Swasthya Suraksha Yojana under which six new hospitals on the pattern of All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), New Delhi are being set up in six under-served states and six existing hospitals in other states are being upgraded to the level of AIIMS. This is a part of our commitment to provide affordable super-specialty healthcare to the needy in different parts of the country, within or near their own states.
3. An insurance-based health security scheme, called

Antyodaya Swasthya Yojana, will be started to cover two crore poorest among the BPL families, who are currently beneficiaries of the Antyodaya Anna Yojana.

4. We will strive towards zero incidence of polio by the end of 2004 and for keeping this zero status for the next three years, so that India can be certified polio free by 2007.
5. The National TB Control Program will cover the entire population by the end of next year. Sufficient funds will be allocated for this purpose.
6. All efforts will be made for the eradication of filariasis within five years.
7. We will revitalize the existing Primary Healthcare system in coordination with the state governments. Linkages between safe drinking water, sanitation, nutrition, family welfare services, women and child services, and primary education will be strengthened through appropriate coordination mechanisms at the Central, State, and village levels.
8. The Government will set up a Rs. 1,000 crore fund, through public-private partnerships, to improve the infrastructure of primary healthcare centers in backward areas.
9. Infant and maternal mortality levels will be reduced by half. The newly launched 'Vande Mataram' scheme of gynecologists in private practice for care of pregnant women will be strengthened. The 'Janani Suraksha Yojana,' already envisaged by us, will be implemented with the aim of establishing linkages between a health center and the mother-to-be. To meet the expectation of the nutrition of the mother, a sum of Rs. 500 will be given to her after the birth of a baby boy and Rs. 1,000 for a baby girl.
10. The 'Save the Girl Child' campaign will be further popularized.
11. The spread of HIV/AIDS will be checked on a war footing. Care and support for AIDS patients will be undertaken hand-in-hand with efforts for the prevention of the disease.
12. We are committed towards strengthening the National Programs on malaria, blindness, leprosy, and mental health.

13. The ageing population needs special care. The government hospitals will have special facilities for healthcare of senior citizens.
14. We will promote our traditional systems of medicine, namely Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani, Yoga, and Naturopathy, as also homeopathy. Different systems will be synergized in the delivery of healthcare and in medical education.
15. We will encourage the production and exports of pharmaceutical products from India, including Ayurvedic and herbal products.
16. The nearly six lakh providers of traditional medical services in villages have remained unrecognized and unsupported, in spite of catering to the needs of those sections of our population, which are underserved by the formal system. They will be suitably assisted to play a bigger and more effective role in improving the health profile of the rural poor.
17. Working of regulatory bodies, which oversee medical education in the country, will be reviewed to improve standards.
18. We shall make India a preferred global destination for healthcare. Our large reservoirs of skilled doctors, nurses, and other paramedical staff along with the state-of-the-art facilities in our hospitals have a huge potential, which will be nurtured and realized in the next five years. Simultaneously, steps will be taken to improve the standards of excellence in medical education, nursing, and other areas. An Action Plan will be drawn up before end of 2004 to pursue this goal, with suitable encouragement to the private sector.
19. The menace of spurious drugs shall be done away with.
20. A mass movement will be launched for increasing awareness about health issues and making citizens take good care of themselves by cultivating healthy habits and lifestyles; towards this end, a strong physical and sports culture will be promoted among people of all age-groups.

Food Security

1. Coverage of the 'Antyodaya Anna Yojana' (which provides wheat at Rs. 2 a kg and rice at Rs. 3 a kg) will be increased

from 2 crore to 5 crore poorest families in five years. Its implementation will be decentralized.

2. All beneficiaries under this scheme will be given an 'Antyodaya Card' that would also entitle them to Health Security, Social Security, Shelter Security, Educational Guarantee, and priority attention in government offices and police stations.
3. A well-run supply chain involving the private traders, community, and Panchayats will be established to ensure food availability in normal times as well as during natural calamities.
4. The public distribution system would be revamped with people's participation to make it efficient and accountable. It would also be used to deliver other goods and services.

Women's Empowerment

1. A National Policy on Women's Economic Empowerment will be unveiled before end of 2004. It will aim at ensuring that every woman has some means of livelihood and, additionally, at enhancing the incomes of all categories of working women. It will propose strategies to enable women in balancing work and family by introducing a national childcare plan, workplace flexibility, greater career opportunities, hostels for working women in every town, and removal of gender disparities in education, wages, and property rights.
2. Support for programs like 'Swavalamban' and STEP (Support to Training and Employment Program for Women), which promote self-employment and entrepreneurship for needy women, will be greatly enhanced. Technical and management services for those engaged in handicrafts, food processing, handloom, garments, etc., will be strengthened. Added focus will be provided for implementing these programs in the North East, J&K, and areas affected by left-wing extremism.
3. Enterprises promoted by women, or employing a large number of women, will be given 'fast track' facilitation.
4. Laws to check female foeticide, dowry, child marriage, trafficking, rape and family violence will be strictly

enforced. Societal efforts to curb these ills will be encouraged.

5. Support for the Swadhaar program and Women Helplines for abandoned widows, victims of trafficking, mentally challenged women, and victims of calamities will be greatly expanded with private and philanthropic participation.
6. The Bill for 33% reservation for women in Parliament and State Legislatures will be introduced in the very first session of Parliament. The NDA will work for speedy passage of this progressive legislation based on a consensus.

Care of the Disabled

Disabled people constitute about 5% of India's population. Years of neglect have delayed their large-scale integration into the social mainstream. Their welfare and rehabilitation is integral to our vision of a caring society and a responsive government. The newly-established Commission for the Disabled will draw up a Charter for the Disabled, which will have the following points:

1. Ensure and implement the right for education and vocational training for the disabled.
2. Ensure disabled-friendly access to public utilities, public buildings, and transport.
3. Ensure maximum economic independence of the disabled by creating more income generation models for the disabled.
4. Facilitate establishment of an Institute of Vocational Training for the Disabled in every district with public-private partnership.
5. Provide special incentive for the adoption of a disabled child.
6. Voluntary organizations working for the care of the disabled will be fully supported.

Children

The NDA is committed to securing a bright future for India's children. A National Commission for Children will be set up to comprehensively address the issues of education, healthcare, nutrition, recreation, removal of gender disparities, elimination of child labor, integrated care and rehabilitation of orphans and street children, etc. It will put the aspirations and rights of children at the heart of our development agenda.

The Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), the world's largest early childcare programme, will be further strengthened. Its implementation will be communitised.

Youth

India, an ancient civilization, has become a young nation demographically. 65% of our population is below 35 years. These young men and women have soaring aspirations for themselves and a burning desire to see India emerge as a strong and prosperous country. The NDA commits itself to helping our youth realize their dreams.

1. We shall strive for 'Education for All' and 'Employment for All'.
2. We shall strive to create an environment in which young Indians find many avenues to contribute to nation-building and to their own all-round development.
3. The National Cadet Corps shall be strengthened. The National Service Scheme shall be made more innovative to nurture the spirit of voluntary service among the youth. Encouragement for talented youth in arts and other cultural pursuits will be stepped up.
4. We will promote the Youth Hostel movement by facilitating the construction of new youth hostels in major cities and tourist centers, with private sector participation.
5. Recommendations of the National Youth Commission will be given serious consideration.

Sports

The NDA Government aims to make India a major sports power in the world.

1. Towards this end, the Prime Minister's Ten-Point Program for the Development of Sports will be vigorously implemented.
2. A National Sports Development Fund will be set up with a yearly allocation of Rs. 500 crore. Citizens and business houses will be encouraged to contribute to it.
3. A Rashtriya Khel Rozgar Yojana will be launched to encourage talented sportspersons to set up sports clubs, gymnasiums, and training centres, thereby creating

employment and self-employment opportunities.

4. Greater support will be provided for the promotion of traditional Indian sports and rural transport.

Senior Citizens

Respect for elders has always been at the center of India's social traditions and cultural ethos. Being repositories of knowledge and experience, they are a precious asset to society. However, they have been facing many problems with rapid urbanization and changes in the traditional joint families. Our Government will set up a National Commission for Senior Citizens to comprehensively address their needs, problems and potential to further contribute to the nation's development.

Population Control

1. A people's movement will be launched to realize the goals and targets set in the National Population Policy. It will particularly focus on those States that are lagging behind.
2. The Government will introduce a set of non-coercive disincentives for a two-child norm, and incentives for a girl child. The two-child norm will be made a qualification, on a prospective basis, for contesting any election.

□

Governance Reforms

The NDA Government will unveil, before the end of 2004, comprehensive Good Governance Reforms, which will focus on:

1. Administrative reforms to check corruption, promote transparency and accountability, remove delays in decision-making; and to make government employees treat the people as their masters.
2. Electoral reforms to check the unhealthy influence of money power and prevent criminalization of politics.
3. Judicial reforms for speedy and affordable justice.
4. Political reforms to raise the standards and efficacy of Parliament, State Legislatures, and other elected bodies.
5. Reform of ministries to speed up decision making and develop better capabilities for policy formulation and implementation.
6. Good Corporate Governance reforms to ensure lawful and ethical business practices, protection of shareholders' interests, and consumer protection.

Judicial Reforms

1. A Rs. 1,000-crore Fund for Modernization of Courts will be set up to improve the physical and operational infrastructure of courts. This will receive partial contribution from the legal community. Judicial officers will be empowered to involve the community in improving the facilities in a transparent manner.
2. The number of courts and the number of judges will be doubled in five years for quicker judicial process.
3. A separate class of courts will be set up for cases involving specified commercial laws such as the Contract Act, Negotiable Instruments Act, and other business laws. These would deliver quicker justice to aggrieved businesses, and would be partly funded by charging both litigants a 'Fast Track' fee.
4. Reform of the criminal justice system to make dispensation of justice simpler, quicker, and more effective.
5. Courts all over the country will be computerized and

networked for improving their efficiency.

6. Extension of Fast-Track Courts to all layers of the judiciary.
7. Expansion of alternative dispute redressal mechanisms through Lok Adalats and Tribunals.
8. Setting up a National Judicial Commission for appointment of judges and ensuring judicial ethics.
9. A Judicial Procedural Reforms Committee will suggest, within six months, how to halve the time taken to conduct every trial, civil or criminal. The aim would be to ensure that three-fourths of all court cases are completed in twelve months.
10. The number of cases in which the Government is a litigant will be halved in the next three years.

Administrative, Police, Civil Service and other Reforms

1. An Administrative Procedural Reforms Committee will suggest, within six months, how to eliminate unnecessary procedures and simplify others. Efficiency, accountability, responsiveness, and a pro-poor attitude will be the hallmark of the administrative system in the years to come.
2. The Civil Service, the steel frame of India's administrative system, would be reformed and strengthened. New cadre system and modern service code will be adopted to enable professionalism at all levels of administration. Senior officers will be suitably empowered to take timely and bold decisions. Responsibility and accountability will be fixed for fulfillment of goals and targets. Officers will be allowed to work in the private sector. Similarly, lateral entry of talented professionals from the private sector at

- senior levels will be encouraged.
3. Discretionary powers vested with public authorities will be reduced. Objective criteria will be laid down for the exercise of such powers.
 4. Delays in environmental clearance for development projects will be removed. It will be mandatory for authorities to clear or reject a proposal within 45 days.
 5. A Fund for Modernization of District and Sub-District Administration will be set up for better office amenities and public interface; computerization, communication, and networking; better grievance redressal mechanism; and mobility to enable improved outreach to the public. Administration will be empowered to raise resources from the local community and to involve it in improving the amenities in a transparent manner.
 6. The Planning Commission will be reformed and reorganized in light of the changing developmental needs of our country.
 7. In order to improve efficiency of budgetary resources and public assets, we will work towards convergence of Centrally sponsored schemes, transfer of certain schemes to States based on suitability.

Electoral Reforms

1. Consensus will be evolved to prevent entry of criminal elements into politics.
2. In cooperation with all political parties, the NDA will work towards raising the standards of Parliament and State Legislatures.
3. A National Institute for Training Elected Representatives will be established.

India to be ruled by Indians

Legislation will be introduced to ensure that important offices of the Indian State can be occupied only by those who are India's natural citizens by their Indian origin.

Centre-State Relations

The NDA Government's achievement in this regard can be judged by the fact that Centre-State relations are no longer a subject of political debate. They are marked by harmony and cooperation, which were sadly missing in previous decades. Our Government has not discriminated against any State on political grounds. This shall continue to be our approach in the coming five years. On the issue of Article 356 of the Constitution, we remain committed to the consensus reached at the Inter-State Council meeting in Srinagar in 2003.

Empowerment of Panchayats

1. The NDA Government will work for effective financial and administrative empowerment of Panchayati Raj Institutions and Urban Local Bodies in respect of three Fs: 'Funds', 'Functions', and 'Functionaries'. Suitable judicial, executive, financial, and geographical layout planning powers will be devolved to these bodies. The Constitution would be amended for this purpose.
2. The institution of the Gram Sabha will be strengthened to discuss every developmental work, scrutinize the allocation and spending of funds, and evaluate the performance of panchayat and government functionaries.

Cultural and Spiritual Heritage

1. Ours was the first government to launch national missions for the preservation of manuscripts, monuments, and other facets of India's cultural, artistic and spiritual heritage. States will be encouraged to set up similar missions. Every town will prepare a heritage conservation mission. These will be effectively implemented, with extensive participation of communities, business houses, professional bodies, and NGOs.
2. Support for expanding India's cultural relations with all countries in the world will be considerably enhanced, with private participation.
3. A National Commission for promotion of Bharatiya languages will be established. It will make a comprehensive study of the challenges before our Bharatiya languages in

the modern era and recommend tasks for their consistent development.

4. Upkeep of places of spiritual importance.

Civil Society Empowerment

1. The NDA recognizes that maximizing people's participation in the implementation of all policies and programs of the government is the key to India's rapid and all-round development. Towards this end, a National Council of Voluntary Organizations will be set up. States will be encouraged to establish similar Councils.
2. Involvement of religious establishments of all denominations, which are active in the social field, will be encouraged in areas like mass-feeding for the poor, care of orphans and destitutes, campaign against social evils like female foeticide, environmental protection, etc.
3. Civil Society will be suitably empowered to help in achieving dispute resolution ranging from local disputes over minor issues to major ones over contentious issues outside the realm of the judiciary and government. Its cooperation will be sought in strengthening civic discipline, adherence to law, tax compliance, and care for public property.



National Security

The NDA Government took historic initiatives in the last six years to strengthen India's defense capability and preparedness. We pledge to carry forward this imperative. Our priorities will be:

1. Speedy implementation of all the current programs for modernization, acquisition, and capability enhancement;
2. Making operational the Rs. 25,000-crore Defense Modernization Fund, which was announced in the Interim Budget;
3. Minimizing delays and procedural bottlenecks, which push up costs and cause obsolescence;
4. Achieving greater efficiency in defense spending; giving a further boost to indigenization of defense production and encouragement to private sector participation; and making defense exports a thrust area.
5. In addition, the Government will continue to further augment welfare measures for ex-servicemen and war widows. We shall create adequate opportunities for retired officers to contribute to development activities where they can put their skills and training to productive use. Necessary measures will be taken to make service in the Armed Forces an attractive career option for the educated Indian youth.

Internal Security

1. Cross-border terrorism will be eliminated.
2. There has been a significant reduction of communal and caste violence in the past five years. Our government shall further strengthen and stabilize this trend, and work towards realizing our vision of a riot-free India.
3. Ongoing programs for modernization of our police and paramilitary forces will be intensified.
4. We will build political consensus to enact a Central law, and constitute a federal agency to deal with federal crimes.
5. The multi-pronged strategy to eliminate the growing menace of left-wing extremism, which extends from

the Nepal border to Andhra Pradesh, will be more effectively implemented. The Government will encourage the misguided youth who have joined various naxal organizations to give up the path of violence. Development activities in affected areas will be intensified, with people's participation.

6. The long pending police reforms will be taken up to synchronize with the ongoing scheme for modernization of state police forces. Investigation functions would be separated from law & order functions. Number of police stations will be doubled over the next five years. Mobile police stations, better communications, community friendly approach, highway police stations, better public interface and independence of police will be established through necessary legal and executive means. Partnership between police and community will be institutionalized. Police and security forces will be made more people-friendly, and more sensitive towards the grievances of the poor, weaker sections of society, and women.

Jammu & Kashmir

Building on the positive turnaround in the situation in Jammu & Kashmir, the NDA Government will continue its efforts to eliminate terrorism and further strengthen the Centre's cooperation with the State government to consolidate peace, normalcy and development in the State.

Together with the State Government, efforts will be made to ensure early return of Kashmiri Pandits and other displaced people to their native places.

The NDA Government will work for balanced development of all the three regions of the State – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh.

To ensure this, steps will be taken, based on consensus, for:

1. Autonomous Regional Councils for Jammu and Ladakh with adequate financial and administrative powers;
2. Protection of the original demographic identity of the three regions.
3. Equitable distribution of funds from the Centre.

North-East

The NDA Government has given unprecedented attention to the development of the North-Eastern States in the last five years. These gains will be consolidated and placed on a stable footing. Our priorities in the coming five years would be:

1. Restoration of peace and normalcy in all the disturbed regions by dialogue with all groups who are willing to give up the path of violence, and by firmly dealing with those who continue on this path.
2. Ensuring that the ethnic identities of all the people in the North-East are protected.
3. Repeal of the IMDT Act for putting an end to infiltration from Bangladesh.
4. Accelerating economic development that provides growth opportunities to all.
5. Development of the communication infrastructure to overcome the constraints of physical distance.
6. Making all Indians more aware of the rich history and cultural heritage of our North-Eastern States, including Sikkim.
7. Expanding regional economic cooperation with countries in our eastern neighborhood and in South-East Asia.

Other Commitments

1. The NDA Government shall continue to strengthen the ideal of secularism enshrined in India's Constitution.
2. The NDA believes that an early and amicable resolution of the Ayodhya issue will strengthen national integration. We continue to hold that the judiciary's verdict in this matter should be accepted by all. At the same time, efforts should be intensified for dialogue and a negotiated settlement in an atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill.

3. Our Government will create a 'National Integration Quota' of 2% for students from Jammu & Kashmir, North-East, Andaman & Nicobar Islands and Lakshwadeep Islands in educational institutions across the country.
4. A National Disaster Prevention and Management Authority will be set up, with a fund of Rs. 1,000 crore. States will be encouraged to set up similar authorities.
5. The Government will implement decisions taken at the last meeting of the Island Development Authority, and will continue to attend to the needs of the people of Andaman & Nicobar and Lakshwadeep Islands.
6. Consumer protection movement will be further strengthened.
7. The NDA government is committed to giving corruption-free governance at all levels.

□

India and the World

India's aim in foreign policy has always been to secure for itself a steadily broadening role in international affairs, so that we can contribute meaningfully to the global community's collective ability to deal with the challenges of today and tomorrow. The NDA Government is proud of its foreign policy achievements in the last five years. We will build on these successes to focus on the following objectives in the coming five years.

1. Continue the dialogue process with Pakistan for a lasting solution to all the outstanding issues, including Jammu & Kashmir, on the basis of the Joint Statement issued in Islamabad in February 2004.
2. Further strengthen the SAARC process; implement free-trade in South Asia; and work towards realizing the vision for a South Asian Economic Union with a common currency for the region.
3. Further strengthen our Look-East Policy to deepen the India-ASEAN relationship; initiate the BIMST-EC process; activate the Mekong-Ganga cooperation initiative; deepen our economic cooperation with Koreas; and enrich our strategic partnership with Japan.
4. Further consolidate our strategic partnership with Russia, with a stronger underpinning of economic cooperation.
5. Broaden and deepen our multi-dimensional relations with USA.
6. Expand our economic cooperation with China. Continue the dialogue process with China to achieve a mutually satisfactory resolution of the boundary issue, which is an objective of strategic interest for us.
7. Intensify our cooperation with the European Union.
8. Rejuvenate our traditional bonds with countries in West Asia;
9. Reestablish our age-old ties with countries in Central Asia;
10. Develop extensive relations with all countries in Africa, Central America, Latin America, and Pacific Ocean countries like Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, etc.

Energy security will continue to be a key objective of our

foreign policy. Therefore, we will intensify our efforts to establish suitable alliances to secure access to new energy sources around the world.

The NDA Government envisions a future that rests on a cooperative multipolar world order, with India as one of the poles.

We will continue our efforts to secure permanent membership of the UN Security Council.

The NDA is proud of the shining achievements of NRIs and PIOs around the world. We attach great strategic importance to strengthening India's multi-dimensional links with the Diaspora Community. Our Government took many historic initiatives in this direction in the last five years for example, granting dual citizenship to PIOs from a select group of countries. Our commitment to this deeply cherished cause will continue.

□

Conclusion

IN our common Agenda for elections in 1999, we had said, 'The NDA came into being because of an historic need and realization amongst us that our young democracy cannot bear the fits and tremors of frequent elections, which will undermine the people's faith in the democratic process.' That phase of instability is now history. The NDA has taken India into a new orbit of accelerated development, coupled with peace on our borders and harmony within.

As we seek a renewed and bigger mandate in 2004, we ask to be judged by our performance in the last five years as well as by the vision and programme that we have laid out in this Agenda. We are proud to have raised the bar of performance higher, and are keenly aware that the Indian voter now expects more.

We believe in the principle of accountability. We promise to give a six-monthly report on the status of implementation of the commitments made in this Agenda.

Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has placed an energizing vision of India as a Developed Nation. The NDA rededicates itself to realizing this vision in partnership with the people of India.

□

For a Proud, Prosperous India

AN AGENDA

National Democratic Alliance

Election Manifesto 1999

Introduction

THE 1999 General Election is an unnecessary imposition. It was thrust upon the country by a motley combination that put political negativism, narrow personal interests and greed for power far above the national good. The Government led by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee lost the vote in the Lok Sabha on April 17 by just one and that too questionable vote. In spite of promising a new government 'in five minutes' and futilely attempting widespread defections, this negative coalition by the Congress failed to come up with any alternative arrangement, forcing the dissolution of the Lok Sabha and fresh elections. A serving, performing Government was needlessly destabilised.

Hardly had the country absorbed the shock of this avoidable uncertainty, then we were faced by Pakistani armed intrusion into Kargil.

The Government rose to the challenge and acted decisively. Faced by this aggression in Kargil, the response of the Government was swift, though measured.

The last of the Pakistani intruders were cleared from the Kargil Sector on 27th July.

We salute the heroism, dedication and selflessness of our armed forces. We dedicate ourselves anew to preserving the honour and territorial integrity of our motherland. We reiterate our commitment to look after the welfare of the armed forces, and of the dependents of all those that laid down their lives in service of our motherland.

The security of the nation is our paramount duty. In fulfillment of this sacred duty we will ensure that the neglect of defence preparedness by the previous governments during the last decade shall be corrected. The defence of India and the needs of our armed

forces is our commitment.

This General Election allows the country a great opportunity of finally putting an end to the era of political negativism, uncertainty and dynasticism. In this hour of national challenge, when the faith of the people in democratic institutions is under test it is vital that all nationalist forces join hands. This is the moment to look ahead, to a new, resurgent India.

In Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the country has a leader who blends tradition with modernity, a leader who understands India and the world and a statesman who is accepted by all sections of the country. In just 13 months, the Vajpayee Government set new parameters of purposeful governance. In the realms of national security, regional cooperation, economic modernization and centre-state relations, the Vajpayee Government has shown the way forward. Under Shri Vajpayee's leadership the National Democratic Alliance seeks a firm and resounding mandate to complete the unfinished agenda.

The National Agenda for Governance of the National Democratic Alliance constitutes the basis of our joint commitment for a stable Government to take India into the new millennium. On this occasion we appeal for a new political age of reconciliation and accord based on our principled commitment to:

- National Security – ensuring full combat effectiveness of our armed forces;
- National Reconstruction – an end to divisiveness and a moratorium on contentious issues;
- Dynamic diplomacy – In service of motherland to obtain for India its rightful place in the comity of nations;
- Federal harmony ensuring a partnership of the Centre and States;
- Economic Modernization – harnessing technology for rapid, equitable growth;
- Secularism – the emotional harmony of all Indians and full protection of minorities;
- Social justice – empowerment of all weaker sections and gender rights; and
- Probity – transparency of decision-making and corruption-free governance.

When the whole nation was thrown into the vortex of political

instability because of the toppling of the Government headed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, by the irresponsible combination of Congress, the left parties and their old and new found allies; when the whole nation felt that it was duped and deceived by their chicanery because they could not fulfill their boast of an alternative Government in 'five minutes' – even for several days; and when the whole nation was on the verge of losing faith in our democratic system was getting cynical about politics and politicians; the signatory political parties came together as an act of national commitment and founded the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to set the Indian polity on a new course for the future.

The reason for creating the NDA is to lift the spirit of the nation at large, to draw its people together and, most importantly, to rebuild the bonds of common purpose that are the very roots of our democratic polity.

The NDA came into being because of an historic need and realisation amongst us that our young democracy cannot bear the fits and tremors of frequent elections which will undermine the peoples' faith in the democratic process. Therefore, with a consensus on a common cause and a common set of principles we have sunk our differences to weld ourselves into a solid phalanx of a single dominant political formation and thereby we fulfill the resolve of the Indian people to give themselves a stable, strong and progressive Government.

We are proud that the NDA is representative of both national interests and regional aspirations – after all the NDA is nothing but the mirror-image of our nation's unity in multifaceted diversity, rich pluralism and federalism.

□

Our Mission

THE NDA's mission in politics is to build a bond of trust between Government and people. This is the only way a democracy can flourish; but unfortunately has been ignored during the last 50 years of one-party rule.

Therefore, the NDA pledges to the people of India a Government which shares their hopes and anxieties and which will work as partner with all people irrespective of class, caste and religion – not just with a privileged few. This is our contract with the people.

The NDA is new; the NDA is the future and the NDA is a broad-based movement for progress and justice.

Our vision is one of national renewal with modern programmes of change for a resurgent India.

We reach out to the minorities and even at the cost of repetition proclaim that we will safeguard the rights as enshrined in our Constitution. NDA is the political arm of none other than the Indian people as a whole. No one will be cast aside; fairness and justice will be rendered to one and all and we assure you that there will not be any discrimination.

We appeal to our brothers and sisters of the minorities that we whole-heartedly extend our hands of friendship, in these fraternal words:

Let us hold hands and walk together to build a resurgent, modern India.

Let us throw away our old prejudices.

Let us put an end to divisiveness.

Let us have a moratorium on contentious issues.

Let us bind ourselves with bonds of trust and friendship.

We want an India which we all feel part of, in whose future we all have a stake. And we want to enter the new millennium with confidence; not with divisive feelings.

This is our call for reconciliation and it is part of our commitment to the minorities.



Agenda For Governance

A Commitment to Good Governance

1. Our first commitment to the people is to give a stable, honest, transparent, and efficient government capable of accomplishing all-round development. For this, the government shall introduce time-bound programmes of needed administrative reforms including those for the Police and other Civil Services.

Economy

2. We will continue with the reform process, give it a strong Swadeshi thrust to ensure that the national economy grows on the principle that 'India shall be built by Indians reappraise and revitalise reforms through giving primacy to removal of unemployment, and to an accelerated development of infrastructure, particularly energy and power production. We will bring GDP growth to the 7-8% bracket, and control deficits - fiscal and revenue. We will examine the possibility of enacting a Fiscal Responsibility Act. We will take all such steps as would expedite implementation of policies and programmes in accordance with our national interests; and give to the entire national development efforts a humane face with total eradication of poverty as the ultimate goal. For this 'Berozgari Hatao' - eradicate unemployment - is our call. Swadeshi is not reinventing the wheel. It means that we will facilitate the domestic industry to gain enough muscles to compete with the multinationals in the local and global markets. We want domestic companies to

flourish and acquire a Trans National status. At the same time the country cannot do without FDI because besides capital stock it brings with it technology, new market practices and most importantly employment. Our target is to achieve at least \$10 billion per year which will commensurate with our growth objectives. The old leftist approach sought complete state control of industry while the rightist approach wanted to leave everything to the market. We reject both. Government and industry must work together to achieve key objectives aimed at enhancing the dynamism of the market with effective and efficient regulatory mechanisms. In fact the issue is not about capitalism or socialism, nor is it about market or less state. It is about better society, about improving the way citizens can demand and obtain all sorts of public goods. It is about dignity for all. We firmly resolve that poverty should be relegated to history like slavery, colonialism, small pox and cholera and we should meet the challenge of mobilising resources for that by undertaking the challenge of restructuring priorities and mainstreaming these priorities into new programmes of pro-poor growth and redistribution towards poverty eradication—That is how we plan to eradicate absolute poverty within this generation—within the first decades of 21st century—and we strongly feel that it is feasible and affordable, infact, it is a moral imperative which we will not miss.

3. We will carefully analyse the effects of globalisation, calibrate its process by devising a timetable to suit our national conditions and requirements so as not to undermine but strengthen the national economy, the indigenous industrial base and the financial and services sectors.
4. We will earmark 60% of the Plan Funds for and effect public investment in agriculture, rural development, irrigation and by diverse incentives, including tax shelters, achieve a quantum leap in agricultural production so that agriculture, horticulture, forestry, food processing, fisheries and so on become the vehicles for growth resulting in an enhancement of the purchasing power of the people. Effective crop

insurance schemes will be introduced. Special efforts will be made in Animal Husbandry, Dairying, particularly in respect of Cow and its progeny. This is one of the routes to generating employment, thus eradicating hunger and poverty in rural as well as urban areas. Subsidies of all kinds will be implemented in such a manner that maximize benefits to all section of the agricultural population. Development of medium and small scale irrigation projects shall receive priority attention; emphasis for investment will be in accordance with the potential for development.

5. We will adopt a National Water Policy which provides for effective and prompt settlement of disputes and their time-bound implementation. We will examine and take time-bound steps to link Ganga-Cauvery Rivers. Sethu Samudharam Canal Project will also be undertaken.
6. We will increase the national savings to 30% of the GDP in the next five years by appropriate incentives and through motivation; encourage Foreign Direct Investment in core areas so that it usefully supplements the national efforts and discourage FDI in non-priority areas.
7. We will institute a comprehensive study of the financial, technological and social security requirements of the self-employed and unincorporated sector; also constitute a Development Bank to promote this largest segment of the national economy which, too, has great employment and self-employment potential. Further, in addition to financial support institutions we will bring into being other institutional systems for providing services, technology and marketing facilities for artisans, the small-scale, village, khadi, powerloom, handloom, handicrafts and such other industries. This and the Agriculture sectors are an untapped source with unlimited scope for generation of employment.
8. We will give a major thrust to infrastructure development, particularly energy and power, by recommending public expenditure in the sector. Towards this we will access long-term funds in the national and international markets, remove administrative bottlenecks, reverse the slowdown in this critical area of national economy thus giving a fresh

impetus to growth. Private Sector participation will be encouraged.

9. We will undertake a review of all laws and regulations relating to industry so as to free it from bureaucratic control; institute a system of voluntary compliance with laws, including tax laws; ensure speedy redressal of industrial sickness arrange for meaningful interaction between industry and government; and revive the capital market as a viable and transparent mechanism for raising capital. We will also expedite comprehensive reform of the PSUs, including restructuring, rehabilitation and divestment.

Trade & Commerce

10. We will focus on specific products in specific growth areas for exports and announce specific packages for horticulture EoUs. We intend to strongly support attempts to build a system of trade and economic cooperation through expanded global system of trade preferences (GSTP) among developing countries. We would also assert more robustly India's national interests, especially at the forthcoming review conference of the WTO, scheduled for November 1999. A healthy commodity exchange system will be established to be managed in an autonomous way.

Labour

11. We will make labour, both organized and unorganized, an equal and proud partner in the production of the nation's wealth and in its progress. Laws relating to equal pay for equal work for men and women shall be strictly implemented.

Eradication of Unemployment

12. Recognizing the right to work of every citizen, the main thrust of the new government will be: 'Berozgaari Hatao' (Eradicate Unemployment). As against the present trend of jobless growth, our government will measure growth generation of gainful employment. Our new investment and institutional thrust to agriculture, the self-employed, the unincorporated sector, infrastructure development and housing will act as the vehicles for massive employment creation at all levels.
13. The Alliance will embark upon a strategic pro-poor policy in terms of which those living below the poverty line are not to be pitied but treated as a net resource replete with their own ideas and experience well in tune with local conditions. Every effort will be made to provide them work locally and ensure that schemes for their welfare are competently and honestly administered. They themselves will be treated as participants and facilitators in this noble venture. The services of NGOs, well versed in this field and, preferably originating locally, will also be enlisted wherever considered necessary.

Food Security and Price Stability

14. We will ensure food security for all, create a hunger-free India in the next five years, and reform and improve the Public Distribution System so as to serve the poorest of the poor in rural and urban areas. We will also ensure price stability by all appropriate means and necessary legislation.

Health and Drinking Water

15. We will spare no efforts to ensure that potable drinking water is available to all villages in the next five years. Age old and traditional methods of water utilisation, in both rural and urban areas, will receive urgent attention.

Education for All

16. We are committed to a total eradication of illiteracy. We will formulate and implement plans to gradually increase

the governmental and non-governmental spending on education upto 6% of the GDP: thus to provide education to all. We will implement the constitutional provision of making primary education free and compulsory upto 5th standard. Our aim is to move towards equal access to and opportunity of educational standards upto the school leaving stage. We shall strive to improve the quality of education at all levels – from primary schools to our universities.

Housing for All

17. Shelter is a basic human requirement that needs to be met on a priority basis. We are, therefore, committed to evolving a National Housing and Habitat Policy in consultation with State Governments, aimed at providing Housing for all. Towards this end, we shall facilitate construction of 20 lakh additional housing units annually. As in other programmes, the emphasis will be on the benefit to the poor and the deprived.

Empowerment of Women

18. We will legislate for the reservation of 33% of the seats in Parliament and State Assemblies for women; also institute plans for providing free education for girls upto college level, including professional courses, so as to better empower women. We will also set up a Development Bank for women entrepreneurs in the small scale and tiny sectors.

Harnessing Yuva Shakti

19. The youth of our country constitute the majority of our population. They are the strength of the family, village, locality and the community, they are also the future of our nation. We will take all necessary steps to mobilise this most idealistic, inspired and energetic section of our society in the mission of nation-building. For this purpose, we shall build national consensus for the creation of a National Reconstruction Corps aimed at environmental protection ecological tasks, reclamation of waste land,

including afforestation, and for spreading literacy. We will have a time bound programme for promotion of sports.

Children

20. We will present a National Charter for Children. Our aim is to ensure that no child remains illiterate, hungry, lacks medical care. We will take measures to eliminate child labour.

Population

21. We are committed to achieving population stabilization by 2010 through improved access to primary health services, universalisation of primary education, delivery of contraceptive services to Mohalla/Ward/Basti level and through betterment of educational and socio-economic position of women.
22. Schemes for providing income generating training to widows will be worked out in cooperation with the state governments.
23. India today has a much larger population of senior citizens and their numbers are expected to rise substantially. It will be our endeavour to assure them that they continue to remain esteemed and valuable members of society.

Constitutional and Legal Reforms

24. We shall appoint a Commission to review the Constitution of India not only in the light of experiences and developments since 1996 but indeed, of the entire post-independence period, and to make suitable recommendations.
25. We are convinced that there is a clear case for devolution of more financial and administrative powers and functions to the States. We will take suitable steps to ensure harmonious Centre-State relations in the light of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission and also effect decentralisation right upto the grass roots level by activating and involving Panchayats and local bodies. States of the Union where the percentage of population below the poverty line has increased during the last five decades shall receive special attention. A Backward Area

Commission for each state of the Union to identify least developed areas and recommend comprehensive measures for their development shall be instituted. A Committee will be set up to study the feasibility of treating all 19 languages included in Schedule 8 of the Constitution as official languages will examine problems of Border States for amelioration and take measures for ensuring a fixed term (5 years) for all elected bodies including legislatures. We will also examine replacing the present No Confidence Motion with the German system of 'Constructive vote of Non-confidence'.

26. We will introduce necessary electoral reforms on the basis of the recommendations of the Goswami Committee, the Inderjit Gupta Committee and the Law Commission Report so as to deal with the malaise of defections, corruption and criminalisation of politics, and to prevent electoral malpractices.
27. Revitalise NE Council; ensure territorial integrity of the states of the NE; special developmental, administrative and security related programmes.
28. We will set up a National judicial Commission which will recommend judicial appointments in High Courts and Supreme Court and draw up a code of ethics for the judiciary. We will enact legislation to provide an eligibility criteria that the high offices of State-legislative, executive and judicial are held only by naturally born Indian citizens. We will establish a National Register of citizens. We will also introduce a multi-purpose identity card for all citizens.
29. We will undertake all necessary legislative and administrative measures to ensure the right of franchise of the Armed Forces through proxy voting and or any other method.

Corruption

30. We will enact the Lok Pal Bill with adequate powers to deal with corruption charges against anyone, including the Prime Minister. In the administration of justice, we shall not allow discrimination between the rich and the poor, the empowered and the powerless; restore the majesty of law, and the objectivity of the state.

New States

31. We will give full statehood to Delhi and also create Uttranchal, Vananchal and Chhattisgarh as new States.

National Security

32. In today's unipolar world it is of paramount importance that India constantly maintains and strengthens the state of preparedness, morale and combat effectiveness of our Armed forces.
33. The recently established National Security Council will advise the government in this regard and also in the establishment of a credible nuclear deterrence. These are the minimum requirements in this recently inaugurated era of global inequality and increased vulnerability. The NDA will correct the imbalance and budgetary neglect of Defence needs during the last decades by successive governments thus ensuring adequacy of budgetary allocation! We will take effective measures for eliminating all pensionary anomalies. We will revamp the entire system of welfare of ex-servicemen as a tribute to those that laid down their lives for the country.

Internal Security

34. We are committed to ensuring the safety and security of all citizens in all parts of the country. For reaching this goal we will take effective steps to create a riot-free order and a terrorism-free India.

International Relations

35. In the past 13 months the government demonstrated its capability to secure for India a place, role and position in the global arena, commensurate with its size and importance. We have also shown that our desire for peace and friendship should not be interpreted as weakness but as a firm resolve that aggression shall not be permitted to succeed. We have effectively engaged with the international community and obtained a high degree of understanding. This engagement process shall be developed to improve

India's standing in the international community. We will promote and strengthen regional groupings on the lines of SAARC and ASEAN, and reorient our diplomacy to pursue economic, commercial goals and energy security goals. We will strongly support any attempt to build a system of trade and economic cooperation through an expanded global system of trade preferences (GSTP) among developing countries. We will seek to assert more robustly India's national interests, especially at the forthcoming review conference of the WTO, scheduled for December, 1999. We are committed to making the voice of India as the voice of the developing world.

Genuine Secularism

36. We are committed to establishing a civilised, humane and just civil order; that which does not discriminate on ground – of caste, religion, class, colour, race or sex. We will truly and genuinely uphold and practise the concept of secularism consistent with the Indian tradition of 'Sarva panth samadara' (equal respect for all faiths) and on the basis of equality of all. We are committed to the economic, social and educational development of the minorities and will take effective steps in this regard.

SCs, STs and Backwards Classes

37. The interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes will be adequately safeguarded by appropriate legal, executive and societal efforts and by large scale education and empowerment. We will provide legal protection to existing percentages of reservation in government employment and educational institutions at the Centre and State level. If required, the Constitution will be amended to maintain the system of reservation. We will continue to offer all assistance to the SCs, STs and Backward Classes to ensure their speedy socio-economic development. We will remove the last vestiges of untouchability from our society. Further, we will present a National Charter for Social Justice (Samajik Nyay) based on the principle of social harmony (Samajik Samarasata).

We are committed to extending the SC/ST reservations for another 10 years. Reservation percentages, above 50%, as followed by certain states shall be sanctified through necessary legislative measures.

Environment

38. We will establish an appropriate legal framework for the protection of the environment and unveil a National Environment Policy to balance between development and ecology. A Vanvasi Fund for the benefit of Vanvasis shall be established. To discourage poaching of Wild Life a Wild Life Anti-Poaching Authority shall be established. The Ganga and Yamuna rivers' cleaning programmes shall be revamped and revitalised. Similar schemes for other water bodies shall also be initiated.

Prasar Bharti

39. We will review the Prasar Bharti Act. We will also enact a comprehensive Broadcasting Bill to regulate private broadcasting and to protect Indian interests. We will restrict foreign equity holding in private television broadcasting to 20% (and prevent cross holding to avoid emergence of monopolies in the media).

A New Norm For Governance by consensus

Science & Technology

40. For sustainable national development and the long-overdue transformation of India into a modern, prosperous and knowledge-driven nation, we will ensure integration of efforts, in the field of science and technology with development programmes in various socio-economic sectors. We will further speed up the modernization of National Laboratories, strengthen R&D and establish new as well as strengthen existing centres of excellence, so that they continue to constitute an invaluable national asset and also become totally immune to policy fluctuations elsewhere.

Information Technology

41. A new revolution is sweeping the globe – that of Information Technology. We believe that Information Technology is an important vehicle for future development. We are committed to ensuring that India is full and equal partner in this global progress; indeed, India can be a software super power. We will, for that purpose, unveil a National Informatics Policy with short, medium and long-term perspective.
42. Finally, we are convinced that a nation of nearly 100 crore people representing a sixth of humanity cannot be governed on the arithmetic alone of majority and minority. Governance must become unifying, not divisive, in its practice. It is this mindless manner of the domination of the majority that has led to bitterness, hostility and confrontation – and has even made the opposition and ruling parties like permanent adversaries. This destructive trend of politics of negativism and political untouchability which has distorted our body politic in the last few decades calls for an immediate corrective. We will, therefore, strive to develop national consensus on all major issues confronting the nation by involving the opposition parties and all section, of society in dialogue. We will also try for a consensual mode of governance as far as practicable. This National Agenda is a sincere and solemn covenant aimed at changing the content and culture of governance of this great nation, freeing it of the triple curses of hunger (bhookh), fear (bhay) and corruption (bhrashtachar), and transforming it into a New India that is prosperous, strong, self-confident and at peace with itself and the world. We appeal for the cooperation of all parties and all sections of society in this great endeavour.

□

Conclusion

This National Agenda is a sincere and solemn covenant aimed at changing the content and culture of governance of this great nation, freeing it of the triple curses of hunger (bhookh), fear (bhay) and corruption (bhrashtachar), and transforming it into a New India that is prosperous, strong, self-confident and at peace with itself and the world. We appeal for the cooperation of all parties and all sections of society in this great endeavour.



Vote BJP

Vote for a Stable Government
Vote for an Able Prime Minister

Election Manifesto
1998

Our Vision, Our Will, Our Way

Sarve bhavantu sukhinah
Sarve santu niramayah
Sarve bhadrani pasyantu
Ma kaschit dukha bhag bhavet!
Om Shanti! Shanti! Shanti!

**May all live happily. May all enjoy good health.
May all see auspiciousness. May none experience distress.
May peace prevail everywhere!**

THIS timeless motto of universal happiness and peace is the heritage of this ancient Indian civilization, which assumed the character of Bharatvarsha in Bharat Khand. Here, a nation, which Megasthenes noted 'never invaded others and was never invaded,' existed long before the ideas of civilization evolved elsewhere.

This ageless nation is the embodiment of the eternal values enshrined in the concept of 'Sanatana Dharma' which, according to Maharishi Aurobindo, is synonymous with Indian nationalism. The idea of *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* – world as a family – is integral to the concept of Sanatana Dharma. This gigantic idea is an exclusively Indian contribution to world peace. This ancient nation evolved a world-view based on the motto *Loka samasta sukhina bhavantu* (Let the entire world be happy) thousands of years before any League of Nations or United Nations was thought of to avoid global strife. The Indian nation evolved this grand vision not by marching its armies and conquering the rest and offering peace; but by the inner-directed pursuit of universal values by the Rishis living in the forests and mountains of India.

The well-being of all, in short, is the Indian mission. It is not

limited to the residents of Bharat or the adherents of any particular faith or creed. That is why Bharat received with open arms all faiths and people fleeing persecution – whether it was the Jews, Parsis, Muslims or Christians – and preserved and protected them long before any other civilization could think short of exterminating those who differed from the ruling faiths and people. Israeli society has openly acknowledged that out of over a hundred nations in which Jews sought refuge, only in Bharat they were received and treated well. It is because religion in ancient India meant faith in general and not any particular faith. It is this ancient Indian mind that formulated the Constitution of India, guaranteeing equal treatment to all faiths and their adherents and it is not the Constitution that shaped the Indian mind.

Diversity is an inseparable part of India's past and present national tradition. The BJP not only respects but celebrates India's regional, caste, credal, linguistic and ethnic diversity, which finds its true existence and expression only in our national unity. This rich tradition comprises not only the Vedas and Upanishads, Jainagamas and Tripitaka, Puranas and Guru Granth Sahib, the Dohas of Kabir, the various social reform movements, saints and seers, warriors and writers, sculptors and artists, but also the Indian traditions of the Muslims, Christians and Parsis.

The Bharatiya Janata Party is a proud inheritor of this tradition while all other political parties have branded everything associated with this great tradition as sectarian, unworthy of being followed. The post-Independence tendency to reject all ancient Indian wisdom in political life led to all pre-Independence values and symbols – be it the idea of spiritual nationalism expounded by Swami Vivekananda, or the concept of Ram Rajya articulated by Mahatma Gandhi, or the soul-stirring 'Vande Mataram' song composed by Bankim Chandra being discarded as unsecular and unacceptable. The BJP rejects this attitude and idea of disconnecting from the past. The past is inseparable from the present and the future. That is why Swami Vivekananda said, 'It is out of the past that the future is moulded. It is the past that becomes the future'.

BJP's Vision: An Inheritance From India's Freedom Movement

THE BJP shares, embodies and energizes the vision of every patriotic Indian to see our beloved country emerge as a strong,

prosperous and confident nation, occupying her rightful place in the international community. It is a vision to see our sacred Motherland freed from the scourge of *bhookh* (hunger), *berozgari* (unemployment), *bhay* (fear) and *bhrashtachar* (corruption). Lastly, it is a vision to see India, the world's oldest cradle of civilization, transform itself yet again into a benign global power, contributing her material, intellectual, cultural and spiritual energies to change the paradigm at the global level to save the world from the gathering civilizational crisis. As Arnold Toynbee said, 'The Western beginning must have an Indian ending if the world is to be saved from destruction.'

It was this very same vision which inspired millions upon millions of freedom-loving Indians of all castes, communities and regions to give their all for the liberation of Mother India from the yoke of British colonial rule. It was a vision which all the stalwarts of our freedom movement, belonging to different ideological and political backgrounds, said in their own separate yet complementary ways. Mahatma Gandhi coined a uniquely Indian idiom—'Ram Rajya'—for this common national vision, emphasizing, as a cautionary direction to future rulers of India that, 'There can be no Ram Rajya in the present state of inequalities in which a few roll in riches and the masses do not get even enough to eat.'

The Context and the Issue in the 12th Lok Sabha Poll

THE general elections to the 12th Lok Sabha is the inevitable result of the instability forced on the country by the Congress and the United Front. The two formed a negative and opportunist combination to thwart the mandate of the people in the 11th Lok Sabha poll and allowed the rejected Congress Party to do back-seat driving. The negative combination was a symbol of instability from day one and was, for most part of its existence, in intensive care. It collapsed, as it had to and demonstrated how the mischief played on the people of India after the 11th Lok Sabha poll recoiled on the mischief-makers themselves. This has made stability the principal issue in the coming election in a manner it has never been in our history.

Also, the election to the 12th Lok Sabha is not only a vote on the despicable record of malgovernance of the two United Front regimes spawned by the hung 11th Lok Sabha. Rather, as the last

parliamentary poll in this century and as one taking place in the Swarna Jayanti year of India's Freedom, it is a vote on nearly five decades of misrule by the Congress and its clones.

The BJP and its allies have entered the electoral fray with the supreme confidence of winning a clear mandate from the people of India to rule for the next five years. This mandate will be a vote not only against the rank instability of the two United Front Governments, but also against the static, anti-people, anti-development 'stability' of the previous Congress Governments. At the same time, it will be a positive vote for the BJP's solemn pledge to provide a dynamic, pro-people, pro-development, anti-status quoist stability under the able Prime Ministership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee: Ability, Integrity and Universal Acceptability

THE positive vote for the BJP is grounded in our philosophy, our policies, our programmatic commitments, the performance of our State Governments and, of course, the unimpeachable personal qualities of our top leadership. In Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the people see a leader who combines ability with integrity, charisma with character and experience with universal acceptability. He is not a person who claims leadership by birth in, or relationship with, any dynasty. He is a leader by virtue of his long and dedicated service of the nation and its people in and out of Parliament.

Under Shri Vajpayee's leadership, the BJP and its allies, if elected to power, will marshal the requisite will to chart the way towards the fulfillment of the unfinished agenda of transition from Swaraj to Su-raj.

This Election Manifesto outlines how the BJP will effect change with continuity. It asserts the principles and beliefs that will serve as the beacon and an internal watchdog for the BJP in governance. The five-fold concept of *Shuchita* (probity in public life), *Suraksha* (security), *Swadeshi* (economic nationalism), *Samajik Samarasata* (social harmony) and *Hindutva* (cultural nationalism) will constitute the core content and ideological pillars of the BJP. These principles will be manifest in our commitment to national security, good governance, national unity and integration, democracy, genuine secularism, eradication of mass poverty, opportunity for economic

advancement for all, social justice, gender justice, harmonious Centre-State relations, probity in public life, revival of institutions, politics of consensus and cooperation as against confrontation and, last but not the least, raising India's prestige, profile and power in the international arena.

These commitments will guide the BJP in its endeavor to provide a Stable Government under an Able Prime Minister.

□

Our National Identity

Cultural Nationalism

THE BJP is committed to the concept of 'One Nation, One People and One Culture'. The unique cultural and social diversity in India is woven into a larger civilizational fabric by thousands of years of common living and common and shared values, beliefs, customs, struggles, joy and sorrow, as well as symbols of high degree of unity without uniformity. Our nationalist vision is not merely bound by the geographical or political identity of Bharat but it is referred by our timeless cultural heritage. This cultural heritage which is central to all regions, religions and languages, is a civilizational identity and constitutes the cultural nationalism of India which is the core of Hindutva. This we believe is the identity of our ancient nation 'Bharatvarsha'.

Every effort to characterize Hindutva as a sectarian or exclusive idea has failed as the people of India have repeatedly rejected such a view and the Supreme Court, too, finally endorsed the true meaning and content of Hindutva as being consistent with the true meaning and definition of secularism. In fact, Hindutva accepts as sacred all forms of belief and worship. The evolution of Hindutva in politics is the antidote to the creation of vote banks and appeasement of sectional interests. Hindutva means justice for all.

The BJP is convinced that Hindutva has immense potentiality to re-energize this nation and strengthen and discipline it to undertake the arduous task of nation-building. This can and does trigger a higher level of patriotism that can transform the country to greater levels of efficiency and performance. It is with such integrative ideas in mind, the BJP joined the Ram Janmabhoomi movement for the construction of Shri Ram Mandir at Ayodhya. This

greatest mass movement in post-Independence history reoriented the disoriented polity in India and strengthened the foundation of cultural nationalism.

The BJP is committed to facilitate the construction of a magnificent Shri Ram Mandir at Ram Janmasthan in Ayodhya where a makeshift temple already exists. Shri Ram lies at the core of Indian consciousness. The BJP will explore all consensual, legal and constitutional means to facilitate the construction of Shri Ram Mandir at Ayodhya.

□

Agenda for Institutional Rejuvenation

Strengthening Democracy's Pillars

THE strength of a democracy is directly proportionate to the strength of the three pillars on which it rests – the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. Five decades of misrule and misuse of these institutions has eroded their strength. Corruption at the highest levels of the Executive has corroded people's faith in Government. The Congress and UF Governments' inability to take firm decisions and make tough choices, apart from their failure to confront disruptive forces, has weakened the authority of the Indian State. Over-centralization of power at the Centre and unbalanced models of development have led to Centre-State friction. Abuse of constitutional provisions like Article 356 and the misuse of Raj Bhavans as extension counters of the ruling party at the Centre have defiled the sanctity of the country's Constitution.

The BJP will earnestly set itself to the task of strengthening these institutions of the Republic through an agenda of reform and rejuvenation. The primary task is to restore to the State – and thus to Government – its honour and prestige. The BJP will thus restore to Government its moral authority to rule. We propose to undertake the following agenda for rejuvenation:

Constitutional Reforms

1. The BJP will appoint a Commission to comprehensively review the Constitution of India, in the light of the experience of the past 50 years and make suitable recommendations. The Commission will comprise constitutional experts and eminent parliamentarians.
2. The BJP is committed to take necessary steps to prevent

misuse of Article 356 of the Constitution.

3. The BJP will carve out Uttaranchal, Jharkhand, Vidarbha and Chhattisgarh as separate States. Delhi will be given full Statehood.
4. The BJP will provide all three regions of Jammu and Kashmir – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh – with regional development councils.
5. The BJP will abrogate Article 370 of the Constitution.

Electoral Reforms

THE BJP, which has been singularly championing the cause of electoral reforms since the days of the Jana Sangh, believes that one of the principal causes of corruption and corrosion of our polity is our faulty election process. The BJP will, immediately on assuming office, introduce a comprehensive Electoral Reforms Bill, much of the groundwork for which has already been done but not acted upon. To ensure free, fair and fearless elections and to prevent the use of money power and muscle power, the BJP will:

1. Update and adopt the Goswami Committee Report;
2. Consider introducing a scheme for State-funding of election expenses incurred by all recognized parties;
3. Undertake immediate delimitation of Lok Sabha and Assembly constituencies;
4. Make it mandatory for parties to submit audited accounts for public scrutiny;
5. Examine the feasibility of introducing the list system or a mixed system of elections; and;
6. Undertake the process of issuing multi-purpose identity cards to all citizens and make it a mandatory requirement for voting.

Judicial Reforms

THE Judiciary is one of the watchdogs in a democracy and in recent times has played an important role in pursuing cases of corruption and abuse of public office. But the Judiciary faces problems that need to be addressed and solved in consultation with the Chief Justice of India. For speedy, fair and inexpensive justice, the BJP will:

1. Fill vacancies in high courts and the Supreme Court without any delay;
2. Appoint special judges to clear the huge arrears at all levels of the judiciary;
3. Legislate to the effect that cases are heard on a day-to-day basis and not held up by inordinate adjournments;
4. Expand and strengthen the existing legal aid facilities for weaker sections of society; and,
5. Set up a National Judicial Commission which will recommend judicial appointments in the High Courts and the Supreme Court and draw up a code of ethics for judges.

Reforms in the Law and Order Machinery

THE security of each citizen is of utmost concern for the BJP, which is committed to a riot-free and terrorism-free India. Whether on the streets or at home, every Indian must feel safe and protected from violence in any form. The BJP will squarely and purposefully address the deteriorating law and order scenario in various parts of the country. The BJP will:

1. Forthrightly meet all challenges to the State and its citizens by terrorists and extremists. Our approach will be firm but always fair;
2. Enact a suitable law to tackle terrorism while ensuring that there are no loopholes for its misuse;
3. Provide timely assistance to State Governments to maintain law and order by supplementing local police forces with adequate central forces;
4. Equip police with modern arms and communication facilities;
5. Seek immediate reports from State Governments on incidents of police firing and monitor follow-up action, especially in fixing of responsibility if the firing was unprovoked or uncalled for;
6. Hold district officers squarely accountable for mismanagement of public order and take prompt action in light of findings of time-bound inquiries;
7. Ensure that complaints by citizens do not go unattended;
8. Improve the intelligence-gathering mechanism at all levels

to tackle mischief-makers before they can act and keep State Governments posted about all intelligence gathered on a day-to-day basis;

9. Launch a nationwide drive to identify the influx of illicit arms and their possession. Proliferation of small arms directly affects law and order and the nation's security;
10. Crack down on narcotics smuggling which is linked to narco-terrorism and drug-usage. Existing law in this regard will be made more effective and implemented;
11. Rationalize the number, structure, composition and role of paramilitary and special forces like the National Security, the Special Protection Group and the Rapid Action Force; and,
12. Review VIP security arrangements so that they are neither exaggerated nor intrusive. We will ensure that VIP security arrangements do not affect the collective convenience of the citizens.

Administrative Reforms

THE BJP believes that despite reduction in the traditional regulatory role of the bureaucracy, it will remain vital to the provision of a just and progressive administration; efficient delivery of services to the people; and, implementation of socio-economic development programmes. We will strive to re-inculcate in the public service the spirit of service to the common people. Public servants at all levels will be given due support and trust. In turn, they will be held fully accountable for efficiency, probity and integrity. To usher in a responsive and responsible administration, the BJP will:

1. Ensure objectivity and fairness in recruitment, promotions and transfers.
2. Introduce suitable minimum tenures for officers manning such posts as secretaries to the Government, chief secretaries, DGPs and district officers;
3. Deny extension to officers after superannuation or upon completing their fixed tenures;
4. Give protection to public servants in the discharge of their duties and disallow interference from extraneous quarters;
5. Undertake reforms in district administration, police and other organizations interfacing with the people, with

- emphasis on responsiveness and accountability;
6. Avoid proliferation of bureaucracy by meeting new requirements, to the extent possible, through redeployment and training of existing staff;
 7. Give wide publicity to rights of citizens and the services and facilities to which they are entitled;
 8. Provide speedy redressal of individual and community grievances;
 9. Withdraw Government from areas of unnecessary intervention;
 10. Enhance skills and efficiency of public servants through special training programmes;
 11. Infuse talent through lateral entry of personnel;
 12. Ensure speedy resolution of anomalies in implementing the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission and strengthen arrangements for employees' welfare and housing;
 13. Raise the retirement age of Government employees from 58 to 60 as per the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission; and,
 14. Increase skills and efficiency of public servants by training programmes; infusion of talent will also be secured by lateral entry of people from the private sector, NGOs and educational and research institutions.

Restructuring of Centre-State Relations

THE present iniquitous Centre-State relations not only tend to erode the autonomy of the States and jeopardize their rightful and legitimate role in our federal polity, but also impinge on their financial capabilities and operational flexibility. To make Centre-State relations more harmonious and in keeping with the spirit of a federal polity, the BJP will:

1. Immediately implement the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission;
2. Consult State Governments before appointing Governors and consider ways and means of preventing misuse of Raj Bhavans for political purposes;
3. Increase allocation of resources to the States in real terms. This, coupled with greater functional autonomy, can go a

long way in making States stable, strong and prosperous. To achieve this end, we will:

- (a) Increase the States' share of gross proceeds of Central Tax revenues to 33 per cent;
 - (b) Give adequate assistance to the States to lessen the burden imposed by the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission;
 - (c) Allow States the freedom to raise funds by issuing tax-free bonds;
 - (d) Transfer external assistance to States on the same terms and conditions on which it is received from external donors;
 - (e) Treat loans against small savings as loans in perpetuity;
 - (f) Increase Plan assistance to States in real terms;
4. Swiftly clear infrastructure projects in power, water and mineral sector. The Central Electricity Authority and Central Water Commission will function as consultancy organizations and not have any regulatory role in project clearance. The present policy of environmental clearance will be reviewed.

Panchayati Raj

FOR better local self-governance at the village level, the BJP will:

1. Introduce suitable changes in the 73rd and 74th amendments to the Constitution with a view to further strengthening Panchayati Raj institutions and giving them greater autonomy;
2. Endeavor to make the Panchayati Raj institutions financially self-reliant.

Systemic Cure for Corruption

THE BJP believes that morality and ethics together form the underpinning of good governance. In the past 50 years, the Congress has systematically dismantled all norms of honesty and integrity in Government, indulging in corruption at all levels and resisting all attempts to bring the guilty to book. The UF had declared its intention to expose the corrupt, but ended up protecting them from the arms of justice. The BJP will seek to undo this grievous wrong committed against the nation by the Congress and later by

the UF and set an example of unimpeachable accountability and impeccable probity in public life. For a clean public life, the BJP will:

1. Make it obligatory for every elected representative to make public within 90 days his income and assets, as well as those of his/her spouse and dependent children and parents. These declarations will be open to public scrutiny and have to be made every year;
2. Appoint a Lok Pal to inquire into allegations of corruption against anybody holding public office, including the Prime Minister;
3. Introduce extensive regulations to ensure that conflict of interest does not influence decisions taken by those holding public office;
4. Modify and reform the methodology of Government approval of contracts, schemes and large value agreements to make them more transparent;
5. The powers of patronage, the discretion to say 'Yes' or 'No' to simple daily requirements of the citizens will be done away with;
6. Expeditiously deal with unresolved cases of corruption and in which no action has been taken in the last 12 years; and,
7. Give greater autonomy to the CBI, in keeping with the recent Supreme Court order, so as to prevent investigating agencies from being used to subserve the political designs of the ruling party.

Right to Information

THE BJP believes in taking concrete steps to promote transparency in the functioning of Government as a confidence-building measure. The working of a Government should not only be transparent but should be perceived to be so. We, therefore, subscribe to the principle of sharing information about the Government's work. The BJP will:

1. Enhance public access to information to the maximum extent feasible;
2. Review laws and regulations concerning confidentiality; and,
3. Introduce social audit of development programmes,

especially in rural areas.



Our Swadeshi Approach

Making India a Global Economic Power

THE economic policy-making in the last five decades has been shaped more by dogma than by a rational debate on what suits the country's interests best. In 1950, Congress discarded the Gandhian approach and adopted the socialist pattern without any debate. Now, after the collapse of the socialist paradigm, our entire establishment has defected to the type of free-market system that prevails in the Western countries, once again without any debate as to whether such a system can be wholly transplanted to India. The policies of liberalization, particularly globalization, pursued by the Congress and later by the UF Government have resulted in economic stagnation. What this nation needs now is a practical approach that is devoid of dogma and is guided wholly by considerations of national interest and what is appropriate for us.

Fifty Years of Wasted Opportunities

IN fact, the five decades of Congress and quasi-Congress rule have been a virtually wasted opportunity. In these fifty years the absolute numbers of people living below the poverty line almost doubled; the Indian economy grew at a mere 3.5 per cent while most of Asia raced ahead towards prosperity. At the same time, Indian industry, services and agriculture were largely rendered internationally non-competitive and disadvantaged. During most of this period the BJP and its forerunner, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, had been urging a liberal economic regime in which the full creative genius of the Indian people could flower. We opposed the license-permit Raj. We opposed the command economy. We opposed senseless central planning. We opposed the inefficient State

capitalism that was promoted at the cost of our entrepreneurial class. We opposed the crony capitalism that came about as a result of the collusion between the politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen. We opposed the nationalization of vast areas of the economy. We opposed the corruption that inevitably became a part of the system that was created. We continuously opposed the Congress party that was both the creator and then the creature of this corrupt system.

Phony Liberalization: A More Impoverished Economy

AFTER four-and-a-half grossly wasted decades, the Congress Government of the day woke up to the bankrupt reality, but, under the guise of correcting the past wrongs, actually surrendered to IMF conditionalities. With a gun at its head it began to do what it does best – double talk. It said it was liberalizing the economy and actually gave itself more opportunities for corruption. This phony liberalization turned out to be a period of record loot under which foreign companies flourished and the Indian ones floundered. Within the first year, as the Finance Minister crowed that the surge in the share market was a sign of confidence in his policies, the bubble burst to uncover a scam of record proportions. Foreign companies were allowed to increase their equity at par instead of paying the market price for additional shares. Over 2,100 companies were allowed to raise over Rs. 35,800 crore from the market, mostly at unreasonable premia. The markets have since come down to abysmal levels; as a result millions were financially devastated. More than 600 of these companies, which cumulatively raised over Rs. 10,000 crore, have simply disappeared, walking off with the money. The Congress Party has no answer for this. Many in the Cabinet were directly involved in the scams. The then Prime Minister's office, too, was not exempt from this taint.

The last six years, when the much-touted reform has been under way, have been years of extreme difficulty for the common man. The wholesale price index of food grains has gone up by over 70 per cent, which is an effective inflation rate of over 20 per cent. Instead of creating prosperity for all, this so-called liberalization further impoverished the majority with a result that, according to the NCAER, 59 per cent of all households now have a monthly income of less than Rs. 1,000 or about Rs. 200 per person which is much less than the poverty level monthly per capita income of Rs.

263! By contrast, only 4.1 per cent of all families have an income of over Rs. 40,000 per year. A study by Oxfam, while somewhat more charitable as far as the overall figures are concerned, categorically states that rural poverty during the Manmohan Singh years grew from 35.5 per cent to 48.6 per cent. After this period of so-called liberalization and growth, so much hyped by the Congress and later by the quasi-Congress UF Governments, we have become a more impoverished society than before. According to the World Development Report, the highest 20 per cent of Indians accounted for 41.3 per cent of the national income, while the bottom 20 per cent accounted for a mere 8.8 per cent! The hollowness of the economic policies of the past fifty years and, in particular, of the past seven years stands totally exposed by the glaring inequity and the high incidence of poverty.

From 1981-82 to 1990-91 industrial production grew at an average of 7.8 per cent a year. After five years of so-called liberalization it grew at an average of 5.7 per cent. During the period 1990-96, in a reversal of the previous decade's performance, the compound growth rate of foodgrain production was 1.7 per cent while the population grew at 1.9 per cent. Consequently, the per capita availability of cereals, which was 511 grams in 1991, has come down to 464 grams now. It is small wonder that prices of cereals alone have gone up by almost 20 per cent in 1996 while those of vegetables have risen by a huge 63.3 per cent. The prices of wheat and onions have spiraled while those of luxury cars, mobile phones and color TVs have come down. This is indicative of the warped sense of economic and social justice that has been prevailing in our country in the past few years. Instead of waking up to the deteriorating foodgrain scenario, successive Governments have been neglecting agriculture. In 1996-97, the proposed outlay for agriculture was Rs. 1,969 crore or Rs. 349 crore over the previous year's revised estimate. This did not even cover the official inflation and the impact of the Pay Commission's recommendations.

The Swadeshi Approach: Reforming the Reforms Process

IN 1991, the BJP cautioned the Government to embark upon internal liberalization first and defer globalization. We advocated the reinstatement of the Swadeshi idea particularly because of the heavily one-sided pro-West WTO in the offing. However, in a

matter of five years, the BJP stand on Swadeshi has been vindicated.

Swadeshi simply means 'India First'. This is the governing principle of all nations. Now the idea of Swadeshi is being accepted in most quarters, also by the Indian industry. Nevertheless, the economy of India has come under tremendous pressure because of misguided tariff reductions and an uneven playing field for the Indian industry. The BJP is fully aware that, when it comes to power, it will be inheriting a badly managed economy and a badly directed reform process. The broad agenda of the BJP will be guided by Swadeshi or economic nationalism.

The fundamental approach of the BJP is that it is imperative to develop a collective national will and confidence that 'India shall be built by Indians'. National development will largely depend upon national effort and national capital and savings. Even after the so-called reforms, the share of FDI in national investment is less than 2 per cent, that is, out of the total national investment of over Rs. 12,30,000 crore, FDI amounted to only Rs. 18,500 crore during the years 1991 to 1996. It is clear that foreign capital will be only of little value to the national economy, though crucial to some sectors like infrastructure.

Every nation advocates free trade in all global fora, but, in practice, they compulsively resort to quotas, tariffs and anti-dumping measures to protect their national interests. Whether it is the USA which resorts to Super 301, anti-dumping and high tariff, or it is Japan whose market is very difficult to access even now, the story is the same. While the declared agenda is free trade, the undeclared, but actual, agenda is economic nationalism. India, too, must follow its own national agenda. This spirit is Swadeshi.

Role of Government in a Liberalized Regime

THERE is a great misconception about the role of the Government in a liberalized regime. There is an impression that the Government retreats leaving the hidden hand of the market to manage the economy. Governments all over continue to actively manage and protect their economies, national industry and employment. The paradox is that, the greater the liberalization, the more demanding is the involvement of the Government to protect national industry and employment.

Full Liberalization and Calibrated Globalization

THE Government and Indian industry need to evolve a consensus on the time span required to enable our industries to adjust to the exacting demands of international competition. It means rapid, large-scale internal liberalization, but calibrated globalization so that the Indian industry gets a period of seven to ten years for substantial integration with the global economy. On the basis of this consensus, the Government and the industry should work out a strategy to create an atmosphere of international acceptability and manage external relations, particularly with the WTO.

India must move carefully and gradually towards integration with the global economy and even as it so does, it must act in a manner that suits its national interest. This strategy recognizes that Indian industry needs a period of transition before it can compete with global players. All policies of tariff reduction and lifting of quantitative restrictions will be formulated taking the above facts into accounts, but the objective will be to protect the national economy and national interest like all nations do and not to indulge in economic isolationism.

Study and Appraise the Impact of Reforms on the Economy

THE process of liberalization and economic reforms needs to be properly strategized from the standpoint of broader national interest and rationally phased in. In doing so, the experience of the Asian nations presently under pressure will also have to be taken into account. As we approach the 21st century, we need to institute studies and appraise and review the reforms process and also the proposed reforms and redefine the broad contours of the national strategy for the next ten years. Based on the appraisal, the BJP Government will clearly define the contours and schedule of the liberalization and reforms. The procedural reforms like rectification of corporate law, tax law and other commercial laws will be separated from policy formulation like the policy on insurance and pension funds.

Our Medium-Term Agenda

THE broad national agenda of the BJP, containing an illustrative list of important and priority items for preparing the nation for future challenges, is set out below:

1. India must adopt policies that will enable a sustained 8 to 9 per cent annual rate of growth of GDP. This would mean an agricultural growth of at least 5 per cent a year and industrial growth of at least 12 per cent a year. Without powering agriculture in a big way, Indian growth rate cannot be sustained at higher levels. China, endowed with much less cultivable land and resources, could achieve an average agricultural growth of 8 to 10 per cent a year between 1983 to 1993 and doubled its agricultural production. India can and should achieve this and more. The agricultural agenda should be designed accordingly. A separate agenda for the non-corporate sector, which accounts for 40 per cent of the GDP, should also be pursued to achieve this target of sustained high growth. Recognizing the gross neglect of proper strategy in the past, our Government will focus on a judicious combination of infrastructure and agriculture to achieve a high trajectory of growth.
2. In the next five years, we must become a credible partner in Asia's development process and forge a relationship on equal terms with the major economic powers of the world – USA, EU and Japan.
3. In the next three years, our Government will strive to achieve strong macro-economic fundamentals; fiscal rectitude where, more than fiscal deficit, the revenue deficit is controlled; strong and viable balance of payments; monetary policy designed to resist unrealistic fall in rupee value; moderate inflation; and credit availability to industry.

Some Important and Priority Items for the National Agenda

1. The Government will formulate a system of voluntary compliance with all direct and indirect tax obligations with test-check assessments of select cases and expedite conviction of the defaulters.
2. The Government will ensure a day-to-day working relationship with Indian industry through a structured forum like the MITI in Japan.
3. Even as the private sector will be encouraged to invest

in infrastructure, the Government will also invest in infrastructure. The private sector has not been a major contributor in this area. Even in the developed world, the share of the private sector in such development does not exceed 30 to 40 per cent. For this purpose, the Government will:

- Access the long-term debt market in Insurance and Pension Funds.
- Set up national-level regulatory bodies for different areas of infrastructure.
- Bring about more transparency, institute contracts which are easily enforceable and formulate laws that simplify the procedures.

It will also:

- Cut non-productive expenditure;
 - Disinvest in non-strategic PSUs;
 - Control and rationalize subsidies and trim all except those that benefit the weaker sections;
 - Reduce the size of the Government; and,
 - Simplify tax laws and widen the tax net.
4. The Government will institute an effective anti-dumping machinery to prevent dumping from abroad and to prevent unfair anti-dumping action against the country.
 5. The Government will ensure that a climate of competition is created in the insurance sector – if need be, by involving Indian private sector in the insurance business.
 6. The Government will rationalize the banking sector by creating specialization in unit banking, retail banking and commercial banking. This will be done by consolidation and mergers to create global-size banks and promote efficiency and profitability to strengthen the Indian banking system.

Resource Generation: Fiscal Policy and the Promotion of Savings

All the above tasks will need large-scale resource mobilization. This will not only call for the widening of the tax base but also supplementing it with non-tax revenues. The BJP Government shall innovate such resource augmentation through motivated savings. The fiscal policy will aim to prevent the generation of black money. Tax on services will be reviewed.

We will structure a fiscal policy that will help generate a higher level of savings. We will aim to increase the savings rate to 30 per cent in the next five years. Acceleration of savings will require the elimination of dissavings, which, in its wake, will prune the size of Government and the public sector and generate the much-needed resources for attending to the highly neglected areas of social infrastructure like education and public health. Like physical infrastructure, social infrastructure will be a priority on the agenda of the BJP Government. In their abortive zeal for containing the fiscal deficit, previous Governments have cut plan expenditure drastically and, instead, increased revenue expenditure in unpruned regulatory arms of Government which have outlived their utility in the era of liberalization. This trend will be reversed and it is expected that the reactivation of public expenditure will pull the economy out of demand stagnation and recession. It should be recognized that the halt in public investment in infrastructure, both physical and social, in the fond hope that did not materialize, of the private sector making good the gap, has caused undue harm to the economy.

Eradication of Poverty Through Generation of Jobs

THE above strategy is also firmly rooted in the recognition that growth cannot be sustained in the backdrop of accentuation in poverty and human misery. Poverty cannot also be wished away through an abstract definition built on calorific value. A meaningful estimation of poverty will now be structured on the matrix of factors that dilute the quality of life such as illiteracy, lack of sustained employment, malnutrition, lack of shelter, safe drinking water, sanitation and health care. The lot of the poor, thus defined, will be improved through a multi-pronged approach, with the focus on increased employment opportunities. The BJP Government will make the Ninth Plan itself an employment-focused Plan.

The development strategy followed in the last fifty years separates development from employment, treating human beings as fodder in the process of development. Employment has only received lip service in the economic plans; in effect it has received a very low priority. Employment has been treated as a by-product and not the main goal of development. It has been more so since 1991 under the half-baked reform philosophy. The

all-West model of the reforms generates only jobless growth. The BJP believes that it is only through full employment – not just any kind of employment, but gainful and productive employment – that rapid and sustainable development is possible. It is through employment that the real purpose of development, namely, the raising of the living standards and dignity of the people, can be realized.

It is distressing to note that unemployment and underemployment and, consequently, poverty-prevails in our country on such a massive scale. Even when the GDP growth rates have increased, employment growth rates have declined in agriculture as well as in industry. The prevailing employment growth rate is less than half of the rate at which addition to the labour force takes place. The BJP will review the Ninth Plan in all its aspects, with the objective of installing employment as its centrepiece. In the next ten years, over 10 crore people will be provided jobs, besides ameliorating the extensive underemployment and concealed unemployment. Our strategy will consist of the following:

1. A substantially higher growth rate of GDP of 8 to 9 per cent;
2. Emphasis on sectors which offer large potential for employment, including small-scale, artisan-based and rural industries, infrastructure, housing (urban and rural), construction, agriculture, wasteland development and forestry and labour-intensive production;
3. Opting for projects and technologies, wherever choices exist, without reducing productivity, that offer larger employment;
4. Increasing productivity in the informal sector through the support of technology, credit and marketing;
5. Redesigning the special employment programmes – Integrated Rural Development Programme, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, Nehru Rozgar Yojana, Scheme for self-employment of the Educated Youth, etc. – to increase their coverage and effectiveness;
6. Encouraging the employment of women;
7. Fully involving the private sector and non-governmental organizations;
8. Adopting the institutional approach of cooperatives,

- wherever possible;
9. Implementing the special employment programmes through panchayat institutions; and,
 10. Vocational training.

Our Commitment: Removal of Hunger and Ensuring Food for All

IN this fiftieth year of Indian independence, we commit ourselves to freeing India of the scourge of hunger. The Indian social traditions abhor hunger and had instituted different social, religious and cultural mechanisms to eliminate hunger. The tradition which acted as a social security against hunger weakened with the advent of colonialism and it never revived after we attained freedom. The result is that hunger has become part of Indian social life. We have to and we shall, ensure that in this land, no one is obliged to sleep on a hungry stomach. For this purpose, we shall explore and encourage all possible ways, both Governmental and societal, of ensuring food for all. As a concomitant of food for all, we shall recast the agricultural policy of the country to increase food production so that India once again becomes the land of abundance in food in next five years.

Public Sector Reforms

CUTTING down of dissavings will be possible only by pruning the public sector and confining it to sensitive areas where the nation's physical or economic security is involved and to residual areas where the presence of public sector is necessary for providing a moderating or counterpoising role to the ill effects, if any, of an unchecked private sector. The minimal public sector will be managed professionally, with least interference by Government. While pruning the public sector, it will be ensured that the interests of workers are duly taken care of. Greater emphasis will be placed on retraining and redeployment aspects of the National Renewal Fund rather than confining its scope to retrenchment.

Role of Foreign Direct Investment

It is needless to add that national development will be largely funded by capital generated within the country and foreign investment will play only a small role. The percentage of FDI to

total investment in India during the years 1991-96 is less than 2 per cent and confirms that even in the post-reform period, national development has been almost entirely financed by local capital. However, in areas like infrastructure (particularly energy, roads and ports), promotion of exports and high-technology industries, FDI can usefully supplement national efforts. Policies will be framed consistent with national interest in respect of FDI. The BJP Government will ensure that FDI flows into such priority areas and not in areas where the domestic industry is functioning well. The BJP Government will frame policies to restrict FDI in non-priority areas. FDI will be encouraged to promote exports rather than target the domestic market. FDI is welcome in a non-predatory role in joint ventures rather than in 100 per cent subsidiaries. Generally, the role of foreign capital should be in harmony with and advance, the nation's economic objectives, as also in line with other Asian countries. Again, until the Indian economy reaches a level of global strength, takeovers of existing Indian companies by foreign companies will not be encouraged and suitable, transparent rules will be framed to give effect to this policy. Even developed nations like France, Germany and Switzerland have restrictions on the takeover of domestic companies.

National Agenda for Bhagidari Sector (Un-incorporated Sector)

An analysis of India's GDP shows that agricultural accounts for 27 per cent; corporate sector 12 per cent; and the Government sector 21 per cent; all adding up to 60 per cent. The balance 40 per cent of the GDP comes from the largest segment of our economy – the unincorporated sector (partnership/proprietorship firms) which bore the brunt of the license-permit quota raj at the cutting edge of its interaction with the organs of State power. Millions of unincorporated enterprises in the country contributing 40 per cent of our national income did not deserve even a small paragraph in our Economic Surveys and Reserve Bank reports.

This most important segment has so far commanded the least attention and virtually no legitimacy. The entire establishment ignored these unincorporated enterprises which have a share of nearly 50 per cent of national income in the manufacturing sector, a share of 60 per cent in the construction sector, a share of more than 75 per cent in the transport sector, nearly 90 per cent in the trade sector, more than 80 per cent in hotels and restaurants and

nearly 100 per cent in the business and other services like that of a doctor, lawyer, accountant, goldsmith, plumber, porter, mechanic, electrician, tailor, barber, carpenter, driver, priest, cook, musician and in the crafts and professions. We neglected this sector (which is clubbed as part of households in our savings statistics) which constitute the largest segment of savers contributing around 60 per cent of our national savings. During 1990-96 out of the total gross domestic savings of Rs. 11,32,029 crore, the savings by household sector was Rs. 8,94,918 crore, i.e. nearly 80 per cent and the Bhagidari sector is the largest segment of the household sector other than the salary earners.

Any agenda for reform necessarily has to focus its attention on the largest segment of our economy which was also the least cared for during the inspector-raj nurtured by the socialistic regime. But the so-called reforms of the nineties did not address the serious issues of using the phenomenal and enormous savings rate of our middle-class.

The focus of the Government in the nineties, in the name of reforms, concentrated essentially on the corporate sector and foreign investment that came a cropper. A clear understanding and a broad national agenda, with the following measures, are needed for the Bhagidari sector.

- (a) The financing cost for this sector is phenomenal and they borrow at usurious interest rates. There is no exclusive, national-level financing agency for trade activities or for construction activities. Indian private-sector banks need to be encouraged and developed in these areas and the Government policies should facilitate the same. A separate development bank for this sector will also be considered.
- (b) There is no social security net for this sector. With changing patterns in the joint family system, there is even more necessity to introduce the same. The Indian private sector insurance companies can provide this. Unless and until the social security net is developed for this sector (of course, from the contributions of this sector), economic reforms will be a castle built on American sands and the European air, but not on Indian soil.
- (c) In order to mobilize savings of this sectors for targeted

poverty alleviation programmes, it would be desirable that full deduction is given for the traditional commitments of the sector, including family obligation and contribution of this sector for temples, mosque, gurudwaras, etc. where free food is provided to poor people daily. This would reduce the leakages in the anti-poverty schemes currently undertaken, since this method would directly deal with the target groups. Local citizens committee can monitor this. The fear of God is a more powerful authority than that of the Government in a country like India.

- (d) This sector is a target for all levels of the State machinery like politicians, policemen, tax officials and municipal authorities. A national-level awareness programme of this sector's contribution and a national-level law to guard them against State excesses should also be formulated.

This sector has the greatest potentiality to grow with a quantum jump if this agenda is implemented. Any attempt to increase employment and to eradicate unemployment must begin here. This sector at once provides self-employment and multiplies employment. This single sector has the greatest potentiality to attack unemployment, poverty and hunger.

Role of Non-Banking Finance Companies

THE BJP realizes that savings, banking and finance is in the Indian blood. There are tens of thousands of private finance institutions – nidhis, chits and other native methods of augmenting finance and also modern-day non-banking finance institutions. The BJP views this sector as a potentially important one. The policy on NBFCs has been ad-hoc and they have been dealt with, at times, in a reckless manner. The new RBI guidelines preventing NBFCs from accepting deposits without rating is absurd, as we have not even developed standards for rating under Indian conditions. The BJP will review the entire regulation on the NBFCs and bring about an orderly growth and not planned destruction of this important segment. This sector alone finances most of the transportation business and the non-corporate sector, which is the most important and the largest sector of the national economy.

Industrial Policy Reform

THE immediate task of the new Government will have to be to create conditions for industry to regain its lost momentum. Persistence of the present conditions will cause irreparable damage to the fabric of Indian industry. The BJP recognizes the need for corrective action on a war footing. We attach particular importance to the interdependence of industry and agriculture. We will improve inter-sectoral terms of trade and other linkages so that benefits accrue to both. The BJP also reiterates the importance of the small-scale and cottage industry sectors, in view of their contribution to employment, wider participation and new entrepreneurship. These sectors, which have suffered neglect by the Congress and the United Front Governments, will be given all encouragement and support by the BJP.

The permit-quota raj created conflicts between large and small industries. The BJP will strive to make small-scale units and large units, particularly where the former is the supplier of the latter, into a structured ally like in Japan and Korea. The BJP will formulate policies for large units to invest up to 25 per cent in the capital of the small unit so that the small unit has the backing of the large unit for purposes of availing bank loans or other credit. By such a relationship, hundreds of small units can coalesce with a large-scale unit and benefit in a variety of ways.

In order to achieve the above objective, the BJP will:

1. Further simplify industrial approvals and remove the plethora of restrictive controls that now exist. The Industrial Development and Regulation Act will be replaced by an Industrial Development Act. The role of the Government will change from the restrictive, as it has been so far, to one of extending support and encouragement;
2. Encourage research and development in enterprises as well as in specialized institutions;
3. Permit hazardous industries only in specified areas. Separate satellite industrial parks will be set up exclusively for such units;
4. Give all encouragement and support to the small-scale and cottage industry sectors. Agencies will be established to give them help in getting scarce raw materials, technology upgradation and marketing of their products. Flow of credit

to these sectors will be enhanced. We will reconsider the Abid Hussain Committee recommendations on SSI units in the light of the difficulties and apprehensions of SSI. The investment limit of Rs. 3 crore will also be reviewed if any misuse of the higher limit is found. The tiny sector will be relieved of labour laws and other legislations by which they are subject to harassment; and,

5. Ensure a healthy capital market with the twin objectives of increasing capital investment in the corporate sector and of providing protection to the investing public.

Making Labour a Proud Partner in the Nation's Progress

OUR plan to reform the reform process through the Swadeshi approach, includes:

1. A strong commitment to make labour, both organized and unorganized, an equal and proud partner in the nation's progress;
2. Rationalize and simplify labour laws.
3. Recognize trade unions on the basis of secret ballot.
4. Introduce worker-participation from the shopfloor to the boardroom.
5. Strengthen institutional mechanisms to ensure speedy, just and corruption-free redressal of labour grievances.

Policy on Tourism

THE BJP recognizes the importance of tourism as a generator of jobs and foreign exchange. Its Government will:

1. Promote tourism as a way to have a more meaningful and wider understanding of India and its people.
2. Evolve a national policy for tourism to provide needed infrastructure such as hotels, transports and removal of bureaucratic impediments.
3. Create a regulatory mechanism to avoid long-term damage to the heritage and the environment.
4. Take care of the pilgrimage component of tourism by ensuring the cleanliness, basic facilities, etc. at pilgrimage centres of all sects.
5. Shift the exclusive emphasis from five-star tourism to tourism for the masses.

6. Enable India to have its rightful share in the growing global tourism industry, while ensuring that Indian culture, heritage and values are preserved and projected.

Policy on Infrastructure

SINCE infrastructure constitutes a critical aspect of the national economy, an overview of the BJP's thinking on infrastructure is presented under:

Policy on Energy and Power

INVESTMENT in power must be accelerated urgently. Any further delay in adding new capacity will inflict considerable costs on the economy.

1. In power generation, most of the private sector investments have got bogged down in never-ending negotiations. The Government will ensure that all eight 'fast track' projects start construction in 1998.
2. Transmission and distribution need to be strengthened. After appropriate study, a National and/or Regional Power Trading Corporation may be set up for efficient use of the generated power. Power Grid Corporation's plans to implement a national grid will be speeded up. To ensure that private investors in this sub-sector do not have the same experience as their counterparts in generation, the Government will create a standardized application procedure with clear and transparent rules for their entry;
3. The Government will strive for a national consensus to ensure that, in five years, a commercially viable power tariff structure comes into operation;
4. BHEL will be revitalized to expand its capacity to emerge as a global player in the next five years;
5. The Government will review the liquid fuel policy and institute a more efficient and fair policy regime;
6. To encourage non-conventional sources of energy, the Ministry of Non-conventional Energy Sources and IREDA will be strengthened. Large-scale research and development will be instituted to develop more non-conventional energy;
7. Other things being equal, preference will be given to Indian companies in power generation and distribution;

8. The long-stalled nuclear power programme will be restarted. India has mastered the technology and the entire nuclear fuel cycle. There is no reason why only two nuclear plants have gone critical in the last seven years. Instead of importing nuclear power technology from Russia, there is no reason why our trained engineers should not be exporting Indian nuclear power technology to foreign countries;
9. In the oil sector, the Government will involve the Indian private sector in oil extraction and refining on the explored oil fields and will, on viable terms, allow Indian joint ventures with foreign companies in oil exploration and extraction; and,
10. In the coal sector, the Government will increase the production of coal, reduce costs and raise productivity. It will involve the Indian private sector in coal mining so as to meet the increased energy needs of the country.

Railways

TRANSPORT must become multi-modal to meet the needs of development. The most important type of transport is the Indian Railways. The rate of growth of the Railways has come down. A complete review of the working of the Indian Railways would have to be undertaken along with a study of the use of roads in the areas served by the Railways. There are thousands of kilometers of rail track lying unused, while the roads alongside those very tracks are overburdened with traffic, despite Railways being cheaper.

1. Private participation in using such idle railway tracks will be allowed;
2. An efficiency audit of the Railways will have to be done to prevent wastage and disuse of stores and rolling stock;
3. Also, a study should be done to ensure that trains carry payloads up to 4,000 tonnes;
4. We will institute research and development for the Indian Railways suited to Indian conditions.;
5. Container transport will be encouraged on a point-to-point basis; and,
6. The Railways will also run pilgrimage specials connecting the several places of pilgrimage in the country both from a commercial point of view and service to the pilgrims,

as well as from the standpoint of national integration.

Roads and Bridges

INADEQUATE road networks have led to higher transportation costs that have also eroded the international competitiveness of the Indian economy. Trucks in India travel only 200-250 kilometers a day, compared to 500-600 kilometers a day in developed countries. Therefore, proper road construction will lead to a big increase in transport efficiency. For this purpose, the BJP will do the following things:

1. The National Highways Authority of India will be made the regulator for this sector. It will be responsible for setting tolls, inviting bids from private companies, evaluating them and awarding them. The BJP will continue with the current fiscal incentives for this sector. Like in other sectors, it will identify the non-fiscal barriers to investment in this sector, for their speedy removal;
2. The Government will identify the four most heavily used stretches of the national highway system. It will formulate and implement an action plan to upgrade them within two years using both the public and private sectors wherever necessary. It is important that these critical bottlenecks be removed as soon as possible;
3. For all other highways, the Government will invite the private sector to upgrade them, for which they will collect toll revenues. If the private sector is not interested, the Government will create a State-owned National Highway Development Corporation that will go ahead and upgrade these highways, for which it will also levy tolls;
4. A proportion of the taxes on motor vehicles and on petrol and diesel collected in each city will be handed over to that city or town to use to upgrade the roads in those cities; and,
5. Except for very long distance and high investment projects, the policy will be to involve only the Indian private sector in the bids.

Inland Waterways

THERE is an enormous potential for inland waterways in India. The estimated length of waterways available is over 30,000 kilometers and they touch almost all the important centres in our country. The cost of water transport is a third of the cost of surface transport. Waterways were once considered to be better for India than other forms of transport in many areas. The development of waterways will also lead to the proper maintenance of reservoirs and canals, since revenue would be generated from water transport. The BJP will develop a blueprint for water transport and allow private parties to get into inland water transport.

Sea Ports

MOST Indian ports are operating at more than 100 per cent capacity. Yet they are very inefficient when compared to other parts in the region. As part of a proper ports development programme, the BJP will do the following things:

1. Convert ports into companies that can raise funds from the debt and equity markets. The initial shareholding of this company can be divided four ways with the central Government, the State Government, the city administration and the general public;
2. Ports will be encouraged to invest in the latest information technology and cargo handling equipment to reduce turnaround time;
3. The workers of ports should be retrained to use these new technologies. Ports must be more efficient, but they need to become so without displacing too many workers;
4. Develop Mumbai and Vishakhapatnam ports as megaports, which will be warehouses for the country on either seaboard;
5. Private sector minor ports should be encouraged. They will take the load of the bigger ports; and
6. Except for large international ports, in other cases, preference will be given to Indian companies.

Coastal Shipping

INDIA has a long coastline and its peninsular formation is ideally suited for development of coastal shipping. Considering

that coastal shipping is cheaper than surface transport and further considering that nearly 30 per cent of the cargo carried by Indian Railways is coal, coastal shipping can relieve the surface transport sector of a big burden. Indian private sector will be involved in coastal shipping development. Cheaper movement of coal by coastal shipping will also enable thermal power generation along the coastline to transmit power inland.

Telecommunications

The aim of our telecom policy will be to:

1. Increase the number of phone lines dramatically, especially in villages; and,
2. Satisfy the more demanding audio, video and data communications needs of business and homes.

For these purposes, the BJP Government will take the following steps:

1. The Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 will be replaced with new legislation that takes into account the advances in the last century and more and reflects the current and future status of the telecom sector;
2. The Government's role will be that of a regulator, so the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India will be strengthened;
3. The department of telecom will be converted into a company called India Telecom. To expedite the shift from a Government department to a profit-making company, the Government will divest a portion of its shareholdings in India Telecom at the appropriate time;
4. The Government will not discriminate between Government-owned companies or the new private companies coming into operation. All restrictions (inter-circle, long-distance, international) will be removed on schedule, or earlier, in the interests of greater competition;
5. However, the Government will maximize the returns from the companies that it already owns (India Telecom, VSNL, MTNL, IIT). To make these telecom companies competitive, they need to have the freedom to hire the best people and pay them market salaries. These companies will be given this freedom;
6. Since India is expected to have the sixth-largest number

of phones in the world in the next few years, it must have a telecom-manufacturing industry to match this. The Government will encourage the creation of world-class telecom-manufacturing in India, that is encouraged to use indigenously developed technology; and,

7. The Government policy for foreign direct investment will discourage foreign majority holdings in telecommunication companies.

The BJP's Approach to the WTO

1. The major task facing our country in the economic sphere is the preservation of a measure of autonomy in the management of the national economy, which the Congress Government surrendered meekly by accepting without resistance the highly prejudicial WTO conditionalities. The Government should have the sovereign and inalienable right to choose its economic system as well as its legal, social, cultural and political system in accordance with its historic traditions, national genius and the express will of its people. This would be the foremost objective of our party to restore the desired autonomy.
2. Agriculture, which concerns the bulk of our people and, in particular, WTO issues connected with subsidies, fertilizers and seeds so that the interests of the farmer and consumer of food are not sacrificed would be adequately examined. No legislations concerning agriculture and commitments under the Uruguay Round would be allowed to be implemented without full democratic discussion.
3. The small-scale sector, which is the backbone of our economy and employment would not be exposed to unequal competition, both from large houses in the country and from the transnational corporations from abroad. The small-scale sector would be strengthened.
4. The agreement on services, particularly financial services, would be monitored in respect of the entry of powerful foreign interests in our country. The immigration laws abroad should also not confuse rights of the developed countries for effective opportunities for our people in those countries.

5. The patent system, in particular, would not be allowed to become an import monopoly and working of a patent and dissemination of technology would be ensured by an effective and strong 'license of right' and 'compulsory license' regime.
6. The BJP would strive to work out a strategy and consensus within the nation and with all nations similarly placed to lobby for legitimately justified modification of the perspective, programmes, rules and schedule of the WTO.

□

Social Infrastructure

A Better Standard of Living is Every Indian's Birthright

DESPITE various programmes launched at various points of time and although food production has touched 195 million tonnes from a low of 50 million tonnes in 1951, India still loses 11 per cent of under five children and 3 to 4 per cent women in the reproductive age group due to malnutrition. It is a reflection of the performance of previous Governments that 53 per cent of the country's children aged under five are malnourished. India has an abysmal record of 28 per cent low birth weight babies. Fifty per cent of the population suffers from iron deficiency and 20 per cent of all maternal deaths are due to anemia. To wipe out these shameful figures, the BJP will:

1. Ensure household food security commensurate with the national food security so that all families in rural and urban areas get two square meals a day by the year 2003;
2. Review and vigorously implement the National Nutrition Policy and the Plan of Action on Nutrition so that all goals are achieved by their target dates;
3. Revamp and expand the scope of Integrated Child Development Services; and,
4. Use the PDS effectively to help the poorest of the poor.

Housing for All: A New Habitat Policy

THE BJP recognizes that soon one-third of India's population will be living in urban centres. It is important to ensure planned development of these centres from small towns to the big cities and the large metropolises. Urban slums are rapidly developing and conditions in them deteriorating. Particularly important are the problems of drinking water, sewage and waste disposal in

urban centres. There is a severe shortage of housing both in the urban and rural areas. For us, shelter is a basic human need that must be met at all cost. Extensive housing schemes also generate employment. Therefore, the BJP will:

1. Evolve a National Housing and Habitat Policy in consultation with State Governments and Urban Development Authorities. The policy will aim at providing shelter to all by year 2010 and also facilitate the construction of 20 lakh new houses each year;
2. Review the provisions of the Urban Land Ceiling Act and ensure that land and property prices do not escalate as they have in the past;
3. Promote affordable mass housing for low and middle-income groups;
4. Make available adequate credit to house-seekers on attractive terms;
5. Take steps to make additional rented accommodation available; and
6. Launch special concessional schemes to provide rural poor with adequate and affordable housing.

Health for All

OUR goal will be 'Health for All' by 2003, but the poor and disadvantaged will be a special responsibility. Health delivery is most effective when decentralized to State, district and local levels, with communities taking leadership and responsibility for health and development. In this context, our ancient and local wisdom is of greatest importance. Public health cannot be regarded as only a consumer of resource. It is essential for the creation of a good society with high productivity. It is an investment in human resources. Towards this end, we will strive for:

1. Clean drinking water in all villages and slums;
2. Attaining 100 per cent universal immunization of children against preventable diseases;
3. Vigorously attacking eradicable diseases like yaws, leprosy and filariasis;
4. Promoting awareness on cleanliness, sanitation and disease prevention;
5. Emphasizing prevention of diseases and maintenance

of health which has been the basis of Indian culture and canalizing resources based on this philosophy;

6. Promoting traditional and alternative systems of medicine such as Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani, Homeopathy, Naturopathy, with particular emphasis on traditional wisdom and indigenous knowledge, with full quality assurance;
7. Safeguarding traditional medical knowledge and natural resources;
8. Spending more on pre-natal and post-natal health care programmes and thus drastically reducing India's infant mortality rate and under-five mortality rate;
9. Launching an attack through existing programmes relating to AIDS, tuberculosis and vector borne diseases like malaria, dengue haemorrhagic fever and kalaazar, with special attention to elimination of shortfalls/deficiencies in implementation;
10. Introducing health impact assessment in all development projects;
11. Ensuring that essential drugs are available at affordable prices;
12. Introducing low-cost health insurance schemes;
13. Providing concessional health care for the aged;
14. Instituting a mechanism to monitor and collate health-related information and ensure timely intervention through surveillance;
15. Providing every panchayat with a free and truly functional basic healthcare centre, particularly with facilities for mother and child care; as well as access to these centres;
16. Making the screening of blood at blood banks mandatory and provide for punitive punishment for any violation; and,
17. Making doctors, para-medical and non-medical staff at Government and private hospitals and healthcare centres accountable by suitable law.

Education for All

It is sad that fifty years after independence, the cherished goal of universal primary education enshrined in the

Constitution, which was to have been implemented by 1960, yet remains to be achieved. In recent years, State support for education has been wholly inadequate. Quality education is fast becoming the preserve of the social and economic elite of the country. We hold that education is both a human right and a means to bring about transformation to a dynamic, humane, thinking society. Towards this end, the BJP will:

1. Increase State spending on education progressively to six per cent and more of our Gross National Product within five years;
2. Achieve near complete functional literacy in five years, particularly by mobilizing societal participation and full literacy by the year 2010.
3. Launch a nationwide Educational Quality Improvement Campaign covering all institutions from primary schools to universities;
4. Accord priority to free primary education and enroll the help of locally-funded non-government organizations in this area; also integrate early childhood care and pre-primary education with primary education;
5. Offer incentives in the form of free text books, mid-day meals and nutrition programmes and stipends to check dropout rate so that at least 80 per cent children, both boys and girls, who enroll, complete primary school education;
6. Introduce self-employment oriented vocational training programmes at high school level which will also be open to working youth interested in skill upgradation;
7. Introduce an anti-cheating law which will be applicable to all States and whose abuse will be prevented through adequate safeguards; ensure that examinations are held on time;
8. Set up a special monitoring authority to scrutinize the quality of education and remove gender disparity;
9. Ensure autonomy to universities and to colleges under them. Rid them of corruption and other baneful influences. Encourage them to mobilize resources for research and higher education and provide academic freedom to our scholars, especially in the social sciences;

10. Restore to teachers self-esteem and make teaching a respectable profession;
11. Create centres of educational excellence in our academic system that can set an example and build self-confidence. Our Government will select 10 to 20 centres of higher learning and research that will be supported in all manner to make them world class;
12. Take the help of industry to set up more agro-industrial and technical institutions that will provide affordable education;
13. Replace the system of capitation fees by loan linked schemes and monitor the functioning of private engineering and medical institutions;
14. Launch a scheme for low interest bank loans for meritorious students who want to go in for higher education;
15. Thwart attempts by dubious, so-called foreign universities, colleges and institutes to open branches in India and prevent the outflow of foreign exchange on studies abroad unless the course is relevant to our needs and requirements;
16. Provide specialized opportunities for highly talented students at school level;
17. Introduce agriculture studies as a subject in rural schools;
18. Ensure that traditional knowledge and skills are preserved and disseminated;
19. Seek the help of industrial establishments for rapid proliferation of technical education;
20. Encourage the enrichment, preservation and development of all Indian languages, including Sanskrit and Urdu; and,
21. Encourage greater participation of social and charitable institutions in expanding the network of educational institutions and in improving their standards.

□

Our Agriculture, Our Farmers, Our Villages

Revitalized Rural Economy, Revitalized National Economy

AGRICULTURE sustains 71.4 per cent of the nation's population. It is the mainstay of India's economy and culture. India is blessed with every natural resource needed for sustaining a strong agricultural economy. We have vast cultivable land, ample sources of water, forests and most importantly, year-long tropical sunlight. We have a large agricultural human resource that has inherited a rich and hoary tradition in farming. It has also acquired the tools of modern science and technology. The combination of these two resources could have transformed Free India into a continental granary. But fifty years of neglect, corruption and wrong policies by successive Congress and quasi-Congress Governments have severely handicapped the Indian farmer and the entire rural economy. 'Villager is the salt of Indian earth,' said Mahatma Gandhi. 'Jai Kisan' said Lal Bahadur Shastri. But in the last five decades, a majority of our kisans have become poor and harried outcasts in their own country, with no respectful place in the Governments' scheme of things. Today they are on the margins of India's economic, social, cultural and political life.

Rural India and Urban India Complement and Supplement Each Other

THE BJP is of the considered view that India will not become a strong, prosperous and confident nation until and unless there is a qualitative improvement in our rural economy and the condition of our kisans. In the absence of any comprehensive and enlightened agricultural policy, the Congress Governments made

no attempt either to ensure remunerative prices for farmers based on a scientific assessment of all the input costs or to bring about a rational balance between the prices of agricultural and industrial products. Institutional credit and marketing support for the Indian kisan was deliberately kept weak and unreliable. As a result, the hardworking Indian kisan was pushed into poverty and the vicious clutches of debt. Newspapers have reported about 'serial suicides' by farmers in Andhra Pradesh. In 1950-51, the ratio between per capita rural and urban income was 1:2. Today, it has become 1:4.

The BJP believes that the one-fourth urban India cannot have balanced development without the rapid development of the three-fourths rural India. Hence, rural India is not antagonistic, but complementary and supplementary to urban India.

BJP's Agenda for Reinvigorating Rural India

- The BJP attaches the highest priority to ensuring India's food security and to the crying need to rid India of the scourge of hunger. Towards the goal of creating a hunger-free society, our Government shall appeal to Indian kisans to double food production by the year 2010 and pledges all support for the realization of this objective.
- The BJP pledges to reverse the process of economic, social and political marginalization of India's rural population and effectively fight the elitist, anti-kisan Congress mindset, which engendered this process.
- The BJP is committed to restore agriculture to its proper place in the national economy and re-establish, before the close of the first decade of the next century, India's farmers as a strong and self-confident community enjoying the fruits of prosperity and social justice.
- We shall take all the necessary steps to vastly increase both public and private investment in agriculture and agro-based industries, with the aim of harnessing its full potential for rural wealth generation and productive employment generation. In this, our priority will be the small and medium farmers and small-scale industries and businesses.
- Transfer of technology and development of appropriate technology has become a matter of great urgency

for the revitalization of the rural economy. We shall support all initiatives to make agriculture knowledge-intensive, drawing on both ancient and modern farm techniques.

Jai Kisan: Our Commitments to the Farm and Rural sector

1. Earmark 60 per cent of Plan funds in the budget for agricultural and rural development.
2. Make a quantum increase in Governmental and private investment in improving the rural infrastructure of irrigation, all-weather roads, transport, power, telecommunication and credit and financing facilities.
3. Substantially increase Governmental and private investment in strengthening the social infrastructure in rural areas in the fields of drinking water, education, health-care, sanitation and housing.
4. Through a massive plan of rural housing, the goal of 'Shelter for All' will be achieved by the year 2010. At least half the task will be sought to be achieved in the next five years.
5. Give all possible support to increasing milk production and animal husbandry. Priority will be given to setting up milk processing and milk product manufacturing units close to the catchment area.
6. To make agriculture sustainable for even the smallest farmer, the following initiatives will be taken:
 - (a) Remunerative prices for the entire range of agriculture produce by linking them to input costs. Towards this end, our Government will constitute an Agriculture Costs and Prices Commission. Two-thirds of its members will be agriculturists and farm experts. The Commission will be an autonomous body and its recommendations will be mandatory. It will also recommend ways of achieving a balance between the prices of agricultural produce and industrial goods and services.
 - (b) In the interim, support price for farm produce to be linked to the general price index.
 - (c) To help the farmers through a number of governmental

and cooperative schemes to reduce per acre production cost.

- (d) To help the farmers through a number of governmental and cooperative schemes to increase per acre farm productivity. Towards this end, attractive incentives will be instituted for those who achieve exceptionally high standards of productivity.
 - (e) To reduce the dependence on primary agriculture production by encouraging profitable ancillary activities.
 - (f) To begin a nationwide crop and animal husbandry insurance scheme to cover all farmers.
7. Allow free movement of foodgrains throughout the country.
 8. Unveil a comprehensive policy for bringing waste and barren land into productive agriculture or agro-forestry use. Private sector companies will be encouraged to invest in this activity, provided individual farmers and village cooperatives are given substantial share in the equity holding.
 9. Give a new thrust to social forestry, horticulture, vegetable growing, floriculture, sericulture, mushroom farming.
 10. Encourage inland fisheries, piggeries and bee-keeping.
 11. As part of a comprehensive National Agri-business Policy, help setting up of value-addition chains to link production, preservation, transportation, processing, packaging and marketing. This policy envisions the participation of the individual agriculturist not only as a primary producer and supplier, but as a shareholder who will benefit from profits generated at every stage of the value chain.
 12. Vastly expand the network of warehouses and mandis (market yards). Our policy will make it mandatory for the mandis to pay 80 per cent of the price as an interim payment at the time of delivery of the farmer's produce.
 13. Delicense the sugar industry and decontrol the price and movement of molasses.
 14. Encourage co-generation of power, as also production of a wide variety of sugar-based by-products at all the sugar mills in India.
 15. Continue subsidy on fertilizers.

16. Set up a vast network of easily reachable farmers' service centres and expand the scope of extension programmes.
17. Make comprehensive documents available to farmers giving land records, ownership and all other relevant information. Our Government will also promote rapid computerization of these records.
18. Reform land acquisition laws with the following objectives: (a) Farmers should get prompt and full compensation for his land at market rates; (b) Farmers who have to part with their land for industrial or urbanization projects should also be made shareholders in these projects; and (c) If any public or private sector agency which acquires farm land for a particular project fails to execute it within a specified period, the Government will take it back from the promoters.
19. Boost export of agriculture goods, especially processed goods, in a big way. Imports will be kept to the bare minimum and that too if warranted by extraordinary circumstances. In both export and import of farm goods, the interests of Indian kisans will be given the highest consideration.
20. Bolster efforts to increase productivity in dryland farming.
21. Re-orient agricultural planning on the basis of agro-climatic zoning of the entire country to fully harness the natural benefits of land fertility and ecosystems for specific agricultural produce.

Our Steps to Provide Irrigation Facilities

1. Double the area under irrigation in ten years through optimal use of small, medium and large projects. Priority will be given to small and minor irrigation projects with local investment and management participation.
2. Complete ongoing irrigation projects within a specified period and launch new projects on a firm, time-bound basis.
3. Encourage the use of alternative sources of irrigation through incentives and better water management.
4. Give attractive incentives for the popularization of drip irrigation and sprinkler irrigation systems.
5. Ensure that farmers are made to pay only for the water

they consume.

6. Draw up a master plan for flood control and harnessing of flood waters for irrigation. Offer prompt compensation for crops lost in floods.
7. Take effective steps to raise the ground water level.
8. Check waterlogging, salination and soil erosion.
9. Institute a Regional Water Corporation to plan and increase water supplies.

Our Steps to Revive Village Industry

1. Establish an extensive chain of small-scale, tiny and cottage industry units.
2. Give the greatest impetus to this sector by provision of easy and adequate credit at low interest rates.
3. Create new marketing opportunities and facilities for rural artisans and craftsmen.
4. Set up a National Artisan Development Bank.
5. Set up special institutes for skill upgradation.
6. Give attractive incentives for bio-gas units.
7. Create weekly mandis in towns and cities in which villagers and artisans can sell their products directly to urban consumers.

Our Steps to Provide Power for Agriculture

1. Accelerate total rural electrification so that no village is left without power in the next five years.
2. Ensure adequate and reliable supply of quality power for agricultural activity.
3. Set up small power stations and sub-stations in rural areas for supplying power exclusively to villages.
4. The frequent breaking down of transformers and distributors in rural areas causes havoc with agricultural operations. SEBs, though, don't have the money to replace these assets. The Government will encourage farmers (and other users) to form cooperatives to install, maintain and charge for these rural electrical equipment. Loans from the Rural Electrification Corporation will be given for this.

Our Steps to Strengthen the Rural Cooperative Movement

1. To unveil a National Rural Cooperatives Policy which will review the working of the cooperative sector so far, simplify rules and regulations governing the functioning of cooperative societies and introduce necessary reforms to bring this sector in line with the reforms in the rest of the national economy.
2. The policy will also recommend measures to promote the cooperative movement in States where it is weak and ailing.
3. Free cooperatives from political and bureaucratic interference.
4. Take effective steps to eliminate corruption and nepotism in cooperative bodies.
5. Ensure that rural cooperatives are not only commercially viable but also promote equity and social justice.
6. Make entry in passbooks mandatory for all money deposits.
7. Only those entirely dependent on agriculture will be allowed to become members of farmers' cooperative societies.
8. Ensure free, fair and timely elections to cooperative bodies.
9. Encourage collaboration between the cooperative sector and the corporate sector in the areas of marketing, manufacturing, technology transfer, mobilization of investible resources and exports. All necessary measures will, however, be taken to ensure that the interests of small and medium farmers are not only protected but promoted by such collaborative ventures.
10. The BJP will enact the long-pending Multi-State Cooperative Act.
11. Multiple and often conflicting laws and agencies governing cooperative banks and other rural financial institutions will be streamlined.

Our Steps to Implement Land Reforms

1. Enforce the implementation of land ceiling laws in all States.
2. Set up designated courts to quickly deal with all land ceiling disputes and monitoring enforcement of verdicts.
3. Expedite distribution of ceiling surplus land among landless

farmers.

4. Monitor the use of the distributed land to prevent its alienation from beneficiaries.
5. Reclaim cultivable land lying fallow.
6. Time-bound registration of all lands.
7. Decide ownership rights at the level of Gram Panchayats without any delay.

Our Steps to Improve Rural Education

1. Re-orient education in villages and rural towns to address the varied needs of agriculture, agro-processing, agri-services, management and other areas of the rural economy. Agriculture and related subjects will be specially included in the curriculum in rural schools.
2. Give a big boost to technical and vocational education as it is crucial to the development of rural human resources.
3. Set up a chain of Krishi Vidyalayas in each block to enrich the knowledge content and expertise of young people who are engaged in farming and farm-related activities.
4. Increase facilities for informal farm education, short-term courses, seminars, field trips, etc. for the benefit of practicing agriculturists.
5. Give a major boost to rural R&D by strengthening the link between agricultural universities and top achievers in the farming community.

Our Steps to Ensure Cow Protection

THE BJP regrettably observes that, despite Article 48 of the Constitution, millions of cows and cow progeny are slaughtered every year, most of them for export, thereby causing irreparable harm to agriculture and villages. Keeping in view Article 48, the BJP will:

1. Impose a total ban on the slaughter of cows and cow-progeny, including bulls and bullocks and prohibit all trade, including export (state as well as private) in beef.
2. Create a policy that will result in improved cattle breeding.
3. Exempt the income of Goshalas and Pinjrapoles from tax.

The BJP recognizes the fact that from times immemorial, cow-protection has remained at the basics of Indian culture and

Indian agriculture and it is on the patient back of the cow and its progeny that the entire structure of Indian agriculture rests. Over seven crore animals are employed in farming operations in Indian villages, more than 80 per cent of the rural transport needs are met by the bullock cart. Our livestock is also an effective protection against environmental degradation.

□

Our Foreign Policy

Protecting India's National Interest

THE end of the Cold War has brought with it hopes of an era of peace and harmony. We see many welcome new manifestations in our collective attitudes towards resolving longstanding international issues of common concern relating to the environment, health, economic development and conflict resolution.

While the possibilities are immense, some old habits persist. We see a renewed tendency by some big powers to dominate and to impose conditionalities to advance their political and economic interest even if it is detrimental to others. There are also perceived notions of civilizational conflicts as also spurts in conflicts. This demands that India's national interest must be protected and pursued more vigorously. Our diplomacy must, therefore, be proactive rather than being merely reactive without sacrificing the values of peace, equality and cooperation.

In the recent past we have seen a tendency to bend under pressure. This arises as much out of ignorance of our rightful place and role in world affairs as also from a loss of national self-confidence and resolve. A nation as large and capable as ourselves must make its impact felt on the world arena. A BJP Government will demand a premier position for the country in all global fora.

The BJP rejects the notion of nuclear apartheid and will actively oppose attempts to impose a hegemonistic nuclear regime by means of CTBT, FMCR and MTCR. We will not be dictated to by anybody in matters of security requirements and in the exercise of the nuclear option. We will pursue our national goals and principles steadfastly. Briefly these are:

1. To give India a role and position in world affairs

- commensurate with its size and capability;
2. To promote sovereign equality among nations. The BJP rejects all forms of political and economic hegemonism and is committed to actively resisting such efforts;
 3. To vigorously pursue endeavors for India to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. We believe that the existing arrangements in the UN are tilted in the favor of certain countries to serve their narrow interest. We are committed to the reform of the UN;
 4. To re-orient Indian diplomacy to our economic and commercial goals and to ensure that our missions abroad play a more active and supportive role in meeting these;
 5. To ensure greater coordination between the ministries and agencies responsible for external affairs, defence, finance, international trade and our external and internal intelligence;
 6. To promote greater regional and civilizational relationship and strive for Asian solidarity in general and the development of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation in particular. Integral to this would be renewed efforts to improve bilateral relationships with all neighboring countries without any third party mediation or interference;
 7. To have greater interaction with more African nations and to build ties with our traditional friends like Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe;
 8. To place relations with the USA on a more even platform based on mutual respect, shared values and congruence of interests. We expect the United States to be more sensitive to India's security and economic interests;
 9. To further develop the long and traditional relationship with Russia by increased cooperation in trade, technology, defence and other security related areas. India and Russia have many common interests in Asia and we will strive for greater cooperation to serve them;
 10. To strengthen political and economic relations with the European Unions, ASEAN countries, Japan, South Korea, South Africa, Iran, the Arab nations, Israel, Central Asian republics and fellow Commonwealth nations;

11. To take active steps to persuade Pakistan to abandon its present policy of hostile interference in our internal affairs by supporting insurgent and terrorist groups. The BJP affirms unequivocally India's sovereignty over the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, including the areas under foreign occupations;
12. To improve relations with China by seeking speedy resolution of the outstanding border problem. Even while doing so we will seek greater cross-border trade and cooperation in other areas. We are also concerned about China continuing transfer of advanced weapons and technologies to Pakistan as this has a vital bearing on our ties with China;
13. To support a united Sri Lanka within which the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil people should be fully accommodated. The BJP greatly regrets the continuing bloodshed particularly since the Indian people have long standing, traditional and fraternal ties with the Sri Lankan people;
14. To maintain the unique, warm and friendly relations with Nepal with which India has the closest cultural, religious and historical ties. We will seek to widen existing areas of cooperation and also develop new avenues of fruitful cooperation. We recognize in particular the great scope for increasing cooperation in the energy and environment related areas. A BJP Government will seek to resolve all outstanding issues quickly;
15. To further improve relationship with Myanmar with which India has a long border and age-old cultural, religious and historical ties. There is much scope for greater cooperation in the fields of defence, security, economy and culture;
16. To further consolidate the close and friendly ties between India and Bhutan;
17. To reinforce the improving relations with Bangladesh. We however continue to view with concern the unabated illegal infiltration into India from that country and will seek the active participation of the Bangladesh authorities in curbing this; and,
18. To take an active role in seeking an early and peaceful

resolutions of the internecine Afghan conflict particularly since its continuance has adverse security implications for India and the development of trade and economic cooperation with countries in the region.

The BJP re-affirms its commitment to peace amongst all nations; to the prosperity of the peoples of the world; and to an enhanced role for India in world affairs as befits this great and ancient civilization.



Our Nation's Security

Suraksha for Country and Citizens

THE nation faces grave challenges to its integrity and security as never before. The internal and external security environment has deteriorated sharply in the last decade. The previous Governments have been found wanting in their efforts and determination to face these threats and are responsible for this. Since 1991, the country's defence budget has been declining in real terms. They have declined from 3.4 per cent of the GDP in 1989-90 to a mere 2.2 per cent this year. Successive weak and irresolute Governments have imperiled national security. There is a mistaken view that there is a conflict between national security and economic development. But these two go hand-in-hand. There cannot be economic development without commensurate security preparation and the reverse, too, is equally true.

The dimensions and directions of present and future threats need to be constantly analyzed and evaluated. In the glaring absence of governmental interest and inter-ministerial coordination, the mechanisms for this have fallen into disuse. The armed forces have been ignored in defence policy planning. Misguided bureaucratic interference has demoralized the higher echelons of the armed forces and has also had a telling effect on defence preparedness. The BJP Government will take immediate steps to reverse such negative trends and establish coordination between the armed forces and the Government at all levels.

The BJP notes with concern the inadequate pace of defence research and development despite abundant talent available in DRDO. Inadequate budgetary support is a major reason for this. The inordinate delays in the LCA, nuclear submarine and guided

missiles, and other programmes are matters of particular concern. Our scientists and technologists are second to none and it is lack of political will and clarity on strategic issues that is the main cause of the delay. Defence production performance, too, has not been up to the mark. The performance of defence production units need to be monitored more closely and brought up to acceptable commercial and international standards.

A National Commission will study and analyze the trends in defence technologies and appropriately advise the Government on the development and induction of advanced weapons.

External Security

THE frenetic pace of military expansion and modernization by some of our neighbors and the growing pressure and power of foreign navies in the Indian Ocean compel us to take the state of our defence preparedness very seriously. We also cannot remain oblivious to the new developments in weapon technology and the induction of very advanced conventional weapons systems in the region by some power. These must be neutralized. We are, therefore, committed to:

1. Establish a National Security Council to constantly analyze security, political and economic threats and render continuous advice to the Government. This Council will undertake India's first-ever Strategic Defence Review to study and analyze the security environment and make appropriate recommendations to cover all aspects of defence requirements and organization;
2. Re-evaluate the country's nuclear policy and exercise the option to induct nuclear weapons;
3. Expedite the development of the Agni series of ballistic missiles with a view to increasing their range and accuracy;
4. Increase the radius of power projection by inducting appropriate force multipliers such as battlefield surveillance systems and air-to-air refueling;
5. Enhance the traditional and technical capabilities of our external intelligence agencies and also to increase the interaction and co-ordination with user departments; and,
6. Place para-military forces in sensitive border areas under the full control of the Indian Army.

Jai Jawan

THE country is justly proud of its soldiers who constantly brave the elements, endure extreme hardships and risk their lives to defend the nation. Service in the armed forces must be made attractive for young people and must be considered a honour. Consequently:

1. The BJP Government will take measures to make employment in the armed forces more rewarding and secure for soldiers greater respect of society;
2. The BJP Government will suitably improve living and service conditions and expeditiously rectify existing anomalies;
3. The BJP Government will recognize the services and sacrifices of retired personnel and attend to their problems immediately;
4. The BJP Government will increase the benefits and compensation to widows and dependents of service personnel who die in action;
5. The BJP Government will be committed to increasing avenues of lateral induction into other security forces and other Government departments/undertakings/agencies for retired officers and jawans; and,
6. The BJP Government will appoint a committee to examine the question of retirement age at different levels in the armed forces and make appropriate recommendation to this effect.

Internal Security

THE BJP will give utmost attention to security-sensitive areas in the North, the North-East and the South. The BJP Government will review the role and performance of the police organizations and take urgent steps to revitalize them. We recognize the need for the permanent cadre officers in CPO's to have greater avenues for advancement.

The BJP Government will ensure far greater co-ordination between the armed forces, police organizations and the administration in areas beset with insurgency and terrorism. Armed insurgents and foreign mercenaries will be eliminated. Our security forces will

be given a free hand to deal with armed insurgency and terrorism.

The BJP Government will revamp the intelligence agencies to enhance their effectiveness and ensure greater coordination with security and police forces.

Central and State Police Forces will be reorganized and modernized while simultaneously improving working and living conditions of their personnel.

Jammu and Kashmir

WE welcome the restoration of an elected Government in the State. The BJP Government will take suitable measures for establishing a durable peace in the State to promote progress and prosperity. Repeated massacres of Hindus in Kashmir show that unless the State Government takes the business of curbing militancy seriously, durable peace will be hard to achieve. The BJP Government will strive for a more structured coordination between the Central forces and the State Government.

North-East

THE conditions in the North-Eastern States continue to be disturbed. The situation in Assam in particular has worsened in the last few years. It is the Congress Party's manipulative and corrupt politics that have contributed most to this. Poor governance, corrupt and callous administration, the flow of narcotics and foreign interference have together contributed to the rapid deterioration of the law and order situation. The unchecked and unabated illegal infiltration from Bangladesh has been the single largest causative factor in destabilizing the region. The spread of heroin addiction and HIV infection in some States is cause for utmost concern.

The BJP will give socio-economic problems of this region high priority as lack of development has helped anti-national and separatist elements in their attempt to foment disaffection. We believe development is one of the effective antidotes against such attempts.

The distance between this region and Delhi has further heightened their sense of alienation. Nothing has been done in the past 50 years to bridge this physical and emotional distance. The BJP commits itself to forging new and strong economic and

emotional bonds between the North-East and the rest of India.

Therefore, we propose to do the following in the North-East:

1. Draw up and implement a comprehensive development programme, focusing on basic communications infrastructure like roads, railways, bridges and air link;
2. Harness the immense hydro-electric potential in the region both for rapid development of these States as well as for augmenting the power supply of eastern States, thus enabling the North-East region to mobilise additional resources;
3. Put into place effective checks and balances to prevent seepage of development funds which should reach the people of the region and not be pocketed by a corrupt few.
4. Strengthen the North-Eastern Council to effectively oversee and speed up the social and economic development of the region.
5. The security apparatus will be strengthened to check infiltration, stem the flow of narcotics and weapons and eliminate insurgents;
6. Provide all citizens in the region with identity cards;
7. It will strengthen the North-Eastern Council to effectively oversee and speed up the social and economic development of the region;
8. Repeal the Illegal Migrants Determination by Tribunal Act (IMDTA) and strengthen existing immigration laws and rules; and,
9. Enact new laws and rules to make illegal infiltration difficult and deny the extension of benefits of citizenship to such entrants.

Illegal Infiltration

THE Congress and United Front Governments for their own narrow and selfish reasons have been deliberately negligent of this problem. The total number of illegal infiltrators from Bangladesh is officially ascertained at over 1.7 crore. The adverse impact of this on our economy and social and political order poses problems of grave magnitude. This cannot be allowed to continue. Our Government will:

1. Take more stringent measures to intercept illegal infiltrators and turn them back. Fencing of the border wherever possible will be urgently taken up. Border patrolling will be intensified;
2. Initiate steps to detect illegal infiltrators and delete their names from electoral rolls; and,
3. Maintain a national register of citizens.

The BJP has the vision and the political will to transform India into a prosperous and powerful nation in the initial decades of the next century. A strong and secure India is an essential requisite for this.



Our Social Philosophy

Rooted in Integral Humanism

THE Bharatiya Janata Party's social agenda flows from its ideology of Integral Humanism. Our ideology rules out contradictions between society and its very components, as also between society and the individual. Our concern for the last man in the last row is as deep as that for the first man in the first row, if not more. The BJP's concept of social justice, therefore, does not seek to create rifts and schisms between various sections of society, but aims at removing social and economic disparities that have resulted in denial of a share in power, impoverishment and erosion of human dignity. An ideal society is not one that is compartmentalized in segments, but is an integral whole, harmonious and conflict-free. Hence, we subscribe to *Samajik Samarasata* (social harmony) and *Samajik Nyaya* (social justice) and strive to avoid social strife.

Equal Rights for all in *Satta* (power), *Sampatti* (prosperity) and *Samman* (dignity)

1. The BJP will actively promote a casteless socio-economic order that will effectively provide access to equal opportunity for all citizens, irrespective of their caste, creed, religion and gender.
2. The BJP will, if necessary through legislation, dismantle practices, customs, beliefs, usages and institutions, which in any manner hurt the dignity of an individual.
3. The BJP will ensure that the place of an individual in society is not determined on the basis of his/her birth.

Untouchability: A Crime Against Humanity

1. The BJP will remove the last vestiges of untouchability, which we believe is an unpardonable crime against humanity.
2. The BJP will strive to inculcate an ethos of equality in social and inter-personal relationships.
3. A befitting National Memorial in honour of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, who dedicated his life to the cause of social justice, will be erected at Chaityabhoomi in Mumbai on the lines of national memorials like Raj Ghat, Shanti Van and Vijay Ghat.

Our Commitment to the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

NEARLY four-and-a-half decades of Congress rule and the recent UF regime have failed to empower the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. While thousands of crores have been spent, ostensibly for their welfare, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes face increasing impoverishment and marginalization. Eighty per cent of members belonging to these sections of Indian society have been pushed below the poverty line. The BJP is committed to the social, economic and political empowerment of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, so that the wrongs of the past are corrected in a time-bound manner for a better future. To fulfill our commitment, we will be guided by a policy whose highlights are as follows:

1. Existing institutions and Constitutional safeguards for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be strengthened and made operationally more effective.
2. The provision of special facilities and preferential opportunities, including reservations, will be implemented in a manner so as to benefit the broadest cross-section and largest number of SCs and STs.
3. The reservations policy will be backed up with a statute and all backlogs will be cleared within a specified time-frame. Special tribunals will be set up under CAT to expeditiously deal with complaints of non-implementation of the reservations policy and related grievances.
4. All cases of atrocities against members of the Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be promptly inquired into and the guilty punished through special courts.

5. A comprehensive development package will be introduced for the economic empowerment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The highlights of this package will include:
 - (a) Setting up of a credit agency on the lines of NABARD to meet individual and institutional credit needs;
 - (b) Vocational training, skill upgradation and financial assistance to encourage greater participation in cottage and rural industries and other means of self-employment;
 - (c) Food-for-education schemes to raise literacy levels;
 - (d) A comprehensive national programme of minor irrigation facilities for irrigable land held by SCs and STs;
 - (e) Endowing every landless rural family of the SCs and STs with land and ensuring sustenance level of income through requisite facilities;
 - (f) Amending the existing forest policy to provide Vanvasis their rightful share of minor forest produce;
 - (g) Processing claims of Vanvasis and Girijans for pattas in forest and hill areas promptly; and,
 - (h) Separate development plans for tribals living in the plains.
6. The specified allocation for the Special Component Plan (17 per cent) for Scheduled Castes and the Tribal Sub-Plan (8 per cent) for Scheduled Tribes within the total Plan allocation will be strictly followed both at the Centre and in the States. Every effort will be made to ensure that allocated funds do not lapse and are spent as per Plan provisions.
7. The pernicious practice of carrying night soil will be eliminated and all those engaged in scavenging rehabilitated.
8. Allotment of pattas for land, home site and homes in the names of wives/widows/ daughters. These will be properly drawn up and handed over to actual beneficiaries;
9. Unifying the Banjaras under a common category and ensuring that they are benefited by the Minimum Needs Programme;

10. Necessary steps to stop the exploitation of tribals by contractors and to free them from indebtedness. We will consider enacting a law whereby the outstanding debts of those tribals who have paid back the principal amount and 50 per cent of the capital as interest, will be written off;
11. Stringent action to prevent tribal land alienation through conversion of tribal land for industrial and other purposes;
12. A National Policy for the 'total rehabilitation' of families displaced by development projects. The policy will include social, economic, educational, environmental, occupational and cultural aspects;
13. An engineering and a medical college will be set up in the national capital in honour of Maharishi Valmiki and Babasaheb Ambedkar. Fifty per cent seats in these institutions will be reserved for students from Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBCs;
14. Panchayat institutions in scheduled areas and tribal areas will be made effective and functional in the light of Bhuria Committee's recommendations;
15. Claims for inclusion into the ST list by erstwhile 'criminal' tribes and others will be entrusted to a commission for recommendations.

Our Commitment to the Welfare of Socially and Educationally Backward Classes

THE BJP is committed to ensuring social and economic justice to the Other Backward Classes. This is integral to our concept of Social Harmony (*Samajik Samarasata*). We reject the divisive and casteist politics of our adversaries that have neither economically empowered the bulk of the OBCs nor reduced their educational backwardness. We propose to:

1. Continue with the current reservations policy for the Other Backward Classes till they are socially and educationally integrated with the rest of society;
2. Provide training, financial support and management facilities for upgradation of skills in traditional industries and professions of OBCs;
3. Take corrective and remedial measures in view of recent

macro-economic policy decisions that have rendered several sections of people belonging to the OBCs jobless; and,

4. Make the National Backward Classes Finance Development Corporation fully operational.

Our Commitment to Minorities: Towards Equal Opportunity and Prosperity

THE BJP's concept of Positive Secularism is: Justice for All, Appeasement of None. In the name of 'secularism', the Congress and the United Front parties have shamelessly pandered to communalism and indulged in 'vote-bank politics'. As a result, members of the minority communities have been reduced to nothing more than numbers to be played with at the time of elections. While these parties have gained, the minorities have lost – as also has India. The minorities have been cynically used for the purpose of garnering votes these past 50 years, but their socio-economic problems have remained unattended. The true meaning of 'secularism', equal respect for all faith – *sarva panth samadar* – has been perverted by the pseudo-secularists into appeasement of regressive elements.

The coming election provides a window of opportunity to the minorities to take a fresh look at the options that are available to them. They should not go blindly with the so-called 'secular' parties that have done nothing to solve their real socio-economic problems. Instead, they should make a clean break with the past and support the BJP. The patron-client relationship advocated by others is different from what we offer – equal rights, equal opportunities, equal privileges and equal responsibilities. Above all, we have proved in the States where the BJP is in power that we can maintain communal peace and harmony; we can ensure security of life and property; and, we can protect the honour and dignity of the minority communities. In keeping with this commitment, we will:

1. Provide all minority communities with equal opportunities for prosperity;
2. Encourage access to education which is the key to social and economic progress;
3. Give all incentives to artisans, especially those involved in traditional arts and crafts;

4. Initiate special self-employment schemes and the requisite training programmes;
5. Launch community programmes for raising the level of awareness among women members of the minority communities and providing them with education;
6. Amend Article 30 of the Constitution suitably to remove any scope of discrimination against any religious community in matters of education;
7. Entrust the responsibilities of the Minorities Commission to the Human Rights Commission, thus providing greater protection to members of minority communities;
8. Set up special courts to try cases of communal violence and, if necessary, amend existing laws to provide for exemplary punishment to those inciting or taking part in communal or sectarian violence. The BJP's commitment is to create a riot-free India;
9. Protect wakf properties from being usurped by unscrupulous individuals and help wakf boards to develop these properties for the welfare of poor Muslim families; and,
10. Ban job advertisements which require applicants to declare their religion.

Our Commitment to Kashmiri Pandits

SEPARATIST and sectarian militancy in Jammu and Kashmir during the late '80s and right up to the mid '90s resulted in mass migration from the Valley and other areas in Kashmir. More than 300,000 people, including 250,000 Kashmiri Pandits and Pandits, and Punjabi and Dogra Hindus, apart from Muslims, were forced to flee their home and hearth in the Valley by terrorists and fundamentalists. The BJP promises immediate action to help those displaced from the Kashmir Valley and other parts of the State. Towards this end, we propose to:

1. Work with the Jammu and Kashmir Government to evolve a feasible scheme for the phased return of the displaced people, especially the Pandits, to their ancient land;
2. Provide all assistance to the Jammu and Kashmir Government in order to ensure that the displaced people receive adequate financial assistance, health care, housing,

education and employment facilities till such time they are able to return to their land;

3. Evolve a rehabilitation package, including adequate assistance to rebuild houses that have been destroyed, that will be an incentive for returning to the Valley; and,
4. Ensure that their security is in no way imperiled after they have returned to the land from which they were forced out against their will.

Our Commitment to Human Rights

THE BJP believes that upholding human dignity, ensuring justice for all and protecting citizens from the tyranny of the State are integral to India's ancient traditions and together form the cornerstone of civil society. A just State is one that is kind but also firm in dealing with those who seek to undermine the foundations of a civil society. We will:

1. Make the National Human Rights Commission a more effective body by providing it with more powers, additional resources and better infrastructural support;
2. Publicize the findings of the National Human Rights Commission and take action against those found guilty on the basis of irrefutable evidence;
3. Inculcate among security forces a greater appreciation of the need to safeguard innocent citizens from being harassed in insurgency-affected areas; and,
4. Include the study of human, civil and democratic rights in school and college curriculum.
5. Prevent foreign interference in the internal affairs of our country under the guise of monitoring human rights violations.

Non-Resident Indians

THE BJP believes that Mother India has a special responsibility towards her children abroad. We will depart from the current policy of disinterest and disregard for Non-Resident Indians and actively pursue a policy that will nourish the umbilical link between all people of Indian origin, wherever they may be, with their motherland. We propose to:

1. Create conditions conducive to the return of talented Non-Resident Indians so that they can fulfill their desire

- to serve their motherland;
2. Strengthen the economic, social, cultural, emotional and spiritual links between Mother India and her children abroad;
 3. Re-examine difficulties in granting dual citizenship to Non-Resident Indians;
 4. Mobilize Non-Resident Indians to effectively lobby India's case with the Governments and business establishments of their host country as well as in international fora. In this context, it would be instructive to study the role of Jews and Chinese in the USA in mobilizing opinion favorable to their countries;
 5. Encourage Indians living abroad to project their national identity even while retaining their respective regional and linguistic identities;
 6. Introduce fresh incentives for Non-Resident Indians to invest in their motherland, like China has done with the Chinese people living abroad;
 7. Play an active role in ensuring job and social security for Non-Resident Indians working in the Gulf and South-East Asian countries with special emphasis on preventing exploitation and providing legal assistance; and,
 8. Revitalize the ties between Mother India and people of Indian origin living in countries like Guyana, West Indies, Fiji, Mauritius and South Africa.

□

Nari Shakti

Empowerment of Women

THE BJP believes that true human development cannot take place without the empowerment of women. It is not enough to talk about removing discrimination against women and establishing gender equality. We need to create new mechanisms for the social, political and economic advancement of women as also to generate social awareness on gender issues. One such mechanism is empowerment, including empowerment through enactment of laws. Yet another mechanism is capacity-building through education and skill acquisition. The BJP pledges itself to legal and policy level initiatives to remove discrimination against women and to ensure that their rights and dignity are not trampled upon. Special emphasis will be laid on the rights of the girl child. To harness the full potential of Nari Shakti, the BJP will:

1. Provide free education to women up to graduation, including professional studies like medicine and engineering;
2. Immediately seek the passage of the Bill reserving 33 per cent seats for women in all elected bodies, including the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies;
3. Actively promote the legal and economic rights of women which must be equal to those of men and not subject to the debilitating clauses of personal laws;
4. Entrust the Law Commission to formulate a Uniform Civil Code based on the progressive practices from all traditions. This Code will:
 - (a) Give women property rights;
 - (b) Ensure women's right to adopt;
 - (c) Guarantee women equal guardianship rights;

- (d) Remove discriminatory clauses in divorce laws;
 - (e) Put an end to polygamy;
 - (f) Make registration of all marriages mandatory.
5. Create conditions in society and workplace to ensure equal opportunities in matters of employment and promotion;
 6. Enact and enforce an anti-sexual harassment code;
 7. Enforce the principle of equal wages for equal work, both in the organized as well as unorganized sector;
 8. Encourage the introduction of part-time and take-home job schemes for working mothers;
 9. Promote a health-care system, especially in rural areas, that will focus on the non-reproductive health needs of women;
 10. Provide assistance to single and working mothers and introduce a forward-looking housing policy for their benefit;
 11. Work with State Governments to establish adequate number of working women's hostels and short-stay homes for destitute women;
 12. Make women partners in the management of community assets and properties in rural areas;
 13. Enroll the help of panchayats to set up latrines for women in rural areas;
 14. Expand the scope of the existing micro-credit system through an enlarged corpus to which both the Union and State Governments, apart from banks, will make liberal contributions;
 15. Encourage the setting up of cooperative societies in rural and urban areas to be managed by women for the benefit of women entrepreneurs;
 16. Introduce skill-based training programmes and self-employment schemes which are area-specific and job-specific;
 17. Design special functional literacy programmes for women who have been denied access to education;
 18. Amend laws that deal with molestation, rape and dowry, to provide for in-camera trial, swift justice and tough deterrent punishment as well as rehabilitation of the victims of these crimes;

19. Amend the Prevention of Immoral Traffic Act to make clients as culpable as commercial sex-workers;
20. Strictly enforce age of consent laws and launch a vigorous campaign against child prostitution by making it a cognizable offense;
21. Establish family courts in residential areas for speedy disposal of family dispute;
22. Mention of mother's name will be made mandatory on all official documents, starting from a child's birth certificate to a person's death certificate;
23. Set up special courts in every district for the expeditious trial of all civil and criminal cases in which women are the accused;
24. Rapidly induct more women in the police force and appoint women to senior positions as well as increase the number of 'Crimes Against Women Cells' so that no police station area is left uncovered by the year 2003;
25. Enact and strictly implement a special law to deal with domestic violence against women;
26. Promote a social agenda designed to discourage negative influences and end discrimination against the girl child in any form;
27. Strictly enforce the existing laws that prohibit unethical practices like pre-natal sex-determination tests, female foeticide and infanticide;
28. Invest in the girl child's health, nutrition and education, from infancy through adolescence, by formulating appropriate programmes and incentive schemes;
29. Universalize primary and secondary education to narrow the gender gap;
30. Prevent media's projection of women in any manner that demeans them or hurts their dignity; and,
31. Set up a national-level apex women's development bank on the lines of NABARD and SIDBI. There is need for setting up a dedicated development bank to cater to the financing needs of women entrepreneurs and the vast number of self-employed women.

□

Our Population Policy

Making it a People's Movement

THE BJP views India's runaway population growth with all the concern it deserves. Expected to hit the one billion mark by the year 2001, India's population is set to overtake that of China unless the growth rate is checked and then reversed. The danger of a runaway population growth is there for all to see: A rapidly expanding population means a slower rate at which development can be effected. While India was one of the first countries in the world to recognize the need to control the growth of its population in order to ensure a better distribution of the fruits of development, successive Union Governments have failed in the implementation of this important programme. Excesses during the Emergency have given way to complacency and dangerous negligence. The BJP will put population-related issues, including family planning, firmly back on the national agenda. The BJP believes that the country's runaway population growth can be arrested and rolled back through increased awareness, facilitating access to family planning measures, persuasive Government policies and rapid development. It is an universally acknowledged fact that 'development is the best contraceptive.' But we realize that Government alone cannot fulfill this gigantic task. The Government's efforts must be supplemented by a vigorous people's movement. In addition, the BJP proposes to:

1. Formulate a National Population Policy by acting on the reports of the National Development Council and the Swaminathan Committee. This Policy will seek to bring the population growth close to stabilization by the year 2010;
2. Provide incentives to those who opt for the 'two-child'

- norm and high incentives to those who embrace the 'single-child' norm;
3. Take all measures for reducing infant mortality rates and improving child health;
 4. Promote women's education, employment and empowerment since these can be effective means of population control as they will allow women a decisive role in regard to their reproductive health and family planning;
 5. Introduce disincentives which will apply to all sections of society in order to discourage large, unsustainable families;
 6. Ensure universal access to family planning information and quality contraceptive facilities by involving non-government organizations and promote awareness among the people, especially women, through counseling, educational programmes and widest use of modern multimedia capabilities;
 7. Introduce family planning methods and facilities that will allow women greater freedom of choice without imperiling their health as well as support research relating to these methods;
 8. Encourage women to seek reproductive health services as well as launch a special campaign to educate local communities about negative practices;
 9. Offer a special incentive in the form of a fixed deposit that will mature in 21 years for those couples who have only a girl child or those who adopt a girl child under a 'Dattak Putri Yojana';
 10. Make family planning an integral part of our development policies to ensure widest applicability of these incentives and disincentives and provide motivation for a small family norm; and,
 11. Ensure that the legal age of marriage is strictly implemented.

□

Our Policy for India's Youth

Yuva Shakti for Rashtra Shakti

OUR youth are the strength of the family, village, locality and the community. They are also the biceps or triceps of the nation. They are the most idealistic, inspired and energetic section of our nation. But in the absence of a driving national vision and a credible national leadership, their energy has remained dormant or got misdirected. Today, the youth of India see the BJP with great hope and we see them with equally great hope as the inheritors of India in the 21st century.

The BJP recognizes their immense creative potential to effect positive social, cultural and political changes. We pledge to create a conducive environment and a supportive policy framework for the full realization of this potential.

Towards this end, we will unveil a National Youth Policy, for the implementation of which our Government will set aside substantial budgetary resources. A permanent National Youth Commission will be set up to monitor the implementation.

Promotion of a Robust Sports and Physical Culture

SPORTS has been neglected since Independence and the blame must be shared by both the Government and society. Also neglected is the development of a hardy physical culture, which alone provides the necessary basis on which a nation can promote excellence in sports. It is a national shame that India, the second most populous country in the world, almost never finds a place in the medals tally in the Olympic Games. It is a sad commentary on our sports culture that, in a country of nearly one billion people, we have not more than 2,000 top-ranking sportsmen and women.

To promote Indian sports to attain international recognition and to develop a sports ethos in India, the BJP will:

1. Make physical education and sports coaching compulsory up to the +2 stage.
2. Make a substantial budgetary allocation for instituting methods to identify and train sports talent.
3. Look for sports talent outside the educational institutions, particularly in villages and in coastal areas.
4. Promote traditional Indian sports and, in association with neighboring countries, make them international sports.
5. The functioning of sports bodies will be immediately freed from all bureaucratic and political interference.
6. A yearly Rural Sports Meet and (depending on the concentration of tribal population) a Tribal Sports Meet will be held in each village, taluka, district and State.
7. With regard to India's participation in the Olympics and other international games, a well-conceived, long-term policy will be evolved to achieve success.

Bharat Punarnirman Vahini

THE BJP Government will unveil a nationwide scheme to tap the spirit of voluntary service among the youth and channel it for the realization of twin goals: Self-growth and Nation-building. The scheme envisages the setting up of a Bharat Punarnirman Vahini, whose youthful voluntary members will devote one year of their life for national reconstruction. They will take part in diverse activities such as rural reconstruction, water maintenance, social forestry, public health, environment protection, social harmony, adult literacy and preservation of traditional knowledge systems. Initially, this scheme will be taken up on an experimental basis in a few pilot districts from different parts of the country.

□

Family and Society

Preserving Integrity of the Family

IN the Indian view of life, an individual is not an independent or sovereign being, but an integral member of the family, community, the nation and the human race. The basic institution that anchors the individual in society and the nation, as also links him to the past and the future, is the family. The BJP believes that the integrity of the family institution is the main guarantor of India's civilizational continuity. Hence, the importance of protection and nurturing of family values cannot be overstated in the context of nation-building. If the family is the brick, society is the edifice.

Our Charter for Children: No Child Shall Go To Sleep Hungry

THE BJP believes that children are born—and have the right—to be happy; they have the right to food, shelter and clothes; they have the right to education. But the facts as they exist paint a dismal picture. India has a high infant mortality rate. Many children suffer from malnutrition and hunger. The majority of them have no access to education. Deprived of their childhood, millions of children have to work to feed themselves and contribute to the family income. Constitutional provisions and legal safeguards have been followed more in the breach than in practice. There are more children working in factories and fields than in schools; there are more children living in deprivation than in secure homes. The BJP, in keeping with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, will ensure that the 'best interests' of India's children are taken into account in all situations. Children's rights are the foundation on which better societies can be built and, therefore, we will implement the Convention on the Rights of the Child in both letter and spirit.

Towards this end, we will protect:

1. Children's right to survive and develop to their full potential;
2. Children's right to the highest attainable standard of health care through compulsory health check and by strengthening the ICDS;
3. Children's right to be registered immediately after birth;
4. Children's right to protection from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse;
5. Children's right to play;
6. Children's right to education; and,
7. Children's right to shelter.

As we step into the next millennium, child labour must be left behind, consigned to history as completely as those other forms of slavery that it so closely resembles. We will amend the present Child labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act to remove the distinction between hazardous and non-hazardous processes. We will achieve the goal of wiping out the scourge of child labour in factories and fields through:

1. Regular and persistent inspections by labour departments at the Centre and in the States;
2. Special annual campaigns to detect child employment;
3. Identity cards which will be mandatory for all young workers;
4. Welfare benefits, especially social assistance to poor families, aimed at ensuring a minimum income and thus removing the need to rely on their children's labour;
5. Free and compulsory primary education.

No nation has the moral authority to claim prosperity if its children are hungry. The BJP promises that by the year 2000, no child who attends primary school will go to sleep hungry. We will devise a suitable scheme with full community participation to keep this solemn promise.

Caring for our Disabled

AS many as fifty million Indians are denied the chance to participate in the nation-building process because of their physical and other disabilities. Rather than recognize the contributory potential of these differently abled men

and women, they are socially, economically and politically marginalized. Successive Congress Governments, as well as the UF regime which made cynical use of the slogan of 'social justice', have done nothing to empower the disabled. Budgetary allocation to help the disabled amounts to less than pittance. Parliament passed a Bill for the welfare of the disabled, but it is yet to be implemented in both letter and spirit. The BJP will adopt a holistic approach towards the disabled so that they are able to contribute their mite to the nation-building process instead of being condemned to the margins of society. Towards this end, the BJP will:

1. Conduct a special census to collect accurate data about the number of disabled people and the nature of their disability in order to formulate an effective policy;
2. Emphasize on empowerment and development of the abilities of the disabled into specific skills;
3. Ensure access to public services and public places, to begin with in metropolitan cities;
4. Provide employment in suitable categories of Government service through a pro-active 'equal opportunities' programme;
5. Offer incentives to the private sector to introduce a similar 'equal opportunities' scheme in suitable job categories; and,
6. Encourage State Governments to set up centres for counseling and skill acquisition.

Caring for our Senior Citizens

INDIAN family and social traditions have always held elders in high esteem. A person who attains the status of an 'elder' and a 'senior citizen' is looked upon as a repository of experience, values and wisdom, which need to be transmitted to the younger generation. Sadly, the alien nature of socio-economic development in India in the past fifty years has brought the institution of family under great pressure. One of the worst victims of this process are our senior citizens.

1. Our Government, in line with the BJP's philosophy, will take all possible measures to alleviate the difficulties and hardships suffered by our senior citizens.

2. We will also support and encourage all societal efforts to restore the traditional respect and regard for the elders.
3. A person who retires after long years of service does not, by the very act of retiring, lose his ability to contribute in his field of expertise. Our Government will prepare a decentralized database of such skilled and knowledgeable individuals, so that both Governmental and non-governmental agencies can use their services.
4. Organizations of senior citizens will be encouraged to participate in consultative, advisory and, wherever possible, managerial capacities in the implementation of suitable Governmental programmes.

□

Our Policy on Environment

Ecological Security for Sustainable Development

THE BJP believes in the traditional Indian position that Nature is sacred. The Atharva Veda sets out the principle that Nature is the mother of humans and that humans owe a responsibility to maintain the ecological balance. The BJP will ensure institutional measures to bring about ecological security so that all developmental programmes are in conformity with the principles of sustainable development.

It is essential to ensure production with lower inputs of energy, water, chemicals and at lower costs. This will call for significant scientific research, new technologies and implementation strategies. To deal with these critical problems, the BJP Government will:

1. Introduce a National Environment Policy incorporating a healthy balance between development needs and preservation of natural resources. The interests of States and consultation with them will be fully ensured. To implement the policy, the Ministry of Environment and Forests will be recast as the Ministry for Ecological Security;
2. Formulate a programme for developing sustainable cities with special emphasis on urban planning, safe drinking water, waste management and lowering the use of natural resources like water through recycling and reduced usage intensity.
3. Implement better management and harnessing of river waters as well as sources of ground water;
4. Control land, air and water pollution by industry and urban centres. Municipal sewage treatment plants will be made obligatory;

5. Revive the faith of the people that Nature is sacred and make environment studies part of school, college and university curricula. Also, make environment issues an integral part of the visual media so that our children develop a caring and protective attitude towards the ecological system that sustains our lives;
6. Protect the traditional and other rights of Vanvasis and Girijans over forest resources and produce;
7. Involve local Self-governments at all levels (panchayats, nagar palikas and zila parishads) both in villages and cities, in implementing the National Policy;
8. Provide easy access to information on conservation and sustainable use of natural resources;
9. Ban the import of hazardous chemical wastes for recycling by any industry or for dumping;
10. Minimize the use of non-biodegradable material for packaging by the consumer non-durable products industry;
11. Restrain the conversion of forests or grazing areas for other purposes;
12. Adopt afforestation policies to be fulfilled within a given time frame and prevent the degradation of forest by natural or manmade causes. The cornerstone of the BJP's forest policy will be a part of the total framework of land management, adoption of a dynamic programme of productive forestry and moving to private investment in forestry from total State management of forests. A programme will also be drawn up for conversion of degraded forests, wasteland and marginal land into quality forests;
13. Deny exploitation of offshore resources, especially marine life, by big trawlers;
14. Promote research and development in environment-related issues and eco-technology for application in agriculture, industry and the services sector;
15. Provide incentives to manufacturers of eco-friendly products;
16. Not sanction tourism-related projects that disturb the environment and cause degradation;
17. A major effort will be mounted to clean up our river

- systems and other water bodies;
18. Develop machinery for prevention, integration and management of national disasters;
 19. Encourage energy conserving techniques in all areas of production.



Our Policy on Science & Technology

R&D for People's Welfare

THE BJP firmly believes science and technology has a very important role to play in bringing about sustainable national development and in transforming India into a prosperous, strong and self-confident country. The BJP is proud of the achievement and capabilities, scientific and technological community of the country. The BJP endorses the basic philosophy outlined in the Scientific Policy Resolution of 1958 and the Technology Policy Statement of 1983. The BJP will increase public outlays on scientific research; and also ensure that the potential of science and technology to improve the lot of vast sections of our society living below the poverty line and to bring about a more equitable society is fully harnessed. The BJP is committed to the urgent need to ensure integration of efforts in science and technology with the development programmes in the various socio-economic sectors. The BJP recognizes that while science and technology has a very important role to play in the creation of wealth and improving the material conditions of the society, it is also a vital component in enriching the mind, enlarging the human spirit and creating a thinking society. Towards this end, the BJP Government will:

1. Foster scientific mind and attitude among the people, using all the available powerful techniques of the mass media and in the various languages of the country; and support locally-funded non-governmental organizations in their efforts in this regard;
2. Ensure the use of science and technology in all important developmental sectors for increasing production and productivity, efficiency and for generating employment;

3. Simplify administrative and financial procedures for efficient functioning of scientific institutions;
4. Implement a vigorous programme to enrich science and technology subjects at all levels of education;
5. Provide capital grants on a selective basis to restore university-and national laboratory infrastructures, particularly to replace obsolescent research and teaching equipment;
6. Halt the decline in funding of civil research and development and prepare a national budget for public and private-sector investment in research and development so as to increase the outlay on R&D;
7. Introduce effective measures to stimulate a substantial increase in private investment in industrial research and development and innovation; and assist in raising capital for start-up and growth;
8. Provide incentives for formation of regional/local collaborative networks including 'Technology Parks' and for strong linkages involving universities, national laboratories and industry in research and development;
9. Ensure the creation of a network of centres for application of science and technology in rural areas, particularly, for implementation of 'lab-to-land' programmes and to develop a strong low-cost agro-industrial base with focus on decentralized employment;
10. Create conducive work environment and facilities to retain the best scientists in the country and enthuse young scientists to pursue science as a career;
11. Safeguard national interests and our intellectual development, strengthening the innovation base, developing patents awareness and related infrastructure;
12. Support and accelerate research in high priority areas of basic research as well as in underpinning enabling technological areas such as informatics, new materials and biotechnology;
13. Launch at least 10-15 time-bound result-oriented national science and technology missions of societal relevance to

harness the fruits of scientific research for welfare of our society;

14. Provide fullest support so that India can be at contemporary leadership level, in carefully selected areas, particularly where it has advantages and where outstanding individuals, groups and institutions exist;
15. Strengthen mechanisms for increased, meaningful and relevant interaction with the global scientific community.

□

Our Policy on Information Technology

Making India a Software Superpower

RECENT advances in Information Technology (IT) have enshrined IT as the most revolutionary tool ever created in known human history. IT promises to transform every facet of human life and usher in a knowledge-based society in the next century. It has already been delivering on some of these promises. The world of computers, telecommunication, television, the Internet and all other media is converging very rapidly, shrinking, in the process, Planet Earth into a Global Village. This has opened up infinite and previously unimaginable new possibilities in work, education, communication, commerce, manufacturing, agriculture, services, health-care, leisure and entertainment. It will influence the working of our political and democratic institutions, too.

Although India lagged behind in the earlier phases of the Industrial Revolution due to historical reasons, she has served notice of soon emerging as a major global IT power. Indian computer scientists and professionals – both those serving in India and abroad – have shown with their achievements that they have the potential to make our country a front-runner in the age of Information Revolution. The BJP attaches a high priority for accelerating this process. Specifically, we will do the following:

1. Unveil a National Informatics Policy with a strategic 10-year perspective to fully harness the benefits of IT in every sphere of our national life;
2. Create awareness that IT is not a luxury, but the very backbone of future development;
3. The biggest contribution computers and the Internet can make is in the field of education. Our IT policy shall strive to take India towards the goal of universal computer literacy and Internet access in the shortest possible period;

4. Make India a software superpower by giving all-out encouragement to software companies to grab a large share of the global market. Our aim is to have software exports increase by ten times in the next five years;
5. The BJP will endeavour to provide, by the year 2000, computers and facilities for computer education in all secondary schools in the country, including those in rural and remote areas, which otherwise have basic facilities like a proper building and power;
6. Formulate a bouquet of policy initiatives to support, within a competitive environment, Indian IT companies and professionals to rapidly expand the scale of their operations and to enable them to take the Indian IT flag all across the globe;
7. Provide broad-band nationwide communication links using satellites, optical fiber-cables and wireless. No region will be without this essential IT infrastructure;
8. Ensure the fast nationwide onset of the Internet, Intranet and Extranet as part of the global and national information superhighways. These will be evolved to carry mail, finance and banking, electronic commerce and all other multimedia communication needs in the shortest possible time at the least cost;
9. Quickly collect, compile and reformat all official records, especially those which have a direct bearing on the country's economic progress and the average citizen's interaction with Governmental agencies, into a usable electronic format;
10. Network, through the Internet, Intranet, Extranet, local area networks and wide area networks, all limbs of the Government to facilitate quick, multiway flow of information amongst ministries, departments and key administrative functionaries. This will help the Government work faster, more efficiently and in a more pro-people manner; and,
11. Facilitate our schools, colleges and universities, in all possible ways, to harness the rich knowledge resources available on the Internet to improve the standard of education.

□

Our Policy on Media, Cinema, Arts

Freedom with Responsibility

WHILE the BJP believes in the traditional Indian position of *Ano Bhadraha Kritavayo Yantu Vishwataha* (Let noble thoughts come to us from all sides), it equally believes in the Gandhian dictum that we should keep our windows open for fresh air to come in, but keep the walls intact, so that we are not blown off our feet. This is the guiding principle of the BJP in its approach to the media.

Consistent with this, the BJP would enact rules to ensure that ownership of the media is in the hands of natural-born Indians only. While, a limited extent of 20 per cent foreign equity investment may be allowed in the electronic media in view of its large capital requirements, no investment will be allowed in the other media, including the print media. On the use of editorial matter from outside in electronic media, the BJP would ensure that the safeguards present in Article 19 (2) of the Constitution are fully implemented to balance freedoms and public interest.

Voluntary Normative Standards for Media

THE BJP believes that, a healthy polity and democracy cannot survive without the support of an extra-political moral order which the democratic political order cannot itself impose on its citizens. This belief is also the emerging belief of more advanced democracies that are experiencing a steep slide in morality which is endangering the very idea of orderly society. These decaying societies are beginning to understand that no society, especially a democracy, can long endure without the consensus of the majority of its citizens to some normative moral code. Within the boundaries of this code, cultural diversity can flourish, outside of which it quickly

degenerates into a jungle of conflicting special interests enveloped in moral chaos.

While the world shrinks, India will have to provide against such danger in our society too. Fortunately, at the family and social levels, the age-old 'dharma', which is distinct from religious practice, acts as an extra-political normative moral order. But the normative moral order or dharma needs to be protected and preserved as it is already under pressure. With this end in view, the BJP will strive for a national consensus with the involvement of all sections of the Indian society for a voluntary moral standard for the media, for the media plays a very important role both in fostering and prejudicing such a moral order. The inherent idea behind such a moral code may be summarized as under:

1. Promotion of family values and extended family relationships to preserve its character as a basic socio-economic and socio-cultural unit.
2. The importance of religious faith in moulding human life, with due understanding that religions should not conflict; nor should there be uniformity.
3. Projection of regard and respect for women and motherhood.
4. Criticism of political parties and personalities, without eroding the self-confidence of the nation.
5. Promotion of interest in Indian traditions, history, literature, arts and values as a source of emotional support and as a link with the nation's past, thus strengthening the civilizational and cultural roots of the country and its people.
6. Entertainment as an embodiment of the traditional Indian view of 'Navarasa' so that it does not degenerate into a source of amoral living.
7. Healthy development of an open and scientific mind, the spirit of adventure and patriotism among the youth.

The BJP will ensure that the rights of free speech of Indian citizens are guaranteed and will promote the availability throughout India of a diverse range of radio and television services offering information, entertainment and education. A BJP Government will ensure the development of a non-partisan Indian expression through programmes which, while reflecting Indian attitudes, opinions, ideas, values and artistic creativity would, at the same

time, encourage rational thinking, a scientific temper and lead Indian society to modernity in the 21st century.

This is an indicative and not exhaustive idea on the subject. The BJP Government will start a nationwide debate on this concept of a voluntary moral code and strive to evolve a consensus.

To achieve this goal, we will:

1. Improve the provisions of the Prasar Bharati Act to let Prasar Bharati organize an effective public broadcasting system, which would be accountable to Parliament but free from Government control, immune from political influence and sensitive to the diverse needs of Indian society.
2. While permitting, by license, the entry of private enterprise and investment in radio and television broadcasting, purely on commercially acceptable terms determined by bids, we will ensure that:
 - (a) The uplinking of television programmes will be from India.
 - (b) Foreign equity investment in audio-visual media is restricted to 20 per cent.
 - (c) Management of all types of the media is in Indian hands.
3. Ensure, by law, that there are appropriate statutory guidelines for the content of the broadcast in line with the terms of Article 19 (2) of the Constitution of India.
4. Ensure and encourage the availability of a variety and plurality of views and diversity in programming by discouraging monopolies and maximizing the number of voices, which can use the mass media. We will, therefore, impose appropriate cross-media and cross-platform restrictions and also restriction on investment by media in cable-TV companies and vice-versa.
5. Facilitate the development of an efficient and competitive Indian broadcasting industry by providing a level playing field to the nascent Indian industry vis-à-vis a highly developed foreign-based broadcasting industry.
6. Encourage providers of both public and commercial broadcasting services to be responsive to the need for fair and accurate coverage of matters of public interest

- including matters of local significance and respect community standards in the provision of programming.
7. Ensure the providers of broadcasting services place a high priority on the protection of children from exposure to programmes that may be harmful to them.
 8. Ensure the adaptability of the Indian broadcasting system to scientific and technological change.
 9. Create an exclusive 'Kisan Channel' in Doordarshan.
 10. Establish an independent autonomous public authority comprising representatives of all sections and interests. This authority will regulate broadcasting and set up a system to address complaints.
 11. Evolve a strategic plan to strengthen India's national news agencies like PTI and UNI to let them become influential global players in the shortest time.
 12. Economic security and social welfare of working journalists shall be ensured. The Working Journalists Act, 1955 shall be further strengthened and steps shall be taken for proper implementation in all media establishments.
 13. Freedom of the Press shall be ensured and protected at all costs.

Cinema

POPULAR cinema has played an important role in promoting social harmony and nationalism, apart from providing inexpensive entertainment to the masses. However, in recent years, popular cinema, increasingly funded by the underworld, has had a negative impact on society, especially on impressionable young minds. Sex and violence on the screen are beginning to gnaw at the moorings of our cultural ethos. The BJP is committed to checking this abuse of popular cinema. A BJP Government will:

1. Allow movie-makers through suitable provisions in law to raise resources from financial institutions to curb the influence of underworld financiers and Mafia dons.
2. We will provide a 'green channel' clearance for the automatic certification of movies that do not have explicit scenes and dialogues of violence and sex. Producers of such movies will not have to wait in the queue for Censor Board clearance. Deterrent punishment will be meted out

to any movie-maker who abuses this facility and to theater owners who screen such movies.

3. Exempt quality movies, which will be certified 'Q', from entertainment tax.
4. Encourage viewers to form local Darshak Sanghs – on the lines of consumer organizations – to monitor the quality of movies being screened in their area.
5. Set up theaters at all district headquarters and large population centres for screening art and popular movies.
6. Reserve 50 per cent of the places on the Censor Board and Censor Panels for women.
7. Create a special fund for promoting regional cinema.
8. Introduce legislation to ensure minimum wages and retirement benefits for movie artistes and crew.

In the field of performing and literary arts, our broad approach will be:

1. Preservation, propagation and popularization of our diverse cultural heritage.
2. Creativity and experimentation.
3. National integration through arts.
4. Taking arts to the people and bringing people's arts to national limelight.
5. Recognition and honour of and support to outstanding persons in creative pursuits.
6. Debureaucratization of arts and culture and freeing them of excessive Governmental interference.
7. Creation of basic supportive infrastructure for arts and culture in all the States.

□

Achievements of Governments in BJP-Ruled States

THE Bharatiya Janata Party has provided the people with a clean, efficient and purposeful administration in the States where it is in power. We have pursued pro-people policies, implemented programmes that have benefited millions of lives and, above all, maintained peace and communal amity. Peace and prosperity for all has been the hallmark of our State Governments in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Maharashtra (where we share power with the Shiv Sena), Punjab (where we share power with the Akali Dal) and Haryana (where we share power with the Haryana Vikas Parishad). In Uttar Pradesh, although the BJP has been in power for a few months now, far-reaching decisions have been taken and action initiated to restore rule of law in a State that had come to represent 'jungle raj' during prolonged Central rule. Attempts have been made by our adversaries to destabilize these Governments, but they have failed.

With a firm, but fair hand our State Governments have cracked down on criminal and anti-national activities. The criminal-politician-bureaucrat nexus that had emerged during Congress rule in these States has been smashed. In Maharashtra, the underworld mafia has been put on the run. Our Governments have attached significant attention to maintaining law and order, which has contributed to the economic well-being of the masses. Complaints of corruption have been vigorously followed up with impartial inquiries. Prompt action was taken wherever it was called for without fear or favor.

Special attention has also been paid to the problems of farmers

and socially disadvantaged sections of society. Women's issues have been addressed to through innovative schemes. Health, education and nutrition have been given top priority as these issues affect the common man the most. All efforts have been made to mobilize resources for development without burdening the people with fresh taxes. Infrastructure and job-generating industry have been the focus of our attention.

We are proud to list some of the salient achievements of our State Governments.

Rajasthan

1. Adoption of a new Industrial Policy aimed at rapid industrialization and employment-generation. Increased investment in small-scale sector. Higher investment inflow.
2. Setting up of institutions for imparting technical education. New polytechnics have been opened, including eight exclusively for women.
3. Implementation of special schemes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes. Increased budgetary allocations and effective targeting of funds. Focus on education and health facilities. Special norms adopted for development projects and the setting up of health care facilities.
4. Introduction of schemes for the welfare and empowerment of women. Special focus on women's education and health. Before the BJP took charge, only nine districts were covered by women's welfare schemes. Today, 31 districts are covered by innovative schemes based on community participation. Steps have been taken to protect the interests of the girl child, infancy through adolescence.
5. Access to primary education in all districts through effective implementation of literacy mission. Special incentives introduced to encourage families to send their children to school and lower the dropout rate;
6. Improvement of villages and urban centres through participatory development schemes. The Government pays part of the expenses; the people contribute the rest.

Maharashtra

1. Rapid infrastructure development with focus on power generation and roads. High infusion of investments and setting up of new industries.
2. Improved health services and increased access to healthcare for the economically underprivileged. Assured food security through innovative 'jhunka-bhakar' scheme which provides the poor a meal for as little as one rupee.
3. Crackdown on underworld criminals and trouble-makers. Steps to break nexus between mafia and some sections of the film industry. Strict maintenance of law and order, thus preventing any communal violence which was a regular feature in Congress days.
4. Ensured supply of power for pumps which has directly benefited 200,000 farmers. Construction of 400,000 lavatories in rural areas, thus ensuring hygiene and preventing communicable diseases.
5. Allocation of Rs. 1,200 crore for increasing drinking water supply. The target: Potable water for every citizen.
6. Concessional travel for elderly citizens aged above 65 on State Transport buses. They have to pay only 50 per cent of the ticket price. Girl students will be offered free travel facilities.
7. Introduction of employment and education programmes for women and girls. Legislative action to provide women with equal rights and dignity.

Uttar Pradesh

1. Revamping of law and order machinery and restoration of rule of law. Offensive launched against criminals and action initiated against policemen with criminal links, resulting in a fall in crimes.
2. Prevention of crimes against Dalits through alert administration. Prompt action against those committing atrocities against Dalits.
3. Cleansing administration of corrupt elements. Inquiries initiated into several cases of corruption to bring the guilty to book.
4. Ensuring panchayats and municipalities become

- economically self-sufficient. Greater functional autonomy for local self-government bodies.
5. Generation of employment. Reducing scope for corrupt practices by making the process of employment more transparent.
 6. Stamp paper no longer mandatory for registration. Simple and corruption-free alternatives put into place to stop harassment.
 7. New scheme to pay cane-growers through banks. New molasses policy to benefit producers under consideration. Kisan Seva Kendras set up to help farmers.
 8. Steps to increase power generation and improve distribution. Special programme to increase investment in industry. Plan initiated to improve road conditions.

Delhi

1. Municipal elections held after fifteen years. All efforts to improve civic amenities. Steps initiated for better distribution of power and ensure water supply.
2. Nine districts and 27 tehsils created for better administration and effective grievance-redressal.
3. Shelter for economically weaker sections of society. Financial assistance to pregnant, scheduled caste women. Social and economic rehabilitation of scavengers.
4. Old-age pension increased by 100 per cent. More people brought under pension cover. Old age homes opened for the elderly. Jan Arogya health insurance scheme for indigent elderly people.
5. Distribution of Rs. 100 crore for the welfare of victims of the 1984 anti-Sikh riots. All help extended to people displaced from Kashmir Valley due to terrorism.
6. Ban on lottery and liquor advertisements; smoking banned in public places. Strict enforcement of excise laws.
7. Pension for freedom fighters doubled from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. Financial assistance to widows for the marriage of their daughters. Special assistance, including scholarships, for the disabled.

Haryana

1. All-time high procurement price for sugarcane; liberal licensing for manufacture of molasses. Arrears in sugar mill payments to cane-growers more or less cleared.
2. Total prohibition on liquor. This has led to remarkable increase in small savings and decrease in drinking-related violence.
3. New power plants being set up to increase power availability for domestic, farm and industrial use.
4. Steps to make process of employment more transparent and ensure that the deserving get jobs. Cut-back in avoidable Government expenditure. Discretionary powers to allocate land removed.
5. Rapid industrialization through special projects. Several new industrial units have been set up, generating jobs and higher levels of income. Sales tax on several items has been reduced to give a boost to trade.
6. Focus on education and health for all; new schools and health care facilities have been set up in rural and urban areas. Special programmes for the welfare of the socially disadvantaged sections of society.

Punjab

1. Maintenance of law and order. Strict vigil kept on disruptive elements and pre-emptive action taken to nip mischief in the bud.
2. Farmers given free electricity to operate tubewells and free canal water for irrigation. All-time high wheat prices and price differential between fine and superfine rice removed.
3. New projects to make Punjab a 'power surplus' State. Incentives for setting up new industrial units.
4. Innovative Dalit welfare schemes introduced. Shagun scheme for Dalit girls; free electricity for Dalit households; and, loans for Dalits to build homes.
5. Initiative on the education and health fronts. Medical and technical universities planned. There will soon be a science city and an electronics city.

One of our unique achievements has been the setting up of a Council of Chief Ministers of the States where we are in power.

This Council has been established with the purpose of greater co-ordination among the BJP-ruled States. The Council also articulates, from time to time, the aspirations of the States vis-à-vis the Centre. It has played a major role in formulating fiscal demands of the States and in seeking to resolve problems plaguing Centre-State relations. The Council has formally met thrice-in Gandhinagar, Mumbai and in Jaipur. After each meeting, a document has been released, listing areas of commonality, programmes of action and suggested measures for the Union Government for harmonious relations with the State Governments.

□

Towards a New Culture of National Consensus and Responsible Citizenry

CONSENSUS-building is an essential part of nation-building. Cooperation for the larger good of the nation has been a cornerstone of our civilization. Yet, one of the many baneful contributions of the Congress Party to India's post-Independence polity has been the politics of confrontation and negativism. The BJP believes that, in a multi-party democracy like ours, constructive dialogue, consultation and cooperation between the ruling and opposition parties is, not only desirable, but essential. It has become all the more necessary since several major national issues confronting India today cannot be effectively addressed without evolving a broad platform of national consensus.

Some of the issues where such a national consensus is most urgently called for are: electoral reforms; Centre-State relations; population policy; empowerment of women by legislating 33 per cent reservation for them in all elected bodies; inter-state water disputes; environmental protection; and effective institutional guarantees for the welfare of the weaker sections of society in the course of economic reforms.

Specifically, our Party and Government shall do the following:

1. We shall not practice 'political untouchability' vis-à-vis any party;
2. In all issues of national importance where a national consensus is needed, we shall adopt a policy of dialogue and consultation with other political parties;
3. The consultative mechanisms and procedures in Parliament, towards which the Congress Party always had a casual or contemptuous attitude, will be revived; and,

4. We shall actively seek the views, suggestions and, wherever feasible, participation of citizens and organizations outside the sphere of politics.

An equally important dimension of democracy and nation-building, which the Congress Party totally neglected in the past five decades, is the need to build a responsible citizenry. Democracy is not only about rights, but also about responsibilities and duties. However, since the rulers themselves threw their responsibilities to the winds and turned Statecraft into crass commerce and politics into an unscrupulous power game, the average Indian naturally became cynical about politics. His awareness about his responsibilities as a citizen weakened and, to that extent, his conscious contribution to nation-building also diminished.

As the adage *Raja kaalasya kaaranam* (The ruler is responsible for the times) reminds us, the blame for this sad state of affairs rests with the Raja and not the Praja. The BJP pledges that, when it is in power, the people will see a qualitative change in the culture of governance. There will be a marked change in the mindset and behavior of those in Government. Their duties and responsibilities will take precedence over their perquisites.

Though such a change in the culture and content of governance is the first prerequisite for building a New India, it alone is not enough. A change in the mindset and behavior of citizens in their daily lives is also equally necessary for building a strong, prosperous and proud nation. On the occasion of the Swarna Jayanti of our Independence, therefore, the BJP makes the following appeal to every Indian to inculcate the spirit of the Freedom Movement:

1. 'We, the people of India, shall not discriminate on the basis of caste, creed, class, gender, language, or region in any of our actions and decisions in life. Instead, we shall behave with all our compatriots in the belief that we all are equal children of Bharat Mata.'
2. 'We, the people of India, whichever profession or vocation we are in, shall work with honesty, dedication and discipline in the spirit of a New Work Culture.'
3. 'We, the people of India, shall always give priority to our patriotic duties and responsibilities over narrow self-interest, even as we zealously strive for the realization of our rights enshrined in the Constitution.'

□

The BJP's Appeal to Dear Countrymen

TO translate this manifesto into reality, we appeal to our all compatriots to vote for the BJP and its allies to power in the elections to the 12th Lok Sabha. A moment comes when the right choice can change the course of a nation's history. This is the moment to make a decisive choice between the BJP and a decrepit, morally bankrupt Congress; between the BJP and opportunist parties that have no ideological conviction like the Janata Dal and the Samajwadi Party; and between the BJP and the Communist parties who have a hideous history of betrayal of the national interest at every crucial juncture.

In the coming election:

- The choice is between stability and another mid-term election soon.
- The choice is between an able Prime Minister and prime ministerial pretenders.
- The choice is between a Government that will change the life of every Indian for the better or one that will make a bad condition still worse.
- The choice is between nationalism and a Foreign Hand.

The BJP gives a solemn assurance to the people of India: 'We shall sincerely strive to fulfill all the commitments set out in the manifesto. If the BJP is voted to power, the India that enters the 21st century and the next millennium, will be an India that will hold her head high and whose citizens will be enjoying the long-awaited fruits of progress made possible by a Government committed to Su-raj (good governance). Guided by a 10-year perspective, our Government will aim to achieve what others could not in the last fifty years. Our victory will be people's victory. It will be the victory of Bharat Mata.'

□

BJP's 10-Point Freedom Charter

We'll do in 10 years what others couldn't in 50.

1. Freedom from Unemployment – One crore new jobs a year for the next 10 years.
2. Freedom from Homelessness – 20 lakh new houses a year for the next 10 years.
3. Freedom from Hunger – Double food production by the year 2010.
4. Freedom from Illiteracy – Full literacy by the year 2010.
5. Freedom from Fear – A riot-free and terrorism-free India.
6. Freedom from Social Strife – Harmony between all castes and communities.
7. Freedom from Centre States Discord – More powers for States and local bodies.
8. Freedom for Women – Free education upto graduation and 33% seats in Parliament.
9. Freedom from Poor Infrastructure – More power, better transport and modern communications.
10. Freedom from Mental Slavery – Make every Indian BELIEVE IN INDIA.

Vande Mataram!



Election Manifesto 1996

Our Vision, Our Faith, Our Commitment

It is out of the past that the future is moulded.

It is the past that becomes the future...

—Swami Vivekananda

Even as this century draws to a close and the millennium to ins, India stands at a critical crossroad of history. Centuries' old hopes and aspirations of our people yearn for a true expression. The destiny of our land and its people cries for fulfilment. At such crucial turns historical choices are made and instruments of change adopted. That destined vehicle of change is the Bharatiya Janata Party.

Never before in the long history of our land has the country been governed by such a morally rudderless and financially corrupt regime. Seldom have our trusting people been duped by a baser band. With the people's hopes belied and their aspirations thwarted, our ancient land stands today face to face with the option of a real change, a chance for a true departure from the last 50 years of Congress misrule, an alternative and an option: The Bharatiya Janata Party.

Our people are looking towards the BJP to become just this instrument of change. The party is ready to shoulder this great duty and responsibility. The task is nothing short of rekindling the lamp of our eternal 'Dharma', that Sanatan thought which our sages bequeathed to mankind — a social system based on compassion, cooperation, justice, freedom, equality and tolerance.

To realise this goal, the BJP will launch a new social, economic

and political order. It will strive to transform the existing system of governance, to make it responsive and answerable to the concerns of our citizens. It will strive to make the economy cater to the largest demands of the largest number. The party will endeavour to place in the service of the nation a political organisation that is conscientious and clean. Above all, the BJP will secure for India a place in the comity of nations which befits its vast cultural, intellectual, economic, scientific and human wealth.

We realise that correcting the mistakes of the last 50 years of Congress misrule, of piecing together the shattered dreams of our citizens, of restructuring our polity which has been delivered a body blow by the present regime, of restoring the state's authority and reviving faith in the Government, is by no means an easy task. But we also realise that only the BJP has the ideological commitment, moral conviction and political courage to shoulder this task and gently guide our nation into the next millennium. The present millennium began with the subjugation of our ancient land; let a reinvigorated, proud, prosperous and strong India herald the next millennium.

In this noble mission, we shall be guided by our Manifesto — it contains our commitments to the nation and its citizens. Our state governments in Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Gujarat and Delhi have demonstrated that for the BJP, these commitments constitute a sacred covenant with the people. We do what we say. This Manifesto shall be the covenant of our government.

With a BJP Government at the Centre, the next five years will be devoted to implementing our Manifesto based on the four concepts of Suraksha, Shuchita, Swadeshi and Samrasata. Hindutva, or cultural nationalism, shall be the rainbow which will bridge our present to our glorious past and pave the way for an equally glorious future; it will guide the transition from *Swarajya* to *Surajya*. Our Manifesto reflects the application of these four concepts in good governance and their role in moulding the nation we dreamt of on the dawn of Independence — a prosperous and strong India, a country where every citizen regards this land of ours, this Bharatbhoomi, that stretches from

the Indus to the seas, as his sacred motherland.

The BJP believes in one nation, one people, and one culture. We are, therefore, committed to promoting social reconciliation rather than conflict. We are resolved to put an end to the politics of competitive communalism, of appeasement, and of casteism. The politics of pitting caste against caste, community against community and class against class has torn asunder our social fabric. The BJP will reweave this fabric into a harmonious pattern.

□

Our Nation, Our State, Our Government

A New Direction, A New Dispensation.

Nearly half a century of Congress misrule has all but shattered the internal polity of the country. There is not one institution of the Republic left that can be said to now be in a state of total health. The Legislature, the Executive, unfortunately the Judiciary, and even the media have been afflicted by the mindlessness of the Congress' exploitation and loot of our country.

The Bharatiya Janata Party well recognises that to correct this great wrong of the past five decades requires the skill and commitment of a Vishwakarma. With humility, we address ourselves to this task.

The first is to restore to our state its authority. Perhaps never since the scourge of the Pindaries has the writ of our state been as enfeebled as by this Congress misrule. The primary task, therefore, is to restore to the state, and to governance, its honour and its prestige — *izzat* and *iqbal*. For this the BJP will institute a set of measures. This is a challenge that is principally moral and only then functional. The BJP commits itself, therefore, to:

1. Addressing purposefully to the many challenges being posed to us in Jammu & Kashmir and in the North-East of India. We are of the view that in both these strategically important border regions of the country, misgovernance, neglect and emotional separation from India lie at the root of the problems. Terrorism and challenges to the state will be met forthrightly; changes in law where warranted will be brought about expeditiously; the approach will be firm but always fair.

To translate this Manifesto into reality, to fulfil our destined role of leading India into the next millennium, the Bharatiya Janata Party seeks the support and cooperation of all our citizens.

2. Launching a major nationwide drive to identify influx of illicit arms and their possession. Proliferation of small arms affects directly the law and order in the country as also the security of the nation. We recognise that narcotics smuggling and narco-terrorism are linked. The country must be rid of both. The law in this regard will be made more effective and implemented.
3. Toning up the administration (as enumerated subsequently) and reforming its functioning, accountability and responsibilities.
4. Rationalising the number, structure, composition and role of paramilitary forces, including recent initiatives like National Security Guard (NSG), Rapid Action Force (RAF) and Special Protection Group (SPG). We will review the personal security arrangements: We believe that the security of the high dignitaries of the country is the responsibility of the state. This security, however, should neither be exaggerated nor intrusive. It should not ever be at the cost of the collective convenience of the citizens of the country. The BJP will reform this.

An Agenda for Change

Constitutional Reforms

The BJP believes that Centre-State relations, which have been on a downslide for the past 50 years, need to be improved. We also believe that reforms are needed for a stronger Union and equal rights for all citizens.

1. The BJP will implement the main recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission, such as:
 - (a) Restoring the balance of resources in favour of the States;
 - (b) Ending the misuse of Art 356 to dismiss state governments and dissolve state assemblies. We will explore the possibility of making it mandatory for the

Union Government to seek Parliament's approval by two-thirds majority for dismissal of state governments and,

- (c) Consulting state governments before appointing Governors.
2. We promise to carve out Uttaranchal, Jharkhand, Vidarbha and Chhattisgarh and give them full statehood. We will further consider setting up a commission to examine the formation of smaller states. Delhi will be given full statehood.
3. The BJP will provide Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh in J&K state with regional development councils.
4. We will abrogate Article 370 of the Constitution, which puts Jammu & Kashmir on a separate and separatist pedestal, for the state's full and final integration with the Union.
5. We will set up an inter-state council under Article 263 of the Constitution to settle all inter-state and Centre-State disputes to avoid ad hoc responses to issues like that of Cauvery waters.
6. The BJP is committed to Article 44 of the Constitution. We will adopt a Uniform Civil Code which will be applicable to every community and foster a common Bharatiya identity, apart from ensuring gender equality. Regressive personal laws will cease to have legal validity.
7. The manner of appointment of constitutional functionaries will be reviewed.
8. We will maintain a national register of citizens and introduce a multipurpose identity card.

Electoral Reforms

The BJP carries a conviction that amongst the many causes that have brought the state of our polity to its present plight, a major factor is faulty elections. We will, therefore, immediately on assuming office, implement various electoral reforms. For free, fair and fearless elections, the BJP will:

1. Update and adopt the Goswami Committee report;
2. Grant statutory status to the Code of Conduct drawn up

- by the Election Commission and give it teeth;
3. Introduce a scheme of state-funding of candidates to all legislatures;
 4. Provide suitable incentives for open, official corporate funding to all recognised political parties;
 5. Undertake fresh delimitation of Lok Sabha and Assembly constituencies on the basis of the 1991 census;
 6. Make it mandatory for political parties to submit audited accounts for public scrutiny annually;
 7. Examine the feasibility of introducing the list system;
 8. Expedite the process of issuing identity cards to all voters and make it a mandatory requirement for voting;
 9. Scrutinise all voters' lists to ensure that no legitimate voter is excluded;
 10. Take steps to curb expenditure on elections by imposing a ban on advertisements, cutouts, etc;
 11. Introduce electronic voting machines to hasten the process of counting;
 12. Examine the possibility of simultaneous elections to the Parliament, State Assemblies and Panchayats;
 13. Ensure speedy and exemplary punishment for those who indulge in booth-capturing;
 14. Officials found guilty of involvement in poll rigging will be given exemplary punishment;
 15. Amend the anti-defection law whereby a member of any Legislature who changes parties will lose his or her membership of the House; and,
 16. Prevent the misuse of Doordarshan and A.I.R. by the ruling party.

Corruption & Its Cure

The BJP treats this affliction as the single greatest wrong that the Congress misrule of the past 50 years has brought about on our land. The corruption that now corrodes our country is of the spirit, it is moral, and it is also financial. The challenge thus to governance is principally of setting an example – of impeccable probity and unimpeachable accountability of all public men and women. This must not cover simply the elected representatives

of the people but also the executive, the police and, indeed, even the judiciary, where the touch of corruption can easily be felt. The BJP will address itself to this challenge and task, by adopting measures that are mentioned here. We do not claim that this is either the ultimate blueprint for the reduction of corruption or the last word on it. It is an expression of our commitment; a first step to setting right a very great wrong of many years' malignancy; a beginning and that, too, with ourselves. For a clean public life in which morality and ethics find due recognition, the BJP will:

1. Make it obligatory on every elected representative to make, public his entire income and wealth within 90 days of election;
2. Introduce extensive regulations and requirements upon those who hold public office so that no conflict of interest is ever permitted to influence a proper discharge of their duties;
3. Appoint a Lok Pal to entertain complaints of corruption against anybody holding public office, including the Prime Minister;
4. Take measures to modify and reform the methodology of government approval for contracts, schemes and large money value agreements so as to make them more transparent. The powers of patronage, the right to say 'Yes' or 'No' to simple daily requirements of the citizens will be reduced drastically. A government that intrudes the least, we hold, governs the best. We will endeavour to combine this with open and transparent governance;
5. Expeditiously deal with cases of corruption unresolved and in which no action has been taken in the past 10 years;
6. Take steps to ensure that investigative and intelligence agencies like RAW, IB and CBI are not used to subserve the political designs of the ruling party.

Judicial Reforms

For speedy, fair and inexpensive justice, the BJP will:

1. Appoint special judges to clear the huge arrears at all levels of the judiciary;
2. Fill the vacancies in the High Courts and the Supreme

Court without any further delay;

3. Legislate to the effect that courts do not give unending adjournments and complete cases within one year.
4. Constantly review the salaries and pension benefits of all judges so as to attract the best legal talent to the judiciary;
5. Expand and strengthen the existing legal aid facilities for economically weaker sections of the society; and,
6. Set up a National Judicial Commission which will be responsible for making judicial appointments in the High Courts and the Supreme Court.

Panchayati Raj

For better local self-governance at the village-level, the BJP will:

1. In the light of recent experience, make changes in the Constitution 73rd and 74th amendments to further strengthen the Panchayati Raj system; and,
2. Endeavour to make the panchayats financially self-sufficient.

Administrative Reforms

For a caring, just and accountable administration, to provide high quality services the citizens value and for a new paradigm in public administration, the BJP will:

1. Make the district administration accountable for any outbreak of violence; institute a time-bound inquiry; publish the findings; punish the guilty; and, compensate the victims;
2. Update and implement the National Police Commission report in a time-bound manner;
3. Ask each Ministry/Department to set clear performance standards, including cost consciousness, in quantifiable terms and monitor the adherence to these standards;
4. Introduce a scheme of fixed minimum tenure for some identified posts at higher ranks, e.g. Chief Secretaries, Secretaries to Government, DGPs, etc;
5. Disfavour extensions to bureaucrats and police officers;
6. Institute an annual Sardar Patel award for the best three district officers, as a beginning;
7. Ensure uniform housing and other related facilities for

- officers in the same grade and in the same station. The system of allotment of houses will be made transparent;
8. Introduce a system of allowing lateral entry of personnel from the private sector, NGOs, educational/research institutes into government;
 9. Identify areas from which government must withdraw so that departments can be wound up in a phased manner;
 10. Strengthen the department of administrative reforms at the Centre and in the States; and,
 11. Give the citizens what is their due. A huge divide today separates the citizen, the society and the state. This is principally on account of the state not treating the rights of the citizens as sacrosanct; not fulfilling its obligations towards the citizens sincerely; and, not providing to the citizens the services that are its bounden duty. The BJP will, therefore, identify such areas as warrant immediate correction, as they affect the daily life of the ordinary citizen, and implement reforms in them within a given timeframe.

Shri Ram Mandir at Ayodhya

The BJP is committed to the concept of one nation, one people, one culture – our nationalist vision is not merely bound by the geographical or political identity of India, but defined by our ancient cultural heritage. From this belief flows our faith in ‘Cultural Nationalism’ which is the core of Hindutva. That, we believe, is the identity of our ancient nation – Bharatvarsha.

Hindutva is a unifying principle which alone can preserve the unity and integrity of our nation. It is a collective endeavour to protect and re-energise the soul of India, to take us into the next millennium as a strong and prosperous nation. Hindutva is also the antidote to the shameful efforts of any section to benefit at the expense of others.

We hold that only by recognising the limitless strength of cultural nationalism, can the nation be moulded. When the BJP joined the movement for the construction of the Shri Ram Mandir at Ayodhya, it was to strengthen just these foundations.

On coming to power, the BJP Government will facilitate the

construction of a magnificent Shri Ram Mandir at Janmasthan in Ayodhya which will be a tribute to Bharat Mata. This dream moves millions of people in our land; the concept of Rama lies at the core of their consciousness.



Our Economy, Action And Direction

Economic Growth and Employment Through Swadeshi

Four decades of Congress misrule have ruined the economic creativity of our country; these decades failed to place the country on a sound economic footing, befitting India's stature as the largest democracy in the world. The experiments of the Congress, with vastly divergent models, have brought the country, from time to time, to the brink of crisis. The passive victim of all these experiments has been the long suffering citizen of our country; even as under-nourishment, malnutrition, illiteracy and deprivation afflict a large percentage of them; even as the quality of life gets fractured between India and Bharat.

We commit ourselves to bringing certainty in economic policy. The Bharatiya Janata Party is proud of India's heritage and has an abiding faith in the creative genius of every Indian. We are committed to an economy that enables India to achieve its destiny in the forefront of the nations of the world.

In 1991, the present government claimed that it inherited an economy which had a slender foreign exchange reserves. Accepting IMF conditionalities, it initiated a programme of deregulation of industry, trade and exchange rate policies, a radically different approach to foreign investment. The consequential foreign exchange reserves that it will be leaving, as a legacy to the successor government, are, however, fragile, being composed mainly of quick-sand components of foreign institutional investments and FCNR deposits. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is only a minor component of them. An enormous \$7 billion becomes ripe for debt servicing in 1996-97 itself. In its zeal to contain fiscal deficits task in which it failed, the fiscal deficit continuing around 7% of GDP – it

pruned developmental expenditure beyond acceptable limits, in consequence constraining growth.

Despite the proclaimed deregulation, over the past five years, all earlier structures and institutions of the License Quota-Permit Raj remain intact. Social infrastructure has been neglected and the lot of the poor and deprived has further deteriorated. The country's defence requirements were also neglected, thereby putting the nation's security in jeopardy.

The neglect of infrastructure by this government has left a legacy of a fractured physical infrastructure – roads, railways, post, power, telecom – are grinding to near immobility, in the process constraining growth elsewhere in the economy. In its methodology for containing the budget through limits on monetisation of the deficit, this government has compulsorily resorted to heavy borrowings, which in turn, has resulted in liquidity to the rest of the economy and a heating up of the interest rates. Our domestic industry, starved of liquidity, is in danger of slipping into recession.

In totality, this government will leave an economy more fragile and shattered than what it inherited in 1991. The challenges thus, to us in our bid at governance, are formidable.

Our Economic Thought

In outlining our strategy, we recognise that the post Cold War world has adopted the market place for fast economic growth. However, our thought is defined by the following:

- (i) Market may ensure growth, but it cannot ensure redistribute equity and justice. The state continues to have a role to play;
- (ii) The poor and deprived have, therefore, to be helped by the state to cross the poverty line and to attain a sustainable minimum quality of life;
- (iii) On the economic front, the old order, based on comparative advantage of labour or resources, is giving way to a new order built on the basis of human resources, skills and technology. A proper policy can make it India's strength; and
- (iv) A society such as ours has to innovate its own strategy,

to adapt to the high-tech challenges of a supposedly borderless world, without the attendant social stresses, economic instability and the abandonment either of its identity or of its own socio-cultural ethos. This is the essence of our Swadeshi approach: A self-reliant India, asserting its national economic interests, not as autarchy, but as a pre-requisite to meeting the challenge of globalisation; of preserving our identity without compromising our sovereignty or self respect. We reject unbridled consumerism and believe in adherence to sustainable consumption and growth.

Foreign investment will be required and encouraged for world class technology. But when foreign savings have to supplement and assist the economy in circumstances where domestic savings are inadequate, we compromise with the nation's long term interests. While many countries which started late but arrived much earlier than India, managed their growth on savings levels around 35-40% of GDP, the Indian domestic savings rate has steadily declined to a low level of 20% of GDP during Congress rule. This is grossly inadequate for even the current level of investment, let alone the levels required for a faster growth of the economy. Not only have private savings declined, more worryingly, governmental savings are now virtually nil.

We recognise two immediate priorities – first, providing the physical and economic infrastructure that is appropriate for the stipulated growth in our GDP; second, providing the required social infrastructure for a minimum sustainable quality of life.

To attain these and yet contain fiscal deficit requires a different approach. The BJP will work towards pruning non-developmental expenditure; minimise the commercial activities of government; severely cutting back on bureaucracy; shedding the structures of controls and regulation; and re-equipping itself for its new role of providing a framework for free market operations for growth, accentuating programmes for poverty eradication and social Infrastructure.

Fiscal Reform and Taxation

We believe that taxation alone cannot be the base for revenue. A stable and fast growth is possible only through a high order of investment matched by an appropriate level of domestic savings. The present government has done a great disservice by encouraging avoidable consumerism and diverting the depleted savings into speculative rather than safe and productive channels.

- We will structure our fiscal reforms so that savings and contracted savings are augmented to levels that will take care of a higher order of investment needed for faster growth;
- In taxation, we will ensure that not only levels and rates of taxation are such that growth is not constrained, but that the burden-sharing of taxes is equitably distributed among all affluent sections of society. We will mitigate the undue rigours of indirect taxes – today indirect taxes constitute 71 % of tax revenue – so that productivity and growth are not hampered.

We will devise a suitably structured valued added tax (VAT) so as to ensure better burden-sharing among 'goods and services' that contribute to value addition.

- In tariffs we will ensure that the domestic sector gets a level playing field, and does not become uncompetitive;
- We will also strive to lighten the debt burden on the nation. This in turn will contribute to interest rate stabilisation;
- We will not hike Excise Duties on items of mass consumption;
- We will examine the aspect of sales tax reform and equalisation;
- We will ensure operational autonomy of the RBI;
- We will adopt firm measures to prevent the generation of black money;
- We will rationalise and simplify the present tax structure and raise the Income Tax exemption limit to Rs. 60,000;
- We will provide weighted deductions taking number of dependents on earning member;
- We will exempt all investments in approved organisations, private OR public, from the levy of Wealth Tax;

- We will give tax reliefs to employment-oriented industries in non-municipal areas;
- We will ensure minimum contribution to government exchequer by all profit-earning business units. The concept of 'zero business units' will be done away with;
- We will give special tax concessions to writers, artists, academics and others engaged in intellectual and cultural pursuits.

Price Stability and Consumer Protection

It is our firm belief that the price level can be controlled only through maximisation of production and a minimisation of costs of production. This is to be achieved through technology upgradation, economics of scale and free competition. Towards this end, the BJP will:

- Ensure an efficient, low-cost, corruption-free PDS, so that there is a regular, assured, timely and adequate supply of commodities to the consumers in the rural, tribal, remote and backward areas of our country;
- Supply better quality foodgrains through the PDS by enhancing the norms for quality standards rather than easing them as has been done by the Congress;
- Make pulses, cooking oil and soap also available through PDS, in addition to food-grains, sugar and kerosene;
- Improve the Consumer Protection Act of 1986, and ensure its application; and,
- Encourage consumer movements.

Black Money and Corruption

Starting from its Jana Sangh days, the BJP has been waging a relentless battle against the twin evils of corruption and black money. We are committed to rooting out corruption, thus also the malignancy of black money.

- We will encourage capital creation through funds from such a parallel economy, retaining the right of government to tax the revenue flows from such created capital.
- The BJP will open up sectors such as social forestry, wasteland development and housing for rural and urban poor.

- We will also review the rationale of the Urban Land Ceiling Act, in this context.

Infrastructure

We hold that power, telecommunications, transport (surface, sea and air) constitute the basic building blocks of our development. With hardly 50% of the roads surfaced, about 40% of the traffic volume is handled by the National Highway System (NHS) which constitutes hardly 2% of the road network.

Our Railway network has grown only by 16% over five decades. The ports have become the greatest constraint on our world trade. The dimensions of the power and telecommunications situation cripple development.

- We need to actively develop a National Waterways network;
- To meet our minimum needs, a staggering 10,000 MW have to be added annually for the next 15 years. Irrigation needs press upon our resources. All these call for large investments.
- We propose, therefore, to lay the foundations of a strong bond market in the country which can take care of the massive financial requirements. We invite foreign capital in the field of infrastructure.
- We will initiate a framework which will facilitate quick redressal of the acute infrastructure crisis based on international co-operation and partnership.
- We will strive to confine the role of the state to that of a facilitator, withdrawing in favour of suitably structured independent regulatory authorities.

Public Sector

At present the policy relating to public sector is in disarray.

- The BJP believes in confining the public sector only to sensitive areas where the nation's security is involved and to areas where the presence of public sector is necessary for providing a moderating or counter-poising role to the ill effects, if any, of an unchecked private sector.
- Public sector presence will continue in areas furthering social objectives.
- The remaining public sector that would continue will be

managed with the least interference by government.

In the case of disinvestment from ailing, non-profitable or sick public sector undertakings, the BJP will constitute a Disinvestment Commission for taking care of disinvestment from the country's public sector.

- While disinvesting, care will be taken so that the workers' interests are not harmed.
- The National Renewal Fund will be realigned to take care of the constant requirements of retraining and redeployment of workers that may be necessary in a fast growing economy.
- Sales proceeds from PSU disinvestment will be utilised only on capital expenditure.

Foreign Trade and Capital

Foreign Trade Policy has in the past degenerated into one of providing palliatives. It has now become necessary to strengthen the interface between industry and trade.

- We will select core industries and a system of destinations and initiate an integrated production for export planning with selective intervention so that this sector, so vital to the economy, acquires dynamism.
- We will also strive to forge such alliances with or memberships of regional trading blocs that will give further impetus to our exports.

The BJP welcomes foreign investment, because we hold that it supplies knowledge, technology and know-how and sharpens the quality and competitive edge of our economy.

- We will, however, strive to minimise our dependence on foreign savings.
- We will prioritise foreign investment in sectors that will promote exports in preference to sectors that will cater solely or exclusively to the domestic market.
- Keeping in view that dissemination of world class technology is an objective of foreign investment, we will give preference to overseas investors who have domestic partners.
- We will encourage foreign investment in infrastructure,

areas of high technology and R & D within India.

- As for MNCs in consumer non-durables, we do not consider them as areas of priority.

Industrial Policy

Industry in India has to be enabled to become more productive, more innovative. Only then will it fulfil its main goal: Enhance the national wealth, provide greater employment in ever increasing numbers and thus assist the growth of other sectors, including agriculture. For, we recognise this inseparable interdependence. Our exports must compete with the best in the world, add to our resources and fiscal health, and thus enable India to achieve the status that we believe is its destiny. The BJP assures all about creating a healthy investment and industrial environment.

The BJP believes in the continued role and relevance of the small-scale sector. This important segment of our national economy, which has been entirely ignored by the Congress and whose very existence is threatened by the present policy of economic liberalisation, will receive all encouragement and help from a BJP Government.

The following principles will guide the industrial policy of the BJP:

A. Economic Sovereignty

The party regards the preservation of the nation's economic interests as a component of our external economic relations. Globalisation, to us, is not a synonym for the obliteration of national economic interests. Indeed, in the ensuing global competition we need to be constantly mindful of preserving them.

B. Modernisation

BJP stands for a modern and progressive India, open to new ideas, new technology and fresh capital. A modern India to the BJP is not a westernised India; a pale copy of the western economic models.

C. Decentralisation

We stand for a decentralised economic order. The BJP stands for political as well as economic democracy. The role of the government must change from the restrictive to the supportive and encouraging.

The BJP will, therefore:

- Debureaucratise industrial approvals and cut down the plethora of restrictive controls. Industrial Development and Regulations Act will be replaced by Industrial Development Act;
- Encourage research and development as part of the process of industrial growth and over-all modernisation;
- Hazardous industries will be permitted only in specified areas. Separate industrial satellites will be set up exclusively for such units;
- Small-scale sector will be given all importance and encouragement. We will establish agencies to help the small-scale sector in purchasing, marketing and selling their products; and,
- Ensure a healthy capital market.

□

Our Concept Of Employment And Labour's Role

Creating Jobs and Opportunities

Apart from employment which will be created in the normal course by the growth of the economy, special employment schemes will be undertaken by the Bharatiya Janata Party to eradicate unemployment.

The BJP proposes to introduce a scheme of voluntary National Service to undertake the task of national reconstruction and also in order to instill a sense of discipline and nationalism among the youth of the country. This service will aim at reclaiming wasteland for commercial use – for instance, after reclaiming the waste land, it will be used for horticulture, social forestry or any other purpose that will provide the youth involved in the reclamation with continued income. Similarly, the National Service will be used for river management schemes.

Apart from this, the BJP proposes to:

1. Increase employment opportunities in all sectors of the organised economy;
2. Introduce policies and programmes to:
 - (i) Develop agriculture, particularly in regions which are at present less developed and backward.
 - (ii) Promote industrial growth with special attention to village, cottage and small-scale sectors. Special emphasis will be laid on agro-industry.
 - (iii) Undertake large-scale housing activity that will generate both jobs and additional shelter in both rural and urban areas.

- (iv) Provide transport facilities with special emphasis in improving availability of transport in rural areas.
- (v) Augment employment opportunities in villages through Schemes like Antyodaya, Gokul Gram, Gopal Gram, Saraswati Yojana as already being implemented by BJP governments in Rajasthan and Gujarat.
- (vi) Provide and improve infrastructure, especially in rural areas, such as roads, small dams and water conservation projects.
- (vii) Promote vocational training.

Labour

BJP believes in healthy trade unionism. It will:

1. Rationalise and simplify Labour Laws;
2. Recognise unions on the basis of secret ballot and have provisions for comprehensive bargaining;
3. Introduce worker participation from the shop floor to the board room in all public sector projects, public limited companies and foreign companies operating in India;
4. Protect workers against inflation;
5. Evolve an effective mechanism and ensure better implementation of laws to protect labour from occupational health hazards arising from industries like asbestos, cement, slate, mica, chemicals, textiles, etc. The workers will have the right to be informed about the possible health hazards they could be exposed to on the shop floor; and,
6. Not allow an exit policy without fulfilling corresponding obligations towards labour.

Government Employees

BJP will set up a permanent Employees Welfare Board with a view to resolving the long-standing problems related to:

1. Time scale promotion;
2. Revision of pay scales and award of bonus;
3. Implementation of awards;
4. Housing; and,
5. Social welfare measures and travel concession for retired personnel. □

Our Scientific Talent, Our Technology

Harnessing Nature For Human Welfare

The BJP believes that science and technology must play its due role in transforming India into a prosperous and strong country. The BJP will apply appropriate scientific and technological methods for increasing productivity, eradicating poverty, hunger and disease and providing meaningful employment along with the basic amenities of life. We believe that science and technology need to be harnessed to improve the lot of the vast section of our population living below the poverty line. We hold that science is not merely harnessing nature for material wealth but is as well for liberating and enriching the mind and enlarging the human spirit. The BJP will use science in the service of the poor and develop technology that has a humane face. Towards this end, we will:

1. Foster a scientific temper among the people;
2. Use science and technology for increasing productivity and generating employment;
3. Implement a vigorous programme of science education and research for improving quality of life;
4. Establish a network of centres for application of science and technology to rural areas, implement 'lab-to-land' programmes and develop a strong low-cost agro-Industrial base;
5. Put new life into National Laboratories to develop them as centres of excellence in applied research;
6. Direct these laboratories to evolve appropriate technology for Indian needs;
7. Accelerate the production of scientific literature in regional

languages and evolve a national terminology for science and technology;

8. Create the right working conditions for our best brains to remain in India and serve the country and not migrate to other lands;
9. Make a systematised effort to bring national laboratories and industry together by setting up 'Technology Parks' to be patronised by industry. This will promote cooperation between industry's resources and talent in laboratory;
10. Safeguard national interests and our intellectual property rights by encouraging research and development;
11. Undertake research in the field of drugs, micro-biology, bio-technology, bio-fertilisers etc.; and,
12. Strengthen research in indigenous systems of medicine.



Our Foreign Policy

India, the New Millennium, the World

In a post-Cold War world India will be confronted by many new challenges and opportunities. To meet them, to benefit from the opportunities, mindful of the existing global disequilibrium and in consonance with India's national interests, our foreign policy in the emerging decades will be based on the human values of peace, equality and cooperation.

The BJP holds that as a departure from the recent past, Indian diplomacy should be conducted in tune with India's position as a strong power and a major player in the world arena. A billion people who do not depend upon anyone for feeding or clothing themselves are a power which cannot be ignored. Our nation needs to regain its lost pride and the BJP alone can undertake this task. While we believe in partnership with everyone, we reject the very thought of patronage by anybody. The BJP's foreign policy will be guided by the following agenda:

1. Sovereign equality amongst nations; a rejection of political or economic hegemonism.
2. Promotion of Asian solidarity; development of South Asian Regional Cooperation; and, emphasis on improved relations with neighbouring countries. The BJP does not accept outside interference in this region as being beneficial for it.
3. Pakistan continues to follow a policy of fomenting insurgency seeking to create instability and unrest in India. The BJP stands committed to thwarting all these attempts. In this context, we state:
 - (a) The BJP affirms unequivocally India's sovereignty over

- the whole of Jammu & Kashmir, including Pakistan occupied Kashmir; and,
- (b) The BJP declares that it will not accept any interference in our country's internal affairs.
4. Our relations with the USA will be based on mutual respect and a congruence of interests. We note, however, that US policy for this region continues to suffer from lack of vision and that it disregards India's political and security interests.
 5. India and Russia have a long tradition of good relations and have much to gain from the compatibility of their geopolitical interests in Asia. The BJP will endeavour to further explore the avenues of bilateral cooperation in this direction.
 6. Our relations with the People's Republic of China offer an opportunity to now put them on a footing of friendship and cooperation. For this we need to resolve the border question in a fair and equitable manner. It cannot, however, be ignored that the People's Republic of China continues to support Pakistan militarily and otherwise.
 7. The BJP greatly regrets the continuing bloodshed in Sri Lanka, particularly as India all through its history has had warm fraternal ties with all sections of the population in that country. The BJP is confident that within a united Sri Lanka it should be possible to fulfil the aspirations of the Tamil people.
 8. The BJP pledges to maintain warm and friendly relations with Nepal, with which India has the closest cultural, religious and historical ties. The BJP will work actively for resolving all outstanding issues. We welcome the restoration of democracy in Nepal.
 9. The BJP views with great sympathy the struggle for restoration of democracy in Myanmar. It extends its support to the task of reconciliation and reconstruction in that country with which India has a long border and age-old religious, cultural and historical ties.
 10. The BJP will try to consolidate further the close and friendly ties between India and Bhutan.

11. In our relations with Bangladesh, illegal immigration into India from that country has proved a major irritant. This issue has cast its shadow on our bilateral ties and needs to be resolved early.
12. Millions of sons and daughters of Mother India, settled abroad as Overseas Indians, are considered by the BJP as an asset to the country. Their emotional attachment to the motherland is still deep. This must find due expression. Schemes will be drawn up to attract substantial investments by non-resident Indians. They will be welcome to set up industrial units and industrial parks, and invest in the infrastructure. The BJP will examine afresh the issue of dual citizenship.
13. The BJP will launch a vigorous campaign for a permanent membership for India in the UN Security Council.

The BJP stands committed to peace amongst all nations; prosperity for all the peoples of the world; and, an international role for India that befits this great and ancient nation.

□

Our Nation's Security

Protecting Our Country

The BJP accords the highest importance to the security of our Nation, our Society and our Citizens. We charge the present government with imperilling our security, internal and external, as never before.

Our defence expenditure has been cut steadily in real terms during the Narasimha Rao regime. This has seriously compromised our combat effectiveness. The present Congress government has been functioning without a full-time Defence Minister for over three years, and this negligence of India's sword arm has begun to affect the morale of our gallant forces.

The BJP will correct this damaging imbalance. We will accord due importance to all security related issues – the emerging global realities and regional complexities demand this as the very minimum response from our government.

Internal Security

The nature of the state and its relationship with society has a direct bearing on the level of the citizens' national commitment. An insensitive and uncaring state erodes the citizens' allegiance to the nation. The BJP will restore national commitment to its rightful place by establishing a harmonious relationship between state and society. We will:

1. Defuse tension in *long-festering* trouble spots;
2. Ensure protection of life and property from insurgents and foreign mercenaries;
3. Provide our security apparatus with a free hand to deal with terrorism;
4. Revitalise and reinforce law and order machinery;

5. Institute police reforms and upgrade the capability of the force; and,
6. Legislate tough deterrent laws against terrorist and disruptive activities (TADA was repealed to pander to vote bank politics) while safeguarding democratic rights.

Jammu & Kashmir

The absence of political far-sightedness and clarity of national objectives has resulted in our nation continuing to have to pay a price even 50 years after Jammu & Kashmir became a part of the Republic. The failure of successive Congress Governments to formulate a Jammu & Kashmir policy that takes into account the State's internal problems has led to a situation where this strategic border state has emerged as the principal challenge to Indian nationhood. The BJP realises the magnitude of the challenge and dedicates itself to the task of not only solving the internal problems of the state but also reclaiming the portion of our territory which has been illegally held by Pakistan for nearly five decades. Without repeating the mistakes of yesteryears and merely reacting to Pakistan's moves, we will:

1. Immediately strengthen the civil administration by inducting able and honest administrators;
2. Provide a free hand to our security forces to deal with the menace of terrorism and induction of men and arms from Pakistan, while ensuring that democratic rights are not violated;
3. Cleanse the local police and administration of malcontents who have aligned themselves with the terrorists or are pro-Pakistan;
4. Declare Doda a disturbed area and invoke the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act to prevent this district from becoming a haven for mercenaries and terrorists;
5. Launch a massive welfare programme for all regions of the state and ensure that there is no seepage;
6. Hold free and fair elections in the state after terrorism has been brought under control and every person, including the Pandits who have been forced out of the Valley, is provided with an opportunity to participate in the polls;

7. Rehabilitate all persons displaced from terrorism-afflicted areas of Jammu & Kashmir; and,
8. Set up regional councils for Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh.

North-East

The north-eastern states of our country continue to suffer from the violence perpetrated by insurgency and ethnic strife. Poor governance, a callous administration, seepage of development funds, and Congress' politics of manipulation have contributed to the alienation of the people and the growth of insurgency. In Assam, ULFA and Bodo militants have begun to strike with regularity; in Nagaland and Manipur the NSCN continues with its depredation; and, in Tripura, militant tribal outfits have once again reared their ugly heads. The tide of illegal immigration from Bangladesh has only worsened the situation. The BJP will address itself to the problems of our north-eastern States and institute a grievance redressal system monitored from Delhi. It will also take the following steps to restore the rule of law in the troubled States:

1. Check the inflow of foreign arms and terrorists from training camps across the border;
2. Strengthen the security apparatus and intelligence network;
3. Provide all citizens with identity cards on a priority basis;
4. Check the narcotics trade and attendant ills in the region; and,
5. Plan and execute an integrated and accelerated economic development programme.

Himalayas

Over the past five decades, our Himalayan bastions have been strategically pierced. Despite that, the attitude of successive Congress governments has remained unchanged. Strategically, the government has failed to restore a balance there, leave alone regain the initiative. In the process, we have also lost large national territories to the People's Republic of China, thus demonstrating an absence of strategic thought about our Himalayan bastions. The BJP will evolve a security policy for the Himalayas so that India's national interests are fully safeguarded.

External Security

We believe that pro-active diplomacy, especially defence diplomacy, coupled with adequate preparedness of our armed forces, is the key to securing our frontiers against aggression. This requires both strategy and tactics. The BJP will:

1. Set up a National Security Council;
2. Re-evaluate the country's nuclear policy and exercise the option to induct nuclear weapons;
3. Though the BJP stands committed to a nuclear-free world, we cannot accept a world of nuclear apartheid.
 - (i) The BJP will thus not agree to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) unless there is a simultaneous agreement for a time-bound global elimination of nuclear weapons in their entirety.
 - (ii) The BJP will not agree to the Fissile Material Control Regime (FMCR).
 - (iii) The BJP will not agree to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).
4. Expedite the serial production of Prithvi and make Agni I operational for the deployment of these missiles. In addition, hasten the development of Agni II;
5. Immediately upgrade conventional weapons and weapons systems of the armed forces;
6. Strengthen the intelligence-gathering system, inclusive of all intelligence agencies, initiate a Centre-State initiative on intelligence gathering and sharing, step up air surveillance of our territory, and acquire state-of-the-art electronic equipment;
7. Strengthen the Air Force fleet with new generation aircraft;
8. Make a qualitative and quantitative improvement in our naval capabilities;
9. Invest in R&D in areas of defence and missile technology so that we become increasingly self-reliant;
10. Peg defence-related expenditure to real requirements; and,
11. Re-examine the role, structure and composition of the numerous para-military forces and reorganise and reform them.

Jai Jawan

The BJP is rightly proud of our valiant soldiers who have dedicated their lives to defend our nation from external aggressors and internal subversives. We believe it is our duty to take care of our serving jawans and look after those who have retired from service, as well as their families. To fulfil this duty, the BJP will adopt the following programmes and policies:

1. The terms of service, including pay and allowances, housing, education for children and pension, of all ranks will be improved so as to attract men and women of high calibre. The present shortage of men and officers does not have to be met by lowering standards of entry;
2. Widows and dependents of jawans who die in action will receive higher benefits and compensation;
3. Pension disparities will be solved and anomalies sorted out expeditiously;
4. Hospitals for veterans will be set up throughout the country so that no ex-serviceman, irrespective of his rank, is denied medical care;
5. Ex-servicemen's welfare will be included in the concurrent list;
6. The services of our retired soldiers will be used to the maximum extent possible, especially in insurgency-affected areas. Wherever there is a stipulated percentage for employing ex-servicemen, it will be fulfilled;
7. Necessary changes will be made in agricultural and urban tenancy laws to secure the proprietary rights of servicemen; and,
8. District Sainik Boards will be strengthened.

Illegal Immigration:

Demographic Invasion – A Threat to Our Security

We believe that illegal immigration from our neighbouring countries, especially Bangladesh, has a direct impact on our nation's security and has an unsettling effect on our demography. Given the sheer dimension of numbers there are as many as 1.7 crore illegal immigrants, the bulk of them Bangladeshis, living in various

parts of the country. Illegal immigration is not only transforming the geography, but the sociology, the economy, indeed even the politics of this country. India is facing an explosive issue. If our demographic balance is allowed to be disturbed by inept policies and political considerations, various demographic entities are bound to come in conflict, thus adversely affecting our security environment. The invasion of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh has led to an alarming growth in a section of the population in our North-East, in Assam, in West Bengal, parts of Bihar and Delhi. In certain areas, a section of the population has grown by almost 100 per cent.

The BJP proposes to:

1. Complete barbed wire fencing along the India-Bangladesh border, beginning with the plains, to prevent infiltration;
2. Detect illegal immigrants, delete their names from voters' lists and arrange for their deportation without any further delay;
3. Declare all property deals between Indians and illegal immigrants as null and void;
4. Amend immigration rules and other laws to impose stringent checks on illegal entry into India; and,
5. Expedite the issuance of identity cards to all citizens of the country.

□

Our Villages, Our Farmers, Our Poor

Towards a Revitalised Rural Economy

Our country has an abundance of natural resources, fertile lands, flowing rivers, rich mineral deposits and verdant forests. More than anything else, we have a large army of farmers that shoulders the onerous task of feeding our people. But the wrong priorities of the last 50 years of Congress misrule and the lopsided model of development pursued by policymakers have impoverished vast sections of our farmers, rendering agriculture economically non-viable. Worse, bulk of the monies earmarked for infrastructural development, health, education and civic amenities has been canalised to the urban areas despite the fact that the majority of the population lives in villages.

Less than a quarter of the country's population, 23.31 per cent, lives in urban areas, compared to the overwhelming 76.69 per cent which lives in villages. As many as 71.4 per cent of our people are economically dependent on agriculture: This sector of our economy, therefore, generates the highest employment as well as provides the biggest market. Yet, this sector continues to be neglected by Congress policy-makers.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that India cannot emerge as a powerful nation until the lot of our farmers is improved, adequate attention paid to the agricultural sector, an all-out war launched against poverty, and investments are made in agro-industry as well as small-scale and cottage industry catering to the requirements of our villages. Our country's progress is linked to the well-being of our villages, our farmers and our poor.

Congress' Policy: Not to Have a Policy on Agriculture

In the absence of any well thought out agricultural policy focussing on rural development and reconstruction, agriculture is fast becoming a losing proposition for our farmers. While fixing agricultural prices, successive Congress governments have not taken into account the expenses incurred by our farmers on seeds, fertiliser, power, water, pesticides, machinery and labour. No effort has ever been made to bring about parity in the prices of industrial and agricultural produce.

As a result, our farmers are forced to sell the fruit of their labour at low prices even while they have to pay ever-increasing prices for the necessary inputs. Not surprisingly, this has contributed to the impoverishment and indebtedness of our farmers, pushing vast sections of them dangerously close to or even below the Poverty Line. According to the Planning Commission's own estimates, almost 42 per cent of our rural population lives below the Poverty Line.

No less alarming is the fact that the number of our villagers dependent on per acre of land has been steadily increasing, compared to other countries where this dependency has dramatically decreased with governments investing in agro-industry which offers alternative sources of employment. No effort has been made to set up an adequate number of small-scale and cottage industries in our rural areas to absorb idle hands. This has also contributed in no small measure to the impoverishment of our farmers. In 1950-51, the ratio of the disparity between the per capita income in rural and urban areas was 1:2; in 1995-96 it stood at 1:4. Similarly, while per family income has risen by 52 per cent in urban areas since 1952, it has increased by a mere 7.8 per cent in rural areas.

Ironically, these neglected villages form a vast market and from this market, as much as Rs 48,000 crores flow to our urban areas every year. By killing our villages, we will be destroying this market. Conversely, by developing our villages, we will be strengthening this market, which in turn will benefit our urban areas. In other words, urban India cannot survive without rural India.

But this simple truth has been ignored for the last 50 years. Today, three out of every four Indians live in villages, condemned to a life of exploitation and increasing social, political and economic

marginalisation.

BJP's Agenda For Our Farmers, Our Poor

We pledge to reverse this trend of social, political and economic marginalisation of our rural population and empower our farmers. We are committed to restoring agriculture to its rightful place and thus steering our people into an era of prosperity and social equality by the opening decade of the new century.

No country can be great if its people remain poor. Our first task will be to wipe out the dark curse of poverty. We will allocate greater resources for effective poverty alleviation programmes; we will invest in agriculture and small-scale industry; we will build from the bottom up, for that is the only way we can build an enduring edifice of development.

To develop rural India, the BJP will:

1. Allocate 60 per cent of plan funds for agricultural and rural development;
2. Treat villages as the basic unit of development and provide each village with basic facilities like roads, irrigation, drinking water, education, health and sanitation;
3. Provide shelter to the homeless in our villages;
4. Develop agriculture, enhance production and improve living standards in our villages by
 - (a) Fixing agricultural prices after taking into account all expenses incurred by farmers;
 - (b) Reducing the per acre cost of production;
 - (c) Increasing the average per acre production;
 - (d) Reducing the overall dependence on agriculture;
 - (e) Providing alternative employment to displaced farmers;
5. Give agriculture the same benefits as industry;
6. Set up an Agricultural Costs and Prices Commission in which farmers and agricultural specialists will together comprise two-thirds of the members. The Commission will be autonomous and its recommendations will be binding;
7. Announce the total cost of inputs, the total expenditure incurred by farmers, and thereafter announce the support prices;
8. Link support prices to the price index;

9. Ensure parity between agricultural and industrial products in respect of pricing;
10. Conduct extensive research to evolve methods of dryland farming;
11. Give priority to the farmers' interests while determining the exim policy for agricultural produce;
12. Enforce prompt payment for agricultural produce. There will be automatic interest addition to payments delayed beyond two weeks;
13. Extend crop and animal insurance to all agricultural produce. Insurance schemes will also cover natural calamities;
14. Establish a chain of warehouses with facilities for grant of advance payments of up to 80 per cent of the agricultural produce deposited;
15. Encourage the use of fruit juice in the production of all beverages;
16. Allow free movement of foodgrains throughout the country;
17. Free sugar industry from licensing, and production of molasses from all restrictions on production and movement, as well as ensure that farmers receive an adequate share of the total prices;
18. Maintain the subsidy on fertilisers;
19. Improve the Public Distribution System;
20. Establish farmers' service centres;
21. Give comprehensive documents to farmers which cover land records, ownership and all other relevant papers;
22. Reform land acquisition laws and ensure that agricultural land acquired for any purpose receives prompt and full compensation at market rates;
23. Free bonded labour and rehabilitate them; and,
24. Launch employment guarantee schemes in rural India that will cover the largest possible number of people.

To revive village industry, the BJP will:

1. Establish an extensive chain of tiny and small-scale industrial units;
2. Give the greatest impetus to this sector. To make agriculture-based sustainable, the BJP will sharpen the edge of agro

rural industries and food-processing;

3. Provide all facilities, including easy access to credit and marketing to rural artisans and craftsmen;
4. Set up a National Artisan Development Bank;
5. Set up special institutes for skill upgradation; and,
6. Give a thrust to wasteland development, social forestry and horticulture.

To provide irrigation facilities, the BJP will:

1. Launch time-bound irrigation projects and complete ongoing projects;
2. Give priority to small and minor irrigation projects;
3. Remove disparities between districts within states;
4. Encourage the use of alternative sources of irrigation through incentives and better water management;
5. Ensure that farmers are made to pay only for the water they consume; and,
6. Draw up a master plan for flood control and harnessing of flood waters for irrigation. Offer prompt compensation for crops lost in floods.

To provide power for agriculture, the BJP will:

1. Encourage rapid electrification of our villages so that no village is left without power by the turn of the century;
2. Ensure adequate supply of power for agricultural activity;
3. Set up small power stations and sub-stations in rural areas for supplying power exclusively to villages; and,
4. Electricity Boards will be made to pay compensation to farmers if they fail to supply assured quantity of power. Similarly, farmers will be required to pay their power bill on time,

To strengthen the cooperative movement, the BJP will:

1. Free cooperatives from political interference;
2. Prevent the intrusion of vested interests;
3. Simplify rules and regulations governing the functioning of cooperative societies;
4. Make entry in passbooks mandatory for all money deposits;

5. Only those entirely dependent on agriculture will be allowed to become members of farmers cooperative societies; and,
6. Ensure free and timely elections to cooperative bodies.

To implement land reforms, the BJP will:

1. Enforce the implementation of Land Ceiling Laws in all States;
2. Set up designated courts to expeditiously deal with all land ceiling disputes and monitor enforcement of verdicts;
3. Expedite distribution of ceiling surplus land among landless farmers;
4. Monitor the use of distributed land and prevent its alienation from beneficiaries;
5. Reclaim cultivable land lying fallow;
6. Time-bound registration of all lands; and,
7. Decide ownership rights at the level of Gram Panchayats without any delay.

To alleviate poverty, the BJP will:

1. Enhance public outlays for poverty alleviation and social infrastructure;
2. Restructure the PDS, confining it only to the poor and the needy. Burgeoning food stocks with a vastly reduced off take and a decline in the per capita consumption of cereals from PDS are powerful indicators of poverty rather than the misleading inflation indices. PDS prices and the regulated intervals of offtake will be suitably adjusted so that the scheme becomes meaningful for fighting hunger and malnutrition. PDS will also be dovetailed to provide 'Food for Work' in employment programmes linked with poverty eradication;
3. Identify poverty through indexation reflecting not only the level of consumption of calories but also the minimal social infrastructure status such as literacy, housing, drinking water, health and sanitation;
4. Implement 'Antyodaya' schemes throughout the country because we hold that sustainable employment is at the core

of poverty eradication. These Antyodaya schemes will be targeted at the poorest of the poor: Five crore families will be selected for immediate relief;

5. Allocate more resources for food-for-work programmes so that they can be implemented round the year, as well as monitor their implementation; and,
6. Introduce Langar Yojana and Annadan Yojana to ensure that no man, woman or child goes hungry.

To ensure cow protection, the BJP will:

1. Impose a total ban on the slaughter of cows and cow progeny by amending Article 48 of the Constitution to cover bulls and bullocks, and prohibit all trading (state as well as private) in the slaughter of cows and cow progeny;
2. Implement a policy for improved cattle-breeding; and,
3. Provide tax exemption to the income of Goshalas and Pinjrapoles.

The BJP recognises the fact that from times immemorial, cow-protection has remained one of the basics of Indian culture and Indian agriculture, and it is on the patient back of the cow and its progeny that the entire structure of Indian agriculture rests. Over 70 million animals are employed in farming operations in Indian villages, more than 80% rural transport needs are met by the bullock-cart. Our livestock is also an effective protection against environmental degradation.

The BJP regretfully observes that millions of cows and cow progeny are slaughtered every year, most of them for export.

□

Our Human Wealth

Literacy and Health For All

The Bharatiya Janata Party is committed to the creation of a Bharat whose citizens will not suffer from the dual affliction of illiteracy and malnutrition. We believe that the state should invest in developing every citizen's potential to contribute to the regeneration of our country. To achieve that, we will stress on health and education, both of which are challenges that have to be met by the first decade of the 21st century. India has to emerge as a powerful, self-reliant and proud nation. True development will be possible only when we draw sustenance from our citizens; they are our true wealth.

Education

The past five years have witnessed this core area of human resource development being increasingly deprived of state support. As a result, quality education is fast becoming the preserve of the social and economic elite of the country. The vast multitudes, who have been victims of inequity, continue to be denied the cherished ideal of literacy. The BJP will stress on providing equal opportunity of education, literacy and information.

Towards this end, we will:

1. Increase state spending on education progressively to at least six per cent of our Gross National Product;
2. Spend more on primary education and enrol the help of non-government organisations in this area;
3. Provide free education in order to universalise access to primary education;
4. Offer incentives in the form of free text books, nutrition programmes and stipends to check dropout rate so that at

- least 80 per cent children, both boys and girls, who enrol complete primary school education;
5. Reduce learning period and introduce self-employment oriented vocational training programmes at high school level;
 6. Introduce an anti-cheating law which will be applicable to all States and whose abuse will be prevented through adequate safeguards;
 7. Launch community-level adult education programmes to provide functional literacy to at least 90 per cent of our adult illiterates in both villages and the cities;
 8. Set up a special monitoring authority to scrutinise the quality of education and remove gender disparity;
 9. Ensure autonomy to universities, encourage them to mobilise resources for research and higher education, and provide academic freedom to our scholars, especially in the social sciences;
 10. Improve the pay and emoluments of teachers at all levels and remove anomalies in college/university promotion rules;
 11. Enrol industry's help to set up more technical and agro-industrial institutions that will provide affordable education;
 12. Abolish the system of capitation fees and monitor the functioning of private engineering and medical institutions;
 13. Launch a scheme for low interest bank loans for meritorious students who want to go in for higher education; and,
 14. Thwart attempts by foreign universities, colleges and institutes of dubious reputation to open branches in India and prevent the outflow of foreign exchange on studies abroad unless the course is relevant to our needs and requirements.

Health

We believe in increasing state investment in health and nutrition programmes because this is the only path to the creation of a productive workforce by the beginning of the next century. Our goal will be health for all. Towards this end, we will strive for:

1. Ending the scourge of malnutrition;
2. Drastically reducing our infant mortality rate and under-five mortality rate by spending more on pre-natal and post-natal health care programmes;
3. Immunising every child against killer diseases;
4. Providing every panchayat with a free primary health care centre with facilities for mother and child care, as well as access to these centres;
5. Canalising a substantial portion of the health care allocation on preventive rather than curative aspects;
6. Promoting awareness on cleanliness and disease prevention;
7. Re-evaluating existing programmes to tackle sexually transmitted diseases, with special focus on AIDS;
8. Making the screening of blood at blood banks mandatory and provide for punitive punishment for any violation;
9. Holding doctors, para-medical and non-medical staff at government hospitals and health care centres accountable and instituting a mechanism for swift disposal of all complaints;
10. Revising pay and emoluments of staff at Government hospitals and health care centre to attract the best talent;
11. Promoting alternative medical sciences with special emphasis on Ayurveda and Unani systems;
12. Protecting traditional medicinal plants, trees and cures;
13. Preventing drug prices from escalating to a point where they become non-affordable for the masses;
14. Introducing health insurance schemes at a minimal cost to the subscriber; and,
15. Instituting a mechanism to monitor and collate health-related information.

□

Our Agenda For Women

Nari Shakti: Towards Empowerment

We hold that 'Nari Shakti' is not merely a phrase, it is the enunciation of our approach. Towards this end, the BJP will empower women, ensure that their dignity and rights are not trampled upon and help develop their full potential. We are also committed to protecting the rights of the girl child. The BJP will:

1. End discrimination in any form against women and encourage gender sensitivity. All national policies will be subjected to gender analysis;
2. Reserve 33 per cent seats in all elected bodies, including State Assemblies and Parliament, to make women real participants in a resurgent India of the 21st century;
3. Actively promote the legal and economic rights of women which must be equal to those of men and not subject to the debilitating clauses of personal laws;
4. Introduce a Uniform Civil Code that will:
 - (i) Give women property rights;
 - (ii) Ensure women's right to adopt;
 - (iii) Guarantee women equal guardianship rights;
 - (iv) Remove discriminatory clauses in divorce laws; and,
 - (v) Put an end to polygamy;
5. Create conditions in society and workplace to ensure equal opportunities in employment and promotion, and end sexual harassment;
6. Enforce the principle of equal wages for equal work whether in the organised or unorganised sector;
7. Evolve a scheme for part-time jobs for women;
8. Promote a health care system that will focus on the

- nonreproductive health needs of women, especially in rural areas;
9. Provide state support for single and working mothers through grants and subsidy, and formulate a forward looking housing policy to help women;
 10. Make women partners in the management of community assets and properties;
 11. Enrol the help of local self-governments to set up latrines for women in the rural areas;
 12. Set up a micro-credit system with the help of a national corpus to which both the Union and State governments, apart from banks, will contribute.
 13. Encourage the setting up of cooperative societies in rural areas to be managed by women and to benefit women entrepreneurs;
 14. Introduce skill-based training programmes and employment schemes which are area-specific;
 15. Design a special programme to provide women who were denied education with functional literacy;
 16. Amend laws that deal with molestation, rape and dowry to provide for in-camera trial, swift justice and tough deterrent punishment as well as rehabilitation of the victims of these crimes;
 17. Amend the Prevention of Immoral Traffic Act to make clients as culpable as commercial sex workers;
 18. Rehabilitate commercial sex workers and set up a special fund to provide health care and education to their children;
 19. Enact a law that will make registration of marriages with foreigners mandatory;
 20. Make it compulsory for the mother's name also to be mentioned in all government and non-government records, starting from a child's birth certificate to a person's death certificate.
 21. Set up designated courts in every district for expeditious trial of civil and criminal complaints relating to women;
 22. Rapidly induct more women in the police force and appoint them in senior positions as well as set up a 'Crimes Against Women Cell' in every police station;
 23. Enact a special law to deal with the crime of domestic

- violence against women;
24. Promote a social agenda designed to discourage negative influences and end discrimination against the girl child in any form;
 25. Ruthlessly punish those who indulge in unethical practices like prenatal sex-determination test and female foeticide and infanticide;
 26. Invest in the girl child's health, nutrition and education, from infancy through adolescence;
 27. Universalise primary and secondary education to narrow the gender gap and offer incentives for the girl child's education in the form of free uniforms and books;
 28. Strictly enforce age of consent laws and end child prostitution; and,
 29. Have a fresh look at the UN convention for the elimination of discrimination against women (CEDAW) to determine whether the reservations expressed by the Government of India are justified.

□

Our Population Policy

Towards a Sustainable and Balanced Growth

Our people are our primary concern – their basic needs of health, education and employment must precede everything else. To ensure an equitable disbursement of resources so that the largest number of our people benefit from development policies, we must arrest the country's runaway population and growth. An increasing population can only mean a decreasing share of the fruits of development. Successive Congress Governments have ignored this crucial area of development planning, often for petty political motives. This has resulted in a steep rise in population and severe demographic imbalances. The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that children are born – and have the right – to be happy, and not merely for existence. We will, therefore, put population-related issues, especially family planning, firmly back on the national agenda, and launch a people's movement against the impending population explosion through persuasive policies. The BJP proposes to:

1. Act on the reports of the National Development Council and the Swaminathan Committee to formulate a National Population Policy that will stabilise the population growth by the first decade of the new century;
2. Enact a law that will debar those with more than two children from holding elected office, with 1996 as the cutoff year;
3. Provide incentives to those among the economically weaker sections who opt for the 'two-child' norm in the form of special facilities for health, education, nutrition and employment opportunities. At the same time, the BJP will also introduce disincentives like limiting subsidised

- ration and maternity benefits to two children with 1996 as the cut-off year. These disincentives will apply to all sections of society, irrespective of their social, economic or religious status to discourage large, unsustainable families;
4. Ensure universal access to family planning information and quality facilities by involving non-government organisations, and promote awareness among the people, especially women, through counselling and educational programmes
 5. Introduce family planning methods and facilities that will allow women greater freedom of choice without imperilling their health;
 6. Launch a special campaign for women to seek about negative practices and encourage reproductive health services;
 7. Offer a special incentive in the form of a fixed deposit that will mature in 21 years for those couples who have only a girl child under a 'Dattak Putri Yojana'.
 8. Make family planning an integral part of policies to ensure widest applicability of these incentives and disincentives.



Our Environment

Only One Earth

The BJP holds as a firm conviction that our 'only one Earth' is the endower of all our wealth and natural resources. This, however, is not for endless exploitation. Our environment has to be protected, not only to prevent the sanctity of Mother Earth from being profaned but also because our forests, our rivers and our skies sustain a multitude of lives. No less important is the crucial role that environment plays in our nation's security. Environment must be protected by subscribing to the concept of 'sustainable development', a philosophical tenet that is integral to our civilisational and cultural consciousness. The BJP will:

1. Introduce a National Environment Policy incorporating a healthy balance between development needs and preservation of natural resources. The interests of and consultation with states will be fully ensured. To implement the policy, the Ministry of Environment and Forests will be recast as the Ministry for Ecological Security;
2. Implement better management and harnessing of river waters as well as sources of ground water;
3. Control land, air and water pollution by industry and urban centres. Municipal sewage treatment plants will be made obligatory;
4. Formulate a programme for developing sustainable cities, with special emphasis on waste management and use of natural resources like water;
5. Make environment studies a part of school, college and university curriculum and make environment issues an integral part of the visual media so that our children

- develop a caring and protective attitude towards the ecological system that sustains our lives;
6. Protect the traditional and other rights of Vanvasis and Girijans over forest resources and produce;
 7. Involve local self-governments at all levels, both in villages and cities, in implementing the National Policy;
 8. Provide easy access to information on conservation and sustainable use of natural resources;
 9. Ban the import of hazardous chemical wastes for recycling by any industry or for dumping;
 10. Minimise the use of non-biodegradable material for packaging by the consumer non-durable products industry;
 11. It will restrain the conversion of forests or grazing areas for other purposes;
 12. Adopt afforestation policies to be fulfilled within a given timeframe and prevent the degradation of forests by natural or manmade causes. The cornerstone of the BJP's forest policy will be a part of the total framework of land management, adoption of a dynamic programme of productive forestry and moving to private investment in forestry from total state management of forests. A programme will also be drawn up for the conversion of degraded forests, wasteland and marginal land into quality forests;
 13. Deny exploitation of offshore resources, especially marine life, by big trawlers;
 14. Promote R&D in environment-related studies and eco-technology for application in agriculture, industry and the services sector;
 15. Provide incentives to manufacturers of eco-friendly products;
 16. Not sanction tourism-related projects that disturb the environment and cause degradation.

□

Our Social Philosophy

Harmony and Equality through Integral Humanism

The Bharatiya Janata Party's social philosophy, which is the bedrock of its social agenda, is rooted in integral humanism. It rules out contradictions between society and its various components, as also between society and the individual, or, for that matter, between the family, the basic building brick of our social structure, and the individual. From this stems the BJP's commitment to the eradication of social and economic disparities that have prevented India from emerging as a modern, dynamic nation; to the creation of a socially integrated Bharatiya society which can proudly enter the new century. The BJP will help all socially and economically weak and backward sections of society, through special welfare and other schemes, to reach their full potential, For us, it is a historic task which we are resolved to fulfil.

Equity and Equality

1. The BJP will adhere, through its policies and programmes, to the ideals, principles and goals of equity and equality as enshrined in our country's Constitution;
2. The BJP will promote a casteless socio-economic order which will effectively provide access to equal opportunities to all citizens, irrespective of their caste, creed, religion or gender;
3. The BJP will ensure that the place of an individual in society will not be determined on the basis of his birth; and
4. The BJP will dismantle practices, customs, beliefs, usages and institutions which are divisive and discriminatory, and which in any manner hurt the dignity of the individual.

Untouchability

1. The BJP condemns unequivocally the practice of untouchability which is not only against the law of the land but runs counter to the very concept of integral humanism. Not surprisingly, the first brick of the Ram temple at Ayodhya was laid by a member of the Scheduled Castes, Kameshwar Chaupal.
2. The BJP will endeavour to create an ethos of equality in social and inter-personal relationships.

Weaker Sections

1. The BJP will make the existing institutions and Constitutional safeguards for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes operationally more effective.
2. The BJP views the provision of special facilities and special opportunities, including reservations, in the Constitution as practical steps to advance the deprived and under-privileged sections of society. The BJP will continue with the existing policy on reservations till social and economic equity is achieved.

Our Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The BJP's goal is to achieve social equality for all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes through political and economic empowerment. To achieve this goal, the BJP will:

1. Stringently enforce laws against untouchability;
2. Inquire into all cases of atrocities, publish the findings, punish the guilty and rehabilitate the victims as expeditiously as possible;
3. Lay stress on education, vocational training and skill upgradation;
4. Take prompt action to fill up the backlog in jobs reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The reservations policy will be backed up with a statute;
5. Set up a financial agency on the lines of NABARD to cater to the individual and institutional credit needs of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;

6. Provide more facilities for greater participation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in small scale, cottage and rural industries, as well as in trade and commerce;
7. End the pernicious practice of carrying night soil and accelerate the rehabilitation of those engaged in scavenging;
8. Wipe out the evil of bonded and child labour and rehabilitate the victims;
9. Launch a massive housing programme for the homeless in villages;
10. Allot pattas for land, home site and homes in the name of wives/widows/daughters;
11. Take necessary steps to protect tribals from exploitation, especially by contractors, and indebtedness;
12. Amend the existing forest policy to restore to the Vanvasis their rightful share of forest wealth and produce, as well as provide viable marketing facilities;
13. Expedite the processing of the claims of Vanvasis and Girijans for pattas in forest and hill areas;
14. Disallow the diversion of monies from Plan and Tribal SubPlan funds meant for the welfare and development of Vanvasis and Girijans;
15. Prevent land alienation through conversion of tribal lands for industrial and other purposes;
16. Formulate and implement a National Policy for the rehabilitation of families displaced by development projects. This rehabilitation policy will be multi-dimensional and not merely provide financial compensation or means of livelihood. Governed by the principle of 'total rehabilitation', it will include social, economic, educational, environmental, occupational and cultural aspects.
17. Encourage the setting up of inter-state regional coordination councils to implement a common welfare programme for tribals living in contiguous areas of neighbouring states.
18. Erect a befitting memorial in honour of Maharishi Valmiki and Babasaheb Ambedkar in the national Capital.

Our Socially and Educationally Backwards

The BJP is committed to providing both social and economic justice to the socially and educationally backward classes (Other Backward Classes) through the instrument of reservations. At the same time, we hold that the path to progress of all sections of our people lies not through social divisions brought about by casteist politics but through social harmony. The BJP advocates:

1. Continuation of reservations for the Other Backward Classes till they are socially and educationally integrated with the rest of society;
2. A uniform criterion for demarcating the 'creamy layer';
3. Flow of reservation benefits in an ascending order so that the most backward sections of the OBCs get them first;
4. Ten per cent reservation on the basis of economic criteria to all economically weaker sections of society, apart from the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and the Other Backward Classes; and,
5. Special programmes to provide education and vocational training as well as awareness campaigns.

Enabling Our Disabled

As many as five crore of our people have been socially, politically and economically marginalised because of their physical and other disabilities. Successive Congress governments have not only abdicated their responsibility towards these less fortunate of our citizens, but also resisted their empowerment and, therefore, their inclusion in the national mainstream. The level of official apathy can be gauged from the fact that during the last year of its tenure, the Rao Government allocated Rs 42 crore for the welfare of the disabled, which works out to Rs 8 per person.

The BJP believes that those who have been excluded from playing a participatory role in the nation-building process by being stigmatised as 'disabled', should be empowered so that they become productive, proud citizens of our country. Towards this end, we propose to:

1. Order a special survey to collect data about the number of people who are physically and otherwise disabled and

- the nature of their disability;
2. Use this data to formulate policies aimed at empowerment rather than merely welfare;
 3. Actively campaign to remove social prejudices;
 4. Sensitise the bureaucracy to the needs and aspirations of the disabled people;
 5. Provide employment in all suitable categories of government service through a policy of equal opportunity;
 6. Give incentives to the private sector to provide disabled people with job opportunities;
 7. Offer medical, counselling and rehabilitation facilities at health care centres by increasing budgetary allocation and encouraging state governments to make a matching contribution; and,
 8. Ensure that disabled people have access to public utilities and services.

Our Minorities

Wherever and whenever the Bharatiya Janata Party has been in power, it has ensured peace and security for all sections of society, irrespective of their religious identity. The BJP is committed to further strengthen this achievement. This is in stark contrast to the insecurity faced by minority communities under Congress rule. We have been steadfastly opposed to appeasement as state policy since it benefits only those sections which profess regressive and retrograde social norms in the guise of protecting their religious beliefs. The BJP will be guided by its policy of 'justice for all, appeasement of none'. A resurgent India will enter the 21st century with the resolve of one nation, one people and one culture. To achieve this goal, we will:

1. Guarantee all minority communities equal opportunity for economic development;
2. Lay stress on education and vocational training;
3. Provide incentives to those who are self-employed, especially artisans, and those who want to set up their own business enterprise;
4. Launch community programmes to create awareness among women members of minority communities;

5. Ensure equality for all and discrimination against none on grounds of religion in matters of education by amending Article 30;
6. Disband the Minorities Commission and entrust its responsibilities to the National Human Rights Commission;
7. Set up special courts for speedy trial of those accused of participating in communal riots;
8. Protect wakf property from being usurped and misused by unscrupulous individuals and organisations and help wakf boards to become self-sustaining bodies so that they do not have to be dependent on government doles;
9. Set up trusts along the line of the Tirupati Temple Trust with official nominees for managing the affairs of dargahs;
10. Ensure that no religious property is misused or usurped;
11. Ban all foreign funds irrespective of the organisation which is the recipient;
12. Make fraudulent conversions, including those done by holding out the promise of economic or social benefits, punishable offence and introduce a system of registering all conversions;
13. Ban the publication of job advertisements that mention religious identity as a criterion; and,
14. Set up a Commission of Inquiry (similar to the Neogi Commission) to inquire into the activities of foreign missionaries and other organisations that have been receiving foreign funds.

Human Rights

The BJP subscribes to the view that human dignity, justice for all and protection of the individual from the tyranny of the state are among the basic tenets of Hindutva. We are committed to upholding the human, democratic and civil rights of every individual, irrespective of the person's caste, creed, religion or gender. But, we will not allow this commitment to be used as a shield by those who commit inhuman atrocities and thus forsake their claim to human rights. The BJP believes that the state should be fair to all citizens, but firm while dealing with those who militate against civil society. The BJP will not allow any foreign interference

in our country's internal affairs on the pretext of monitoring human rights violations. We will:

1. Strengthen the existing National Human Rights Commission through more powers, additional resources and better infrastructural support;
2. Disband the Minorities Commission, which has only succeeded in feeding separatist sentiments and giving rise to imagined grievances, and entrust its responsibilities to the National Human Rights Commission;
3. Take swift action on the basis of the Commission's findings and punish the guilty; and,
4. Include the study of human, democratic and civil rights in school curricula.

Displaced Communities: Protecting their Rights

Separatist violence and Islamic fundamentalism/terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir has forced more than 300,000 people, including 250,000 Kashmiri Pandits and Punjabi and Dogra Hindus, apart from thousands of Sikhs and even some Muslims, to flee their homes and hearths. Most of the displaced Pandits are living in abysmal conditions in refugee camps in Jammu and other parts of the country. Together, they perhaps form the largest internally displaced community in the world, forced to live as refugees in their own motherland, condemned to the mercy of an uncaring and callous Congress government at the Centre and its puppet administration in Jammu and Kashmir. The Bharatiya Janata Party has mobilised its own resources, men and material to provide succour to these unfortunate victims of government apathy and terrorist violence. But a lot more needs to be done.

Similarly, thousands of Buddhist Chakmas have fled the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh in the face of persecution by Muslim settlers from the plains and the Bangladesh Rifles. Most of them are at present living in camps in Tripura. Regardless of the grim future that awaits them back home, the Government of India has shown unnecessary haste in trying to repatriate them – an action that is largely motivated by the petty politics of the Congress. The BJP is opposed to such forced repatriation in the absence of foolproof security guarantees from the Government of Bangladesh.

The escalating conflict in Sri Lanka between Sinhalese and Tamils is posing a demographic threat to South India with a large number of Tamil refugees beginning to pour into this region. Such a movement is bound to increase the influence of the LTTE which may, in turn, promote separatist tendencies.

We must also address ourselves to the concerns of nonresident Indians, especially those who had settled in Hong Kong and now find the future uncertain with Britain handing over this territory to China in 1997.

The BJP proposes:

For Kashmiri Pandits

1. As urged by them for social cohesion and cultural preservation, designate the Pandits who have been forced out of Kashmir Valley as an internally displaced community.
2. Provide adequate financial relief, proper health, housing, education and employment facilities on a priority basis to all displaced families.
3. Take adequate steps to protect their assets and properties in Kashmir Valley till such time they are able to return home.
4. Elections in the Valley should be held only after the displaced people are able to return to their homes.
5. Ensure proper documentation of the displaced Pandits and their assets.

For Chakma refugees

1. Resettle Chakma refugees, the bulk of whom are at present in Tripura, in camps in other contiguous States and provide financial support to their governments so that they do not have to take on the economic burden.
2. Provide full citizenship to those Chakmas who do not want to return to Bangladesh and whose children were born in India.
3. Negotiate with Bangladesh for the phased repatriation of those Chakmas who want to return, provided Dhaka

guarantees their safety and well-being.

4. Ensure full security for the Chakmas who live in refugee camps so that they are not harassed or threatened.
5. Maintain an official register of Chakma refugees and their whereabouts.

For Sri Lankan Tamil refugees

1. House them in refugee camps and monitor their movements.
2. Prevent their association with local organisations or opening local chapters of Sri Lankan organisations.
3. Screen the antecedents of the Tamil refugees and disallow asylum to those who have or had links with Tamil terrorists.
4. Maintain a register of all such refugees.
5. Repatriate Tamil refugees as soon as the situation is conducive for their safe-being.

For non-resident Indians

1. Provide citizenship to those Hong Kong based Indians who wish to return to their motherland.
2. Help rehabilitate the returning Hong Kong based Indians.
3. Examine afresh difficulties in granting dual citizenship to non-resident Indians all over the world.

□

Our Identity, Our Culture

The Cornerstone of Bharatiyata

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that modernisation does not mean the mechanical imitation of a particular way of life. It will redefine the concept of development to accommodate the Bharatiya way of living, belief system and values to reach the ultimate goal of Bharatiyata. We hold that it is necessary to emphasise the linkage of development elements to cultural elements, including local relevance, relevance to geographical and environmental factors, historical traditions, traditional knowledge and skills. We believe that cultural factors play an important role in energising a nation. For a resurgent India whose people can proudly flaunt their Bharatiyata, the BJP will:

1. Strengthen and revitalise our cultural institutions;
2. Revive and rejuvenate our positive cultural traditions and values;
3. Include Indian cultural studies and 'Naitik Siksha' as part of school curriculum;
4. Establish a Bharatiya Sanskriti Kendra in each district;
5. Declare all places of pilgrimage as national heritage centres;
6. Encourage the study of Sanskrit and strictly enforce the three-language formula in schools;
7. Promote Bharatiya classical music and performing arts through state support; and,
8. Discourage indecent representation of women in advertisements and publications; young minds. Sex and violence on the silver screen are beginning to gnaw at the moorings of our cultural ethos.

To check this abuse of popular cinema, the BJP will:

1. Provide film-making the status of industry so that producers can be made accountable for their resources and expenses;
2. Enable film-makers through suitable provisions in law to raise resources from financial institutions to curb the influence of underworld financiers and mafia dons;
3. Analogous to the concept of the Customs 'green channel', provide automatic certification for films which do not contain explicit scenes and dialogues of violence and sexproducers and exhibitors of such films will not have to wait in the queue for Censor Board clearance. Deterrent punishment will be meted out to any producer who abuses the facility; theatre owners who screen such films will also be penalised;
4. Exempt quality films, which will be certified as 'Q' from entertainment tax;
5. Encourage viewers to form local Darshak Sanghs – on the lines of consumer organisations – to monitor the quality of films being screened in their area;
6. Set up special theatres at district headquarters and metropolitan cities for screening art and quality films;
7. Appoint 50 per cent women on the Censor Board and Censor Panels;
8. Create a special fund for promoting regional cinema; and,
9. Introduce legislation to ensure minimum wages and retirement benefits for film extras and crew members.

□

Our Youth – Our Future

In the Vanguard of Change

Our youth form the backbone of our vibrant nation and they alone can shape the destiny of this country. The BJP has a tryst with the youth of India and will harness their creative energy for bringing about social, cultural and political change. We will aim at transforming Yuva Sankalpa into Yuva Shakti, which, in turn, will be the catalyst for reinvigorating India.

We will inculcate in the country's youth a sense of pride in our ancient traditions and heritage. We will instil in them a sense of self-confidence so that they can take their rightful place in the vanguard of change.

Towards this end, through its policies and programmes, the BJP will:

1. Inculcate in the youth a sense of being indebted to society at large and thus prepare them to repay this debt by involving themselves in development programmes and social, cultural and economic activities;
2. Initiate schemes both at Government and Non-Government levels to achieve overall development of young talent;
3. Mobilise the youth to fight regressive and retrograde social practices and customs by making community service a compulsory and integral component of college and university curricula;
4. Set up a National Youth Commission and a Youth Development Bank to design and implement comprehensive employment oriented education policies as well channelise youth power for the purpose of nation-building;
5. Encourage the youth to form 'Yuva Sena' and 'Dharti

Raksha Vahini' for voluntary community service with the ultimate aim of generating employment;

6. Launch a massive self-enterprise programme to provide employment opportunities to the educated unemployed;
7. Allocate adequate time for youth programmes on Doordarshan;
8. Promote sports through enhanced expenditure on training and rehabilitate sportsmen after they retire from the field;
9. Establish a network of youth hostels throughout the country and provide travel concessions; and,
10. Encourage the study of yoga and promote our cultural heritage by incorporating them in educational curriculum.

□

Our Achievements

Peace, Progress and Prosperity

Wherever and whenever the Bharatiya Janata Party has formed a state government, it has provided the people with a caring, fair, clean and strong administration. The emphasis of our state governments, be it in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Delhi or Maharashtra (where it shares power with the Shiv Sena), or earlier in Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, has been on ensuring peace, progress and prosperity.

The distinctive feature of our State Governments is their singular achievement in curbing communal and caste conflict. This is in stark contrast to the situation that prevails in States ruled by the Congress or the Janata Dal where the law and order machinery has virtually collapsed. A shining example of our achievement on this front is the communal peace that prevails in Maharashtra which till recently was wrecked by riots and social conflict. Similarly, the BJP government in Gujarat has ensured peace.

This has been achieved by cracking down on anti-social and anti-national activity. The underworld mafia, which flourished under Congress rule, has been brought to book. The criminal-politician nexus has been broken. Blackmarketeers, and other criminals, who survived because of Congress patronage, have been put behind bars or are facing prosecution.

The emphasis on enforcing law and order is not without reason. For, unless there is peace, there cannot be progress and prosperity.

In the field of development, our state governments have focused their attention on the rural sector, because the majority of our people live in the villages. Not only have effective steps been taken to solve the problems of our farmers, but innovative

schemes have been introduced to generate employment and fight the scourge of poverty.

For instance, the BJP government in Rajasthan has earmarked more than 60 % of Plan allocation for rural areas. As many as 12.86 lakh farmers and artisans have benefited from the state government's decision to write off loans amounting to more than Rs 300 crores. The state government has also written off irrigation loans amounting to Rs 124 crores and introduced more effective means of irrigation. Tax relief on seeds, a wide range of agricultural produce and equipment has further helped the farmers. Similarly, the state government has reduced sales tax on fertilizers and made a five-fold increase in agricultural loans.

On the social front, the government has introduced innovative schemes like Gopal Gram Yojana and Saraswati Yojana. The first scheme not only aims at improving the quality of livestock but also providing people with a sustained income. Similarly, Saraswati Yojana has a two-fold purpose: Universalising primary education and providing employment to the educated youth of the villages. Schemes like Shiksha Karmi Project and Guru-Mitra Yojana have also contributed immensely to increasing literacy levels. Vikalp, a specially designed family planning programme based on incentives and which protects the girl child, has been immensely successful.

The Rajasthan Government has also introduced a new industrial policy to attract both Indian and foreign investors. The policy has already begun to pay rich dividends. The government has signed MOUs for the setting up of new power plants. Soon, the state shall have the largest solar power plant.

In Gujarat, the BJP government has maintained communal harmony in the trouble-prone areas. Latif, a notorious criminal involved in bootlegging and anti-social activities, has been put behind bars. His underworld activities in the border areas of Kutch and Saurashtra have come to a grinding halt. Those involved in adulteration of petrol with solvents, which had become an extremely profitable crime during Congress rule, are facing prosecution.

With law and order restored, the state government has turned its attention on development activity. Work on the Sardar Sarovar Project is progressing at a remarkable speed. Bonds worth Rs 300

crores were issued and the amount obtained in seven days from the cooperative sector. Simultaneously, those displaced because of the project have been rehabilitated,

On the industrial front, the state government has adopted an investor-friendly policy which has evoked a tremendous response. An increasing number of Non-Resident Indians have begun to show keen interest in investing in Gujarat. At the same time, the interests of the agricultural sector are not being ignored. For instance, 42 % of the power generated in the state is channelised for agricultural use, compared to 34 % for industry. New power plants are being commissioned to meet future requirements. In the last three years of Congress rule, not a single MW was added to the installed capacity.

On the social front, the state government has reduced bus fares by 20%, a move which has brought tremendous relief to millions of people. Poor families are being provided with wheat at Rs 2 per kg. More than 40 lakh families have already been covered by this poverty alleviation scheme.

The biggest success of the Gujarat Government has been the Gokul Gram Yojana, a scheme to develop the villages and provide a better quality of life to villagers. The aim is to make the 18,090 villages of the State self-reliant and provide them with basic facilities ranging from roads to drinking water to schools and proper sanitation. Since this is a participatory model of development, the government has sought the people's participation. The response has been tremendous: Even NRIs have come forward to contribute to the scheme.

To empower women, the state government has introduced schemes like Kuvarbai-nu-Mameru and Ghar Divda. Daughters of poor families receive financial support at the time of their marriage. Tribal girls have been provided with bicycles so that they can attend school. The Daridra Narayan Yojana has encouraged children from poor families to attend school. Under this scheme, children get free uniforms and books in addition to monetary incentives.

On the agricultural front, farmers are now allowed to buy land in any part of the state. New insurance policies have been introduced to provide extensive cover. The quality of seeds, pesticides and fertilizers has been improved and there has been

a three-fold increase in the allocation for drip irrigation. Farmers today get adequate power supply.

In Maharashtra, the Shiv Sena-BJP Government has spared no effort to break the vicious grip which the mafia had established over the administration. The law and order machinery has been strengthened and the police made accountable.

In Maharashtra, too, the emphasis has been on restoring law and order and implementing schemes aimed at providing a better quality of life for the people. This is most obvious in the rural areas where even small farmers today are provided with power for their pumps and insurance cover for their crops. The government has undertaken a massive programme to provide drinking water to every village.

To protect the poor from inflation, the state government has frozen the prices of five essential commodities. The poorest of the poor are covered by the jhunka-bhakar scheme: For a rupee, a person can have a meal. Those who cannot afford to pay for health care, have been provided with free health services. Meritorious students from poor families are being provided with all incentives to ensure that they do not drop out of schools. A programme has been adopted to provide free housing to 40 lakh slum-dwellers in Mumbai.

The state government has initiated steps to ensure that those who perpetrate crimes against women are punished immediately. Kamdhenu Yojana provides women with sustained employment. For the girl child, a special scheme has been introduced to ensure that her education and health care needs are taken care of. The Maharashtra Government has taken the first bold step to dismantle the practice of polygamy.

Above all the state government has restored probity in public life: They have provided the people with a clean and transparent administration. The Enron deal was scrapped because the cost was inflated. A committee of experts renegotiated the deal with Enron and the new agreement has resulted in savings worth Rs 25,000 crores. The cost per unit of power has also been brought down by 54 paise. The biggest gain is that by bringing down the project cost, the Maharashtra Government has set new parameters for power projects elsewhere in the country.

The BJP Government in Delhi has achieved the unique distinction of fulfilling 94 of the 100 promises which the party had made within two years. This despite the fact that the state government is hamstrung by restrictions imposed by the Union Government. The focus has been on improving the quality of life of a common man.

The BJP had promised that if voted to power, it would pursue the prosecution of those involved in the November 1984 anti-Sikh riots. We are proud of the fact that our government has successfully reopened the investigations which were suppressed by the Congress. Some of the guilty people have been brought to book. The others will also be brought to justice.

The BJP Government has provided Delhi with a corruption-free administration. Several steps have been taken to end 'inspector raj' and simplify rules and regulations. Schemes have been introduced for employment generation and to encourage entrepreneurs. Those living in slums have been provided with basic amenities.

These are only some of our achievements, the highlights of our governments' performance. Much more remains to be done and we are committed to completing the task we have set for ourselves.

□

Let's Commence A New Chapter

This then is the blueprint which the Bharatiya Janata Party will implement on coming to power. The task will be undertaken by the party's inspiring team of leaders, each one of whom has an unblemished record of self-less service to the nation. It is through this blueprint that the BJP will bring about radical change in the country's polity, society and economy. It is this blueprint which will be the bedrock of a new India where every citizen shall be free from fear, hunger and discrimination. This blueprint will pave the way to the next century and the new millennium.

But to implement our commitments we need your support. The sweeping change that has become so necessary to save the nation can be brought about only with your help. To begin with, you have to change the leadership at the helm of the country's affairs and vote out the Congress. The time has arrived for a nationalist government which will lead India from the dark curse of poverty to prosperity; which will free the administration from the clutches of criminals and restore probity in public life; which will reinvest the state with authority and strengthen our security forces; and, which will secure our country's frontiers so that we do not have to suffer once again the humiliations of this millennium. Such a government can be provided only by the BJP.

The past five decades have been a tragic story of missed opportunities and self-serving opportunist politics. The Congress has abused power and authority for the benefit of few and to the detriment of millions of Indians. The leaders of the Janata Dal have demonstrated their inability to think beyond themselves. The Left parties, orphaned by the passing away of Communism all over the world, are struggling to come to terms with an ideological vacuum.

None of these parties can boast of ideological commitment, moral courage and political conviction. On the other hand, the BJP has emerged as the only national alternative, a party that stands apart for its ideology, commitment and courage.

We are standing at an important crossroad of our nation's history. The BJP appeals to all patriotic Indians to join the noble mission of national reconstruction – the task of creating a strong and prosperous India. Let us be partners in a new era of equality, peace and progress.

Vande Mataram!



Election Manifesto 1991

This We Believe

The country stands today on a major cross-roads of history. A right turn - and the country would be well on its way to fulfilment. A wrong turn - and the country would be in serious trouble.

The electoral contests so far have been mainly bouts between various shades of Congressmen. Today for the first time Bharatiya Janata Party the Party of Independent India, offers itself as an independent and complete alternative to the current confusions.

The country has been advancing at snail's pace when it has not actually been declining. Prices are rising and employment generation rate is falling. The foreign debt trap is closing on us. Communal violence has rocked several States. For the first time in history we had immolations by the frustrated flower of Indian youth. State-Centre relations are seriously strained. Opportunistic alliances have brought Democracy itself into disrepute. Secessionism has raided its ugly head in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam. And what is worse, there is sinister cooperation between these separatist terrorists and the people's war group in Andhra and LTTE in Tamil Nadu. In the face of this challenge, other parties have gone casteist communalist or both.

Different Political Parties exploited even the tragic Gulf War to carve out and corner communal vote banks. The leaders of these parties have conclusively proved themselves non-leaders. Taking advantage of this confusion, communists are making attempts to gain some respectability. .

The Bharatiya Janata Party as the party of Nationalism, Holism and Integral Humanism, offers a complete, new and higher alternative to the current dismal scene. As the party of Swadesh and Swa-dharma, it is wedded to our country, our people and

our culture. It believes in consensus and cooperation, and not in contrariety and conflict. It would uplift the poor and the down-trodden, without pitting caste against caste, without inciting class against class.

As the party of law, order and justice, it would ensure the security of life, limb and honour of all citizens. It seeks the restoration of Ram Janmabhoomi in Ayodhya only by way of a symbolic righting of historic wrongs, so that the old unhappy chapter of acrimony could be ended, and a Grand National Reconciliation effected. Hindus and Muslims are blood-brothers. But on account of historical reasons their relationship has not been harmonious. It shall be the endeavor of BJP to make all Indians fraternal and friendly once again.

BJP is no prisoner of any dogmas. We will debureaucratise the Economy to maximise production. We will make even the Sarkari Sector productive and profitable by throwing open some of the public sector units to people's participation.

The BJP will modernise the country on the basis of Science and Technology, even while strengthening the cultural roots of our national life. We want to do a thousand things to uplift the people and upgrade the country. And we have the first Principles, the sound policies, the wise leadership and the dedicated cadres to do them and do them well.

Towards A Clean Political System

From the Himalaya to Kanya Kumari, this country has always been one. We have had many States, but we were always one people. We always looked upon our country as Matribhoomi, Punyabhoomi. The Atharva Veda says 'Janarn bibhrati bahuda vivachasam' -Nana Dharmanam Prithvi yathou kasam.'

(This our motherland gives equal protection to people speaking different languages and professing different faiths).

We have never had a theocracy, with a State Religion, in India. In fact, it is not possible in India because of its inherent magnanimous cultural heritage. This being our tradition there is no room for discrimination against anybody on grounds of caste, creed, language or region. It is the duty of the state to ensure justice for all citizens and for all sections of society. The Bharatiya Janata

Party is wedded to National Unity and National Integrity and a balanced development of all regions and all sections. To these ends we will have, politically, not only a strong centre but also strong autonomous States.

Law And Constitution

The polity will accordingly, be reformed along the following lines:

1. BJP favours restructuring of Centre-State relations in view of the quick economic development and decentralisation. BJP will implement the Sarkaria Committee Report on Centre-State relations;
2. Article 356 permitting dissolution of a State Government by the Centre, will invoke only when the Constitutional machinery has in fact broken down, and not to promote any partisan interest;
3. The BJP recognises that regional imbalances have developed in some states because of their size. The party would appoint a commission to report on formation of smaller states which are economically and democratically viable. Initially BJP will have Uttranchal, Vananchal and Union Territory of Delhi as three new states of the Indian Union;
4. Certain regions in some States have an acute sense of neglect. These regions e.g. Ladakh and Jammu in J & K State, and Marathwada and Vidarbha in Maharashtra – will be given Regional Development Councils;
5. The States will be given a fairer share of Central revenues;
6. We will appoint an Inter-state Council under Article 263 to settle all inter-state and State-centre disputes;
7. We will delete the ‘temporary’ Article 370 from the Constitution, which more than anything else, psychologically separates J & K state from the rest of the country;
8. Article 30 permits minorities to run their own schools. It will be rationalised and suitably amended to ensure justice & equality to all irrespective of religions;
9. We will guarantee to all minorities, whether religious or linguistic, peace and security and full opportunities for

- progress and development;
10. We will set up a commission to study and report whether the Presidential system of Government will give us a more stable Government than the present Parliamentary system;
 11. BJP will examine the feasibility of introducing list system;
 12. We will appoint a Law Commission to study various Civil Laws. ancient, medieval and modern, to evolve a Common Civil Law for the whole country to give our citizens a feeling of unity and brotherhood;
 13. We will maintain a National Register of citizens; and
 14. In place of the minorities commission which entertains complaints of discrimination only from minority sections we will have a Human Rights Commission to look into complaints of injustice against any section of society.

Fair Elections

Free and fair elections are the life-breath of democracy. From time to time there are reports of doctored electoral rolls, booth-capturing, physical violence. Money power and muscle power have assumed sinister proportions. To restore health to our electoral system we will:

1. Arrange for public funding of elections;
2. Introduce identity cards with photographs for all voters;
3. Replace ballot boxes by electronic voting machines, to prevent rigging and booth-capturing;
4. Give the right of vote by postal ballot to Indian citizens living abroad;
5. Permit company donations to parties - until State funding is introduced, to keep black money out of the political process;
6. Strengthen the independence of the Election Commission by making its expenditure a charge on the Consolidated Fund of India - as is the case with the Comptroller and Auditor General and the Supreme Court and various High Courts;
7. Hold State Assembly and Lok Sabha Elections simultaneously and regularly every five years, avoiding, as far as possible,

- any mid-term polls;
8. Give legal teeth to the Election Commission's Code of Conduct by making violation of the same a corrupt practice under the Election Law;
 9. Empower the Election Commission to monitor Akashvani and Doordarshan broadcasts and ensure that the same are not misused for any partisan purposes;
 10. Fix a realistic limit on a candidate's election expenses and then include in it not only the money spent by him but also by his party and friends; and
 11. Introduce public auditing of party funds.

Shri Ram Mandir at Janamsthan

BJP firmly believes that construction of Shri Ram Mandir at Jamnasthan is a symbol of the vindication of our cultural heritage and national self respect. For BJP it is purely a national issue and it will not allow any vested interests to give it a sectarian and communal colour. Hence the party is committed to build Shri Ram Mandir at Janmasthan by relocating super imposed Babri structure with due respect.

Clean Public Life

BJP attaches the greatest importance to the probity and quality of public life. To this end we will

1. Inquire into all cases of serious corruption in high places;
2. Require all those holding public office to make an annual declaration of their own and their dependents' assets; and
3. Set an example in simple living, to give a new, higher tone to public life.

North-east

We have long had many problems in the North-East beginning with Naga insurgency. And now we have a Bodo problem and also the ULFA problem in Assam proper. BJP will examine outstanding regional and sectional problems, redress all legitimate grievances and, for the rest maintain law and order with a firm hand. To this end we will

1. Have electrified barbed wiring all along the Indo-Bangladesh border, to keep infiltrators out;

2. Check and identify infiltrators, strike out their names from the electoral rolls and arrange to send them back to Bangladesh;
3. Declare all property deals between locals and infiltrators as null and void;
4. Give all adult citizens in the North-East identity cards with photographs, on a priority basis;
5. To monitor and keep watch on receipt of foreign funds so that it is not used for conversion in the garb of religious activities;
6. Abolish the Inner Line Permit System in all the seven North Eastern States;
7. Safeguard the interests of bonafide refugees fleeing because of religious or political persecution in Bangladesh;
8. Secure the honourable return of Chakmas to Chittagong Hills, Bangladesh;
9. Plan and organise an integrated and accelerated economic development of the North-East; and
10. Incorporate Manipuri and Nepali in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

Punjab

The BJP holds Cong. (I) wholly responsible for the Punjab problem. Had the Congress Govt. not toppled the duly elected Governments, of Prakash Singh Badal, not once, not twice, but three times, there would have been no Bhindranwale, no 'Blue Star', no 'Black Thunder'. Later, it was the loot and murder of thousands of innocent Sikhs in Delhi and else-where in 1984 that has angered the Sikhs, given a handle to Pakistan and encouraged terrorism. However, the fact that not all the machinations of Pakistan and not all the provocations of their terrorist agents, has soured Hindu-Sikh relations, is proof positive that the heart of the Punjab is sound. To mend matters in the Punjab, we will

1. Create a kilometer-deep Security Belt all along the Indo-Pak border – as has already been done by Pakistan on its own side – to prevent all movement of terrorists, smugglers and their lethal cargo;
2. Post Army Units in the acutely disturbed border areas to maintain order and restore confidence;

3. Give relief and provide rehabilitation to the widows and orphans of 1984 outrages;
4. Punish the guilty men of the 1984 terror; and
5. Have the various grievances of the people of Punjab examined in depth by experts, including social scientists and redress them suitably.

Jammu, Kashmir And Ladakh

The BJP views with concern the recent developments in the Kashmir valley. Widespread violence in the State has led to an anarchical situation. This has paralysed tourism, the backbone of the Kashmir economy.

The Pakistan - inspired violence against Hindus has caused those Kashmiris to become refugees in their own land. The BJP will

1. Weed out Pakistani elements from the valley;
2. Hold free and fair elections in the State as soon as conditions stabilise there;
3. Have separate Regional Development Councils for Jammu and Ladakh;
4. Make relief and rehabilitation facilities available to Kashmiri refugees, settling them particularly in the hills of Pir Panjal Range; and
5. End all uncertainty about the future status of the State by deleting Article 370 of the Constitution.

Telangana

Ever since the Razakar excesses in 1947-48 and the Communist rebellion in 1948-50, the Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh has been more or less disturbed. In the last few years, People's War Group, a Naxalite outfit, has been virtually running a state within a state there. The Congress (I) and T.D.P. have been competing for the support of P.W.G., which has been holding people to ransom and killing scores of BJP men, and anybody else who would stand up to them. BJP will go to the root of the Telangana land problem and, for the rest, crush the lawless elements and restore law and order.

ULFA

Under Congress (I) mismanagement, even a peaceful State like Assam has produced a terrorist outfit like ULFA.

Here again, BJP will redress legitimate grievances and for the rest, discipline unruly elements and restore order.

Law and Order

The BJP views with concern the alarming rise in social violence, involving different castes and communities. All this violence is mainly due to exciting feelings to carve out certain Vote Banks and then cornering them. The party expects the District Administration to take all steps necessary to maintain Law and Order. Should there still be any serious eruption of violence, BJP will

1. Institute an inquiry;
2. Publish the findings of such an inquiry;
3. Punish the guilty;
4. Compensate the victims; and
5. Transform the Police Machinery into an efficient and dependable instrument of Law and Order.

Justice and Judicial Reform

In a situation of rapid social change, the judiciary holds a pivotal place. It can ease social tensions by dispensing quick, inexpensive and impartial justice. We are sorry to note that on all these counts the Judiciary's performance has been less than exemplary, particularly since the Congress (I) came up with the ploy of a committed judiciary, that is a Judiciary committed to the ruling party. To stop further erosion of this hallowed institution, and restore it to its earlier state, the BJP will

1. Take suitable measures to clear the arrears;
2. Through suitable measures BJP will ensure the cases, by and large, are decided within one year;
3. Discourage interminable adjournment of cases for years on end;
4. Improve the emoluments of judges to attract better talent;
5. Raise the retirement age of High Court Judges to 65 – that of the lower judiciary to 60;
6. Give attractive pensions to judges;

7. Enhance judicial powers of Nyaya Panchayats to ensure speedy justice and to carry to the doorstep of the people;
8. Provide mobile courts for the rural areas;
9. To provide free legal aid to SC and ST to enable them to procure their rights and position as SC and ST; and
10. The role of executive in judicial appointment will be rationalised to keep it within the framework of spirit of the Constitution.

Panchayati Raj and People's Power

The Panchayat system formed the bedrock of the democratic, social and political set-up in India since Vedic times. It was this democratic set-up that absorbed the shock of invasions and protected the integrity of Indian life. In modern times Gandhiji commended 'Power to the People' in a 'structure composed of innumerable villages' in which there will be 'ever-widening, never-ending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with apex sustained by the bottom but it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual.' Lok Nayak Jaya Prakash Narayan also worked for Panchayati Raj and Deendayalji pleaded for a statutory status for the village Panchayat and the city municipality – in the Constitution. The BJP will

1. Effectively decentralise power;
2. Give a constitutional status to local bodies from Village Panchayats to Metropolitan City Corporations; and
3. Involve the Panchayats in all rural development work and make 10 per cent of the Development Budget directly available to them.

Economic Growth with Social Justice

The Indian economy has reached a point of total collapse as a result of the knock-out blows it has been dealt, by a succession of profligate and irresponsible governments led by Congressmen and ex-Congressmen. These people have literally robbed the country and left its hapless citizens high and dry, staggering from one crisis to another and trapped in a rising vortex of high prices, murderous taxes and soaring debts.

The nation is on the verge of bankruptcy and has been reduced to begging for hand-outs from all and sundry. Indian ambassadors go

abroad to beg for loans and even the Prime Minister has to genuflect before heads of foreign nations. As a result India's international rating has sunk to a new low. India is one of the few countries in the world without a proper government, without a proper budget and without a proper economic policy.

The net result is an upside-down economy in which farmers who produce cotton cannot afford to buy cloth; and masons who put up five-star hotels, have no roofs over their heads. For certain consumer durable there is no dearth of demand. It is estimated that 60 per cent of the consumer durables are purchased by less than 40 cent of the population. In other words, the Developmental effort during the past four decades has resulted in a Socio-Economic dualism.

All these trends have to be reversed, and the Bharatiya Janata Party will reverse them. BJP government will 'bring out White paper on State of the Economy soon after assuming power.

The core sector of our economy will be MAN. State should retreat from commercial activities and instead, concentrate on basic functions such as maintaining law and order, justice, welfare programme, infrastructure etc. We will make our Economy truly Swadeshi by promoting native initiatives. It will be an Economy of the People, by the People and for the People.

Through our pragmatic Economic strategy we promise to:

1. Hold the Price Line;
2. Liberate the Economy from the clutches of the bureaucratic controls;
3. Not to hike Excise Duties on items of mass consumption for five years and indeed, rationalise the whole tax structure;
4. Reduce non-plan expenditure drastically. Balance the Revenue Budget (Zero budgetary deficit under Revenue Account) and reduce the overall debt burden;
5. Ensure development of Rural Economy with remunerative prices to the farmer and network of agro-based industries;
6. Make Public Sector productive and profitable, invite equity participation in some of the public sector units with adequate safeguards;
7. Use Science, Technology and native wisdom to raise annual

- growth rate of Economy from around 5 per cent at present to 7.5 per cent;
8. Create a full fledged Ministry for Handicrafts and Village Industries;
 9. Implement Antyodaya scheme throughout the country; and
 10. Launch a nation-wide Employment Guarantee Scheme.

Agriculture: Integrated Rural Development

Agriculture is our First Priority. The Indian peasant is the salt of the earth and he is the backbone of the country's economy. When he prospers, India prospers. We have waived the loan of poor agriculturists in Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan. But the Kisan will continue to flounder in poverty unless the burden of the people depending on agriculture is reduced. A countrywide network of agro-industrial complexes in rural areas should relieve the burden and provide the real answer to the problem of poverty of the peasantry. BJP aims at rural development where farmer will not be forced to borrow.

The party has offered a new deal to the farmers in terms of its Charter of Rights of Kisan. The party will

1. Ensure remunerative prices-to farmers;
2. Ensure minimum wages to the farm labour;
3. Ensure abundant supply of water and energy, the farmers have a natural right to these basic inputs;
4. Remove all restrictions on the movement of farm produce throughout the country;
5. Maintain parity of prices between agricultural and industrial products;
6. Issue Pass Books to Kisans and Implement the land laws;
7. Allocate 60 per cent of the plan money, both central and state, for rural development;
8. Encourage cultivation of pulses, oil-seeds, coarse grains, fruits, vegetables and other cash crops;
9. Speedily complete on-going irrigation projects, organise efficient flood management and relief;
10. Launch a million small, labour-intensive rural projects. Cluster of agro-centers would be promoted which would

take up activities directly relating to agriculture and also meet other requirements of villagers. This would help to generate employment to rural youths who are not actually required in agricultural activities. e.g. Scientific storage facilities, food processing units, cottage industries etc. Investment in rural industries will be given appropriate fiscal incentives;

11. Introduce cattle and crop insurance schemes and also update the old Famine Code;
12. Improve roads and other means of communication to facilitate quick transportation of agricultural and horticultural produce to towns;
13. Provide market value compensation in case of land acquisition in one installment, and provide jobs to those uprooted in the process;
14. Protect the traditional rights of villagers in Gochar Bhoomi and Nistar land;
15. Make Water, Power, a School and a Health Centre available in all villages; and
16. Restructure the Agriculture Cost and Price Commission and make it more broad-based, with adequate representation to those engaged in farming.

Cow Protection and Cattle Wealth

The BJP recognises the fact that from times immemorial, cow-protection has remained one of the basics of Indian culture and Indian agriculture, and it is on the patient back of the cow and its progeny that the entire structure of Indian agriculture rests. Over seventy million animals are employed in farming operations in Indian villages, more than eighty percent rural transport needs are met by the bullock-cart. Cow and its progeny continue to be the major source of power, manure and fuel, including bio-gas. Cow is also an effective protection against environmental degradation.

The BJP regretfully observes that about three million cows are slaughtered every year, most of them for export. The party would put a total ban on the slaughter of cows. It will

1. Amend article 48 of Constitution to cover bulls and bullocks,

- and prohibit all trading (state as well as private) in the slaughter of cows;
2. Implement a policy of Go-Samvardhan or development of cow and cattle-breeding, including the improvement of sheep and goat breeds, to bring about a White Revolution in the country; and
 3. Provide tax exemption to the income of Goshalas and Pinjarapoles.

Industrial Policy

Industry in India has to be much more productive and innovative to be able to fulfill its main role viz provide employment in increasing numbers and inputs to other sectors, including agriculture. It has also to earn foreign exchange competition with the rest of the world and create resources for overall growth. The BJP promises healthy investment environment so that entrepreneurs find domestic market more attractive and challenging.

The following four main principles will characterise the industrial policy of the BJP –

A. Self-reliance:

The party regards self-reliance as an over-riding component in our external economic relations, including the import of capital and technology. We will keep multinationals out of consumer industries.

B. Modernisation:

BJP believes in a modern and progressive India. Open to new ideas, no matter where they come from provided they suit our requirements and ethos. We will not allow technology to degrade man. Our people with their intelligence, industry and character are the true and abiding wealth of India.

C. Decentralisation:

There is far too much power concentrated in the Government, and it must be decentralised. The party stands for political as well as economic democracy as also for an open society, where the government has only an indicative and not a commanding role. It will not be necessary for people to come to Delhi and waste time

and money over licences and other clearances.

D. Daridra Narayan Sewa:

Consistent with the above three principles, the party will aim at securing to every Indian citizen a minimum of material welfare in terms of food, clothing, shelter, health and education.

The BJP pledges to:

1. Debureaucratise the industry, cut down the plethora of controls which have mushroomed over the years, and which breed corruption and dampen enterprise. We will clear projects promptly and quickly. Industrial Development and Regulations Act will be replaced by Industrial Development Act;
2. Reconsider the role of the public sector in the light of its contribution to development and society and draw up firm guidelines for its re-organisation into a more efficient, productive, profitable and people-oriented sector;
3. Improve the efficiency and profitability of crucial Public Sector Units like Railways, oil and gas production, ports, Nuclear Energy, Defence, etc. through better management;
4. Encourage people's initiative in Public Sector Units involving trading, hotels, tourism, consumer goods, etc., by offering them to the public in capital market with appropriate safeguards;
5. Foster Swadeshi spirit in every economic and industrial activity and reduce the country's dependence on foreign countries and foreign agencies. Foreign capital will be encouraged in high-tech, import substitution and strictly export oriented areas. Within the set guidelines clearance will be given with minimum paperwork;
6. Promote agro-based industries;
7. Apply MRTP to business houses with assets value crossing Rs. 1,000 crore and more; or with more than one-third of the market share;
8. Encourage research and development as part of the process of industrial growth and over-all modernisation;
9. Encourage businessmen to function as trustees of the

- public good;
10. Hazardous industries will be allowed to set up at safe distance. Separate industrial satellites would be set up exclusively for such units;
 11. Protect our Economic Sovereignty and ensure that the existing Patent laws, which safeguard Indian national interest, remain intact under any external pressure;
 12. Small-scale sector will be given due importance and encouragement. We shall set up agencies to help small-scale industry which will help in purchasing raw materials and selling finished goods;
 13. BJP government will evolve national management cadre. Both public sector as well as private sector will draw their requirements from this cadre; and
 14. While conducive environment will be created to strengthen capital market adequate measures will be taken to safeguard interests of small equity holders.

Handicrafts & Village Industries: To Play Pivotal Role

BJP firmly believes that national goals such as employment generation, export earnings could be met through our ancient craftsmanship such as handloom & handicrafts, gems & jewelry etc. For instance, investment of Rs. one crore in village industries creates job opportunities for 202 persons while the same investment in organised industrial sector can provide job to only 48 persons. Besides, more than 40 per cent of our export earnings comes from these so called smaller initiatives. BJP pledges to recognise their importance in the national economy and look at them with enhanced expectations.

1. A separate ministry will be set up to look after interests of Handicrafts and village industries.
2. To preserve and promote native craftsmanship 'National Artisan Development Bank' would be set up. Government would contribute the necessary initial capital of this bank.
3. These native artisans will be made to feel proud of themselves with due recognition in the society. Attempt will be made to bring them together under cluster of

artisans.

4. Native Artisans such as weavers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, potters etc. Will be provided with basic amenities such as housing.
5. Processing units, marketing facilities, marketing consultancy etc. will be provided so that native artisans will get remunerative returns for their special skill, which at present is exploited by middlemen.
6. Similarly skill of tribal people will receive special attention.
7. In government media such as T.V., native products of artisans will get adequate coverage without fees.

Fiscal Reform

The current economic mess is a direct consequence of the mismanagement of the economy by the government. While the government controls everyone and everything, nobody seems to control the government. BJP believes that the government too must function within the limits of strict financial discipline – on the following lines

- (i) The Government must live within its means. Revenue Budgetary Deficits will be reduced to Zero and fiscal deficits will be brought down from 9 per cent to 5 per cent of Gross Domestic Product. BJP believes in imposing a statutory ceiling on budget deficits in order to restrain government spending;
- (ii) At present the Reserve Bank has structural autonomy. BJP Govt. will ensure operational autonomy of RBI:
 1. BJP will adopt firm and bold measures to prevent the generation of black money. It will also appoint a Taxation Inquiry Commission to suggest guidelines for taxation over a long-term period in line with future developments;
 2. Rationalise and simplify, the present tax structure, and bring down the highest rate of income tax to 40 per cent. Raise the income Tax exemption limit to Rs. 48,000;
 3. Weighted deductions will be provided taking the number of dependents on the earning member;

4. Exempt all investments in approved organisations, private or public from the levy of Wealth tax;
5. Exempt employment-oriented industries in non-municipal areas from income tax;
6. Abolish octroi duty and persuade state governments to make good the loss of municipalities;
7. Arrange uniform sales tax rates throughout the country. Loss in revenue will be compensated by the Centre;
8. Impose Estate Duty on property and assets worth more than Rs. One Crore;
9. Share Corporation Tax with the states;
10. Give special tax concessions to writers, artists, and others engaged in intellectual and cultural pursuits;
11. Non-developmental expenditure will be curtailed drastically; and
12. Take stringent measures against smugglers and other economic offenders. Make smuggling a non-bailable offence and appoint special courts to try such cases.

Price Stability and Consumer Protection

It is our firm belief that price level could be controlled only through minimisation of production and minimisation of cost of production through technology upgradation.

Besides, by abolishing deficits on Revenue account and cutting capital account deficits to half, the BJP will end inflation and stabilise prices. Additionally

1. Public distribution system would be streamlined so that needy sections of the society would have access to essential commodities at nominal prices. Under the present system, poorest section is forced to buy essential items from open market. Poor daily wage earners who have to make their purchases at the end of the day cannot afford purchases once in a fortnight or so. Public distribution system will be overhauled to help these sections;
2. Make not only grains, sugar and kerosene, but also pulses, cooking oil and soap available in these shops;
3. Enforce the Consumer Protection Act of 1986, specially by constituting Consumers' Courts in all districts; and

4. Build a powerful consumer movement and formulate a price and profit policy for industrially manufactured goods.

Employment Policy

The BJP recognises the citizen's Right to Work in principle. We shall make every endeavour to accomplish its objectives. Our many developmental policies that will nearly double the Growth Rate, will take good care of unemployment –

1. Launch Employment Guarantee Scheme throughout the country in a phased manner;
2. Introduce a contributory Family Pension Scheme to cover particularly the daily wage earner; and
3. Implement Antyodaya Scheme to serve the poorest in the land.

Labour

BJP believes in healthy trade unionism. It will

1. Rationalise and simplify Labour Laws;
2. Recognise unions on the basis of secret ballot;
3. Introduce worker participation from the Shop Floor to the Board Room in all public sector projects, public limited companies and foreign companies operating in India;
4. Protect workers against inflation; and
5. Make laws, and evolve an effective mechanism, to protect labour from occupational health hazards arising from industries like asbestos, cement, slate, mica chemicals, textiles, etc.

Government Employees

BJP will set up a permanent Employees Welfare Board with a view to resolving the long-standing problems related to –

1. Time Scale Promotion;
2. Implementation of Awards;
3. Recruitment avenues;
4. Housing;
5. Revision of Pay Scales and award of bonus; and
6. Social welfare measures and travel concession for retired

personnel.

Energy Policy

There is acute energy crisis in India, particularly in villages which have remained without any dependable source of energy even after forty four years of Independence. This situation will have to be tackled on a war footing. BJP will

1. Intensify efforts to find more oil, coal and natural gas reserves, and economise on their use;
2. Improve the working of power plants which are now functioning at less than 50 per cent of capacity; Stop the massive theft of electric power;
4. Introduce power-efficient, energy-saving devices in homes and factories;
5. Increase forest cover from the present 19 per cent of land to the desired 33 per cent;
6. Encourage Private Sector's participation in power generation; and
7. Encourage alternative sources of energy such as wind, water, biogas, solar power and ocean thermal energy conversion.

Transport Policy

1. Speedy movement of goods and people will receive utmost attention. In this regard, the whole country will be considered as a single zone.
2. Metropolitan cities like Delhi will be provided with better transport system;
3. Public Transport system will be improved so as to attract marginal personal vehicle owners. This will help to reduce demand for energy. Simultaneously, environmental pollution could be controlled;
4. Utmost attention will be paid towards development of Inter modal Transport System. This would mean integrated development of all modes of transport such as roads and road transport, railways, ports and shipping;
5. Inland water transport system will be fully tapped; and
6. Air transport system will be overhauled not only to

improve operational efficiency but also to take care of safety elements. Entrepreneurs will be encouraged to come forward in air transport.

Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments

Under the current balance of payments crisis foreign trade plays an important role. Export promotion and Import rationalisation will receive due attention of BJP government—

1. Thrust would be given to promotion of exports and intensive effort would be made to identify alternative markets and also thrust commodities;
2. Required infrastructural support would be provided on priority basis to export oriented units;
3. At the same time import would be rationalised and restricted to those items which are absolutely essential;
4. Corporate sector would have to fulfill its export obligation specially if its production is import intensive;
5. Balance of trade would have to be maintained on unit by unit basis. Right now, performance of the corporate sector is not satisfactory in this respect;
6. Under-invoicing of exports and over-invoicing of imports will be strictly dealt with;
7. Excellence in export performance will receive special recognition;
8. It is estimated that 12 million Indians settled in over 100 countries save around 100 billion U.S. dollars a year. Scheme would be drawn to attract substantial portion of these savings;
9. NRIs would be welcome to set up Industrial units. 'Science Based Industrial Parks' would be set up which would cater of the NRIs not only with regard to infrastructural facilities required for their industrial units but would also be complete with basic amenities such as education, housing, health care and entertainment. This would help us to raise resources as well as reversing the brain-drain;
10. The present principle of linking Indian rupee to basket of currencies will be re-examined; and
11. Tourism will get special attention.

Science And Technology

The BJP believes that Science and Technology (S & T) should be allowed to play its due role to transform India into a prosperous, modern and enlightened society. The party would unhesitatingly apply appropriate scientific and technological methods for increasing productivity, eradicating poverty, hunger and disease and to provide meaningful employment along with the basic amenities of life to the vast percentage of population living below the poverty line. The party holds that science is not merely harnessing nature for material wealth but is as well liberating and enriching mind and enlarging the human spirit. The BJP would use science in the service of the poor and would develop technology with a human face –

1. Foster a scientific temper among the people;
2. Use Science and Technology for increasing productivity and generating employment;
3. Implement a vigorous programme of science education and research for improving quality of life;
4. Establish a network of Centres for Application of Science and Technology to rural areas, implement lab to land programmes and develop a strong low cost agro-industrial base;
5. Put new life in National Laboratories. develop them as centres of excellence in applied research;
6. Direct these laboratories to evolve Appropriate Technology for Indian needs;
7. Accelerate the production of scientific literature in regional languages and evolve a national terminology for science and technology; and
8. Create the right working conditions, for our best brains to remain here and serve the country and not migrate to other lands.

A systematised effort would be made to bring national laboratories and industry together by setting up of 'Technology Parks' which would be maintained by the industry. They would help to bridge the gap between talents and commercial needs and promote co-operation between industry's resources and expertise in labs.

Towards a Vibrant Social Order

The Bharatiya Janata Party looks upon the people of India as true wealth and strength of the country.

Since the majority of people of India live in the cluster of villages, BJP will give special attention to their welfare and progress. To this end we will

1. Carry water and electricity to every village;
2. Connect all villages to national centres of activities by road transport;
3. Upgrade village health and educational centres;
4. Train and equip village artisans;
5. Recognise People's traditional rights in Gochar Bhoomi grazing, local forests and forest products, and fishing in local water resources; and
6. Make living conditions in the countryside, more attractive and honourable to check huge influx of villages towards cities.

Salaried People

The salarised people find themselves pressed hard between fixed incomes and rising prices. We will

1. Encourage all employees – private and public – to provide housing for their staff;
2. Exempt salaried incomes of upto Rs. 4000 a month, from income tax; and
3. Increase the return on General Provident Fund deposits.

Senior Citizens

Elderly people who have served the country all their lives, will be taken good care of. We will

1. Require the private sector also to introduce pension schemes;
2. Grant pensioners the same DA relief as available to serving staff; and
3. Build Homes for old aged people.

Jai Jawan

1. Jawans must be assured of service upto 58 years of age;
2. Implement the policy of one pension for one rank under

- a time bound programme;
3. Make necessary changes in agricultural and urban Tenancy Laws to secure the proprietary rights of servicemen;
 4. Include ex-servicemen's welfare in the concurrent list;
 5. Strengthen District Sainik Boards; and
 6. Start more Sainik schools.

Sindhis

Sindhis are the only community in India to have lost their entire territory as a result of Partition. The Party assures the Sindhi Community of protection and promotion of their identity, culture, language and literature and fulfillment of constitutional guarantees enshrined in Article 350A and 350B of the Constitution of India.

Women

BJP looks upon womankind as Matri-Shakti. It will take several steps to improve their socio-economic status. We will

1. Give preference to women as primary school teachers;
2. Make women equal share-holders in the husband's wealth and income;
3. Strengthen family courts, presided over by Women-judges to try all family-related cases;
4. Get women equal pay for equal work;
5. Start more and more Hostels for single working women;
6. Provide Smoke-less chulhas at concessional rates to village women;
7. Put up public latrines for village women as well as for women living in slum areas;
8. Appoint a Commission to study problems of women, particularly women labourers and suggest suitable remedial measures; and
9. Promote Rs. 100 crore a year cottage industry to employ rural women.

Youth

The BJP has a tryst with the Youth of India. They will be the fly-wheel of national progress. Apart from organising their education and full employment, BJP will

1. Utilise their energies to transform society;
2. Associate them in all developmental activities;
3. Mobilise them to fight social evils like child marriage, dowry, untouchability, drug-addiction;
4. Build more Youth hostels; and
5. Inculcate in them a sense of pride in our traditions and heritage and confidence in our future.

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The BJP sincerely believes with all its heart in the upliftment of SC and ST. To this end we will

1. Energetically enforce anti-untouchability laws;
2. Make free legal aid available to SC in cases under these laws;
3. Make all village wells available to all castes and communities;
4. Set up a financial agency on the line of NABARD to cater to the credit needs of SC & ST;
5. Promptly fill up the shortfall in jobs reserved for SC and ST;
6. A befitting memorial would be constructed in honour of Dr. Ambedkar;
7. Evolve a new forest policy based on a partnership between the forest tribals and the forest authorities;
8. Protect SC and ST for exploitation and indebtedness;
9. Formulate a sub-plan for the economic development of Scheduled Tribes; and
10. Remove all impediments in the speedy development of hill and forest tribal areas.

Other Backward Castes

The BJP is pledged to the socio-economic uplift of Other Backward Castes particularly the more backward among them. BJP in its 1985 resolution and subsequently in its 1989 Election Manifesto commended the following reservation policy:

1. Reservation should be continued for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as before;
2. Reservation should also be made for other backward classes

broadly on the basis of the Mandal Commission Report, with preference to be given to the poor among these very classes; and

3. As poverty is an important contributory factor for backwardness, reservation should also be provided for members of the other castes on the basis of their economic condition.

In view of the shocking manner in which the National Front government implemented the Mandal Commission Report which resulted in self-immolation of youths and pitted caste against caste and community against community. BJP feels that the reservation policy should be introduced taking into consideration socio-economic ethos. Reservation policy should be used as an instrument of social justice and promoting social harmony as well. The question of reservation has to be viewed with open mind free from all prejudices of any kind.

In addition BJP

1. Will start a chain of first class residential schools where the really bright children of really poor families of all castes and communities will be admitted, educated and otherwise looked after, to come into their own and enter Services, Business and Professions in open competition;
2. Most of the non-agricultural OBCs are artisans. Foreign and metropolitan competition has hurt these people badly. BJP will train and equip them, so that they can find a place of honour in the new social economy.

The Destitute and Handicapped

BJP will not forget the destitute and the handicapped. It will not allow anybody to starve. Antyodaya Scheme will take care of destitutes. We will encourage people to set up institutions for the care of the physically handicapped and mentally retarded and make certain jobs available for them.

Population Policy

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes in a stable growth of the Population – and the quality, physical and mental, of that

Population. We will, therefore –

1. Adopt a National Population Policy, if necessary through legislative measures;
2. Make Family Planning information and facilities available to the people. Involve all voluntary, social and cultural organisations in creating an awareness for adopting family planning as a way of life;
3. Integrate the family planning programme with other community welfare programmes; and
4. Pursue vigorously the voluntary adaptation of the 'two children' norm through adequate incentives and disincentives for achieving the long term demographic goals.

Environment

The Bharatiya Janata Party takes serious note of the degradation of the environment and disturbance of the eco-system. The pollution of air, water and soil are a serious menace to health. The denudation of forests, the warming up of the earth, acid rain and the 'hole in the sky' are a threat to the whole life-system itself. We in India have always looked upon the earth as Divine Mother.

Our land, air and waters, our hills, forests, flora and fauna, are all sacred to us. We will keep them neat, clean and intact. We will

1. Formulate a National Resources Management Policy and adopt a holistic approach in planning;
2. Require anti-pollution devices to be installed to process and clean up industrial and Municipal effluents before the same are discharged into our rivers;
3. Keep a strict watch on chemical fertilizers and insecticides for any poisoning of the soil, and ban DDT etc;
4. Improve auto exhaust to prevent the fouling of the air;
5. Curb noise pollution especially in the cities;
6. Undertake a massive afforestation programme;
7. While protecting the traditional rights of Vanavas is, we will require the planting of three trees for every single tree that is cut by anybody for any reason;
8. Make environmental concerns an integral part of education; and
9. Take special care in the import of technology, and promote

research, for developing indigenous pollution-free technology.

Culture

The BJP believes in protecting, preserving and promoting the cultural heritage of India that has given us an identity, an integrity and an aura all our own. We will

1. Conserve the ancient heritage of India and make people feel proud of it;
2. We shall set up cultural heritage centres at District levels;
3. Acquaint people with the glorious traditions and achievements of ancient Indian genius in the fields of art, science, technology, medicine, agriculture, etc;
4. Wage a relentless war against superstition;
5. Emphasise culture as a dynamic and synthetic process; and
6. Not ban any publication without a prior judicial review.

Arts

Art is the essence of life. BJP will encourage all forms of art. It will make the various arts a part of Education, Production and Life.

1. To promote the theatre BJP will repeal the Restrictive Dramatic Performance Act of 1876; and
2. Exempt all theatrical performances from entertainment tax; Encourage folk art in various fields; Lift the AIR and TV ban on the use of classical symbols like Om, Swastika, Sri chakra, etc.

Films

BJP recognises the great role of cinema in entertainment, education and national integration. BJP will

1. Have, in addition to 'A' and 'U' Films, 'Q' that is Quality films, which will be exempt from entertainment tax;
2. Have special theatres in metropolitan centres to screen art films and other quality films;
3. Implement the recommendation of the Karanth Committee on National Film Policy; and
4. Have 50 per cent women on Film Censor Board – to keep

violence and vulgarity out of films.

Tourism

The BJP recognises the importance of tourism as an instrument of national integration, international understanding and employment generation. India abounds in natural beauty and charming tourist spots, which have fascinated people from far and wide. We will

1. Promote tourism, both national and international, as an industry;
2. Evolve a policy of integrating tourism and marketing of handicrafts and other art works;
3. Take up a scheme of training tourist guides and opening tourist information centres; and
4. Build Holiday Homes in the hills, on sea beaches and at pilgrim centres.

Mass Media

The BJP re-affirms its commitment to the freedom of thought and expression. We will

1. Make freedom of the Press an explicit Fundamental Right, and not just an implied one, derived from the citizen's right to Freedom of Speech;
2. Encourage the healthy growth of the Press and abolish duty on newsprint and the tax on newspaper advertising;
3. Review the Official Secrets Act as to remove obstruction in Right to know, and enact a Freedom of Information Law;
4. Implement the P.C. Joshi Report on TV software to improve the quality of TV programmes;
5. Implement the Prasar Bharati Act to make Akashvani and Doordarshan autonomous and credible and; make second channels available to public trusts as well as programmes by non-governmental agencies so as to promote competition; and
6. Screen Ramayana, Mahabharat, Bhagwat and other Epics and classics in various Indian languages.

The Quality of Life

Man does not live by bread alone. He must also have health and faith, housing and education, sport and a wholesome environment.

Housing

BJP will adopt all policies necessary to make it possible for every family to own a house. To this end it will

1. Make land available to cooperative group housing societies;
2. Encourage employers, private and public, to build houses for their employees;
3. Build low-cost model houses in villages;
4. Clear slum areas and build multi-storey buildings on the spot to house their present residents;
5. Rationalise Rent Control Laws to encourage housing construction and house renting;
6. Stamp duties and such other formalities will be rationalised so as to encourage low and middle income classes to own dwelling units; and
7. Progressively develop all urban centres as Garden Cities.

Education

The party view with concern that with the rising cost of education, the existing socio-economic disparities will be perpetuated in the field of education. The BJP believes in equalisation of educational opportunities and build up a system worthy of the genius of our heritage and the undoubted capacities of our youth. Towards this end, we will

1. Implement Article 45 of the Constitution to give free education to all children in the 6-14 age group to enforce the principle of universal primary education;
2. Give education a vocational and technical content, establish a complex of agro-industrial polytechnics in each district;
3. Ensure academic freedom and the autonomy of universities, raise the emoluments and status of teachers; and
4. Progressively increase the allocation for education till it reaches the six percent of the GNP.

Language

The BJP supports the principle that people have a right to be educated and run their administration in their own language. The BJP will

1. Engage adequate number of linguists all over the country to translate standard literature of other languages into Indian languages;
2. Strictly implement three languages formula;
3. Give credit – in the matter of admission to institutions of higher education and in job recruitment – to persons knowing more than three languages, Indian or Foreign; and
4. Encourage study of Sanskrit.

Health and Nutrition

Every citizen must be helped to have a healthy body and a healthy mind. The BJP will

1. Integrate Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani, Homeopathy, Chromopathy, Flower Remedies and Nature Cure with Allopathy, to give the country an Integrated and Holistic Medical system;
2. Retrieve, compile and publish ancient wisdom about health, herbs and other remedies;
3. Encourage Yogasanas in every school;
4. Give an annual medical check-up to all students;
5. Increase production of proteinous foods, in view of the under-nourishment of our own people;
6. Increase milk production – to give the country a White Revolution;
7. Give every village a Health Care Centre with particular emphasis on mother-and-child care and ratify the U.N. convention on the Rights of the children;
8. Have a Mobile Dispensary in each Taluka;
9. Organise Eye Camps and Camps for other serious ailments in various areas;
10. Take adequate measures to promote production of poor man's grains like Jowar, Bajra and Ragi;
11. Replace the 60,000 brand-name drugs by 250 generic formulations; and

12. Ban amniocentesis – sex determination tests – often leading to female foeticide.

Sports

BJP will encourage sports as the way of health, strength and the sheer joy of living. We will put India on the Olympic map of the world. We will

1. Create a Ministry of Health, Nutrition and Sports;
2. Help every school to have a playground;
3. Provide coaching, training, diet and other facilities of international standards to our Sportsmen;
4. Encourage Tribal Youth living close to Nature, to participate and shine in the field of sports;
5. Ensure college admission and job security to our athletics; and
6. Respect the Olympic Charter and autonomy of the Sports bodies and prevent the governmentalisation or politicisation of Sports.

□

Towards World Fraternity

In four decades of Freedom, India has had to face as many as four aggressions against our territory. This is, in all conscience, a high degree of challenge to our territorial integrity and national sovereignty, with its consequential strains on the Indian Economy, the Indian Polity and the Indian society.

Diplomacy

Like India, the world is also at cross roads. With the sudden disappearance of bipolar divide of 45 years, the USSR and the US are no longer adversaries but partners. Curtain has finally been drawn over the cold war that has dominated the world for most of the current century.

International equations are changing fast. In the post cold war period, neither the USA needs the third world countries to contain communism nor does the USSR has any use now for its 'natural allies' in the developing world. As a result. non-alignment movement which was created against the backdrop of a bipolar world, has lost its relevance.

The new situation is a challenging one and at the same time pregnant with several fresh opportunities to enlarge India's role in global affairs. But only economically healthy, militarily strong and progressive India can carve out a niche for itself. As long as India goes around with a begging bowl around the world, her voice in the international affairs will not be heard with respect.

Prevention is always better than cure. That Defence is best that does not need to be invoked too often to defend our legitimate national interests. And that, in turn calls for wise and integrated Domestic,, Economic and Foreign Polices. In the past, our foreign

policy has suffered from inconsistencies. At times we have treated it as an exercise in verbal gymnastics and used it as a feather in a Prime Minister's cap. At other times we have treated it – as was the case only recently with the Gulf War – as a football, for irresponsible parties to kick it around. We are sorry to note that Foreign Policy discussion and formulation has not been institutionalised in India. As a result the performance of our diplomacy has been spotty at best.

Pakistan and China continue to occupy territories lawfully ours. Thousands of Tibetans continue to live in India as refugees. The Pakistan Establishment is hostile, and even the Bangladesh Establishment has been less than friendly. The situation in Afghanistan has fortunately stabilised. But the situation in Sri Lanka is as disturbed as ever, with serious violence erupting on both sides of the Palk straits. Burmans next door continue to suffer dictatorship. And Indians abroad continue to suffer discrimination in many lands.

The BJP is wedded to National interest and World Peace. To these ends we will

1. Set up a Policy Planning Committee of experts to formulate a long-term Foreign Policy for India;
2. Forge a national Consensus on Foreign Policy issues;
3. Work for a stronger SAARC in view of the old bipolar world giving place to a uni-polar World;
4. Invite Pakistan to come forward to resolve out disputes in terms of the Shimla Pact and meanwhile develop cooperative economic and media relations;
5. Promote the idea of a Common Market of all SAARC states;
6. Constitute a South Asian Environmental Protection Authority, with representation from non-governmental environmentalists from all concerned countries;
7. Continue the North-South Dialogue and promote South-South cooperation;
8. Develop friendly and cordial relations with the countries of South-East Asia, with whom we have ancient bonds of blood and culture;
9. Stand by persons of Indian origin abroad in defence of their legitimate rights;

10. Give Dual Citizenship to Indian citizens abroad; and
11. Strive to strengthen United Nations in view of the fact in the changed situation the world powers are more inclined to work-through the UN than unilaterally or even through older groups and factions. Strive to make India an autonomous power centre in the world with a permanent seat in the U.N. Security Council.

Defence

Diplomacy and Defence are two sides of the same coin, that is a country's relation with the outside world. A sound Foreign Policy will give us a secure base for a sound Defence policy. However, recent events have shown that international relations continue to be governed by the law of the jungle. The way Iraq occupied Kuwait and USA exceeded the UN resolutions to bring death and destruction to both Kuwait and Iraq is a warning that we cannot afford to neglect our Defence. The BJP will

1. Encourage an educated debate on national strategy as a route to national security strategy;
2. Set up a National Security Council to institutionalize forward planning;
3. Give our Defence Forces Nuclear Teeth;
4. Give ourselves a Blue Water Navy that will be the first Navy in the Indian Ocean from Singapore to Aden;
5. Encourage Research and further Development on Arjun Battle Tank, Light Combat Aircraft, Army Radio Engineering Network (AREN) and Prithvi and other missiles developed by Dr. Abdul Kalam;
6. Identify and eliminate foreign lobbies engaged in arms trade;
7. Effect economic even while improving Defence capability;
8. Avoid unnecessary duplication and merge paramilitary forces like BSF, Assam Rifles, Indo-Tibetan Border Police with the Army and the Coast Guard with the Navy; and
9. Liberalise the Official Secret Act to facilitate an intelligent debate on defence.

Invite

This then is the programme which the BJP pledges to implement under a team of inspiring and brilliant leaders and dedicated cadres of the party of impeccable record of clean public life and selfless service to the nation. The party is committed to usher in a new political culture.

India today is in the grip of a serious multi-dimensional crisis of unprecedented proportions. The national mood is not just of cynicism but of mounting disgust and rage, not unmixed with sorrow at the steady deterioration in public morality at the topmost leadership level. The people feel sad that through an accident of history this great country should have been saddled with a coterie of small men who are not only incompetent and corrupt, but who lack a sense of commitment to the nation, its democratic institutions and cultural traditions.

In the opinion of the BJP a critical moment of history has arrived for India. The country cannot afford to miss this moment of history, this opportunity to throw out the rulers mainly responsible for this country's ruination.

The BJP on its part has left no stone unturned in its efforts to put up a determined and united electoral battle and has unhesitatingly sacrificed its party interests whenever national interests so demanded. The Bharatiya Janata Party calls upon the people to join in its struggle for ushering in a new era of hope and prosperity, a value based polity and throw out this corrupt and incompetent Congress.

□

Election Manifesto 1989

Introduction

The Bharatiya Janata Party is wedded to the Unity and Integrity of India. It stands for Law and Order – for Justice, Social and Economic and for Security, Internal and External. It is committed to the uplift of the poor and the downtrodden. But BJP is sorry to note that the Rajiv Government has disappointed the country on all these counts.

India today is in the grip of a serious multidimensional crisis of unprecedented proportions. The national mood is not just of cynicism but of mounting disgust and rage, not unmixed with sorrow, at the steady deterioration in public morality at the topmost leadership level. The people feel sad that through an accident of history this great country should have been saddled with a coterie of small men who are not only incompetent and corrupt, but who lack a sense of commitment to the nation, its democratic institutions and cultural traditions.

Evidence 'is mounting that the Prime Minister, whose personal probity is now in serious doubt, has not only been bending words but telling lies, distorting facts, changing versions, elbowing – – – ministers of integrity and unabashedly misleading the Parliament and the Nation even on crucial issues of national defence and security. The men at the top are not only without integrity but also without shame. In any other country, such a government would have resigned long ago. But it is continuing in office and trying to subvert the democratic process by resorting to fascist methods, including mugging of the press, instigation of communal riots and subversion of the judiciary.

Stark failure faces the country on all fronts. Accords have ended

up in bloody discords. The Rajiv regime is bathed in blood and muck from head to foot, from Punjab to, Assam and from Kashmir to Sri Lanka. Everything Rajiv Gandhi touches ends up in a bloody mess. A man who waded to his office through the blood-soaked streets of Delhi will be leaving behind a gory legacy. This country is not safe in the hands of such a man or such a party. How can men who lack integrity themselves, and are not above looting the country, defend the country and protect its integrity and honour?

The power and prestige of great institutions like the Parliament, the Army and the Judiciary have been eroded; the press has been repeatedly threatened and harassed; and the electronic media have been prostituted. The directive principles of state policy have been forgotten; the Mandal Report on the welfare of backward classes has been pigeonholed; and never before has Indian womanhood suffered insult and assault as during the last five years.

By negating the Supreme Court judgment in the Shahabano case, the government has put a premium on communalism and obscurantism. And by recognising Urdu as second official language in Uttar Pradesh on election eve, it has shown more interest in Muslim votes than in Urdu language. In the process it has only given the country so many corpses. By not allowing the rebuilding of the Ram Janma Mandir in Ayodhya, on the lines of Somnath Mandir built by the Government of India in 1948, it has allowed tensions to rise, and gravely strained social harmony.

About the situation on the economic front, the less said the better. During the last five years, prices have doubled and in many cases trebled; unemployment has soared by leaps and bounds and national debt increased three times. And all this while the country has been thrown open for plunder by foreign interests who are taking out more from the country than they ever put in. The country has paid out more to foreigners in the last five years than the entire debt of farmers which the government refuses to write off.

In this enveloping darkness, the Bharatiya Janata Party stands as a beacon of light. It is wedded to Desh and Dharma, Samata and Samanvay. It stands for justice – social and economic – for all, for the Kisan and the Jawan, for the young and the old, for the poor and the downtrodden, for women and children, irrespective of class, creed or gender. It also stands for law and order particularly

moral order, for without such an order, the country cannot endure and flourish.

BJP rejects both exploitative capitalism and suppressive communism. Its approach to life and society, as expounded by our late Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay, is integrative and holistic. It looks upon the farmer in the field and the worker in the factory as two mighty wheels of our modern Rashtra-rath. It believes that the nation cannot progress until those who have remained at the bottom of the social pile for centuries are helped to elevate themselves and join the mainstream on a footing of equality.

BJP believes in positive secularism which, according to our constitution-makers, meant Sarva-Dharma-Sama-Bhava and which does not connote an irreligious state. It certainly does not mean rejection of our history and cultural heritage, the very foundations of this great nation. The BJP stands for 'Justice for All and Appeasement of None'.

This is what we are and this is what we aim to do. Come and join us in the great enterprise of nation-building, in taking this country to great heights of prosperity and glory. Following is the programme which the BJP offers to the people for taking India to its destiny—a modern, peaceful and prosperous nation on the road to an exciting future.

□

National Unity and National Integration

India is one country, and all Indians irrespective of caste, creed or language are one people, one nation.

The idea of a theocratic state is an anathema to Indian mind and the BJP believes that State in India has always been a civil institution which respects all religions equally and makes no discrimination between one citizen and the other on the grounds of language, gender, caste or religion.

It is the duty of the State to guarantee justice and security to all minorities – linguistic, religious or ethnic. The BJP considers that it is also imperative for national integration that minorities do not develop a minority complex.

Indian Constitution is quasi-federal. It envisages strong States with a strong Centre. The BJP believes in maintaining a balance between the two as visualised in our Constitution.

The BJP also recognises that regional imbalances have developed in some States because of their size. The party stands for the formation of smaller states which are economically and administratively viable. The BJP will

1. Support and strengthen State Governments and not destabilise and topple them;
2. Give the states a fairer share of Central revenues and increase the financial powers of the states;
3. Constitute an Inter-State Council under Article 263 to settle all Inter-State and State-Centre disputes;
4. Appoint State Governors in consultation with State Governments;
5. Limit the number of ministers to 10 per cent of legislators;

6. Guarantee to all minorities, linguistic and religious, peace and security, and full opportunities for progress and development;
7. Delete the temporary Article 370 of the Constitution and scrap the 59th Amendment of the Constitution;
8. Appoint a Commission to examine the various personal laws in vogue in the country – Hindu Law, Muslim Law, Christian Law, Parsi Law, Civil Law etc. and to identify the fair and equitable ingredients in these laws, prepare a draft with a view to evolving a consensus for a uniform Civil Code;
9. Appoint a Commission to examine the Constitution of India for making it an effective instrument for containing centrifugal tendencies;
10. Grant statehood to the Union Territory of Delhi, create Separate States of Uttaranchal in U.P. and Vananchal in Bihar, give the status of Union Territory to Laddakh; and
11. Maintain a National Register of Citizens.

Human Rights Commission

BJP will widen the scope of the present Minorities Commission and convert it into a Human Rights Commission to take care of the just rights of all individuals, groups and communities.

Fair Elections

Free and fair elections are sine qua non of a democratic polity. The BJP believes that elections must be held regularly and very fairly. The BJP will

1. Introduce compulsory voting for all citizens;
2. Arrange for public funding of elections;
3. Ban the company donations;
4. Introduce Identity Cards for voters;
5. Use electronic voting machines in all elections;
6. Give the right of Postal Ballot to Indian citizens living abroad;
7. Strengthen the independence of the Election Commission by making expenditure incurred on the Commission as a charge on the Consolidated Fund of India, as is provided

- in the case of Comptroller and Auditor General and Supreme Court and High Court judges, and by providing the Commission with an independent infrastructure;
8. Hold State and Central elections simultaneously every five years;
 9. Examine the feasibility of introducing the List system to elections;
 10. Have party accounts publicly audited;
 11. To prevent abuse of governmental power by the ruling party give legal teeth to the Code of Conduct framed by the Election Commission; violation of the Code shall be made a corrupt practice under the Law;
 12. Empower Election Commission to monitor all political and election coverage by the Doordarshan and the Akashvani and ensure that these media are not abused; and
 13. Include in the limitative ceiling of election expenses all expenditure incurred by the candidate, his election agent, his party and supporters.

Clean Public Life

Cleansing of the public life will receive BJP's top priority. The party holds that the roots of all corruption lie in political corruption. The party recognises the urgency of evolving effective mechanism to break the unholy nexus between the corrupt bureaucrat, corrupt businessmen and the corrupt politician. The BJP is determined to fight corruption at all levels and will specifically adopt the following measures –

1. It will enquire into all cases of corruption in the foreign deals (including the defence deals) by various ministries and departments of the Government and punish the guilty.
2. It will enact a law, and create institutions of Lokpal and Lokayukta bringing the P.M. and the Chief Minister also under its purview.
3. Streamline procedures and rules relating to purchase, awarding contracts etc. in government and public sector undertakings, and also the discretionary powers of political authorities.

4. Rationalise and streamline the tax structure, providing for sufficient incentives to savings and avoiding harassment to honest tax-payers and to avoid generation of black money.
5. Require all Ministers to make an annual declaration of assets.
6. Review and update the existing laws, administrative procedures and powers for detecting the corrupt practices and for speedily punishing the guilty.
7. Create an atmosphere of austerity and simplicity by enforcing strictly the norms of expenditure in government departments.

The North East

The entire North Eastern region is in ferment. The BJP holds, the Central Government squarely responsible for the neglect of the North Eastern Region and its unsatisfactory economic development and consequent exploitation by the foreign Missionaries.

The BJP would take following steps to meet the alarming situation in the North East—

1. Setting up of the barbed wire fencing along the Indo-Bangladesh border;
2. Detection of infiltrators and deletion of their names from the voters list on a war footing. Steps will be taken for their deportation;
3. Issue identity cards to all citizens in border states;
4. Creating a special cell for identification of the landed properties acquired by infiltrators, such property will be confiscated;
5. Repealing the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act. Foreign – contributions will be totally banned. No private organisation, religious, social or any other will be allowed to receive any foreign contributions—in cash or kind;
6. Abolishing the Innerline permit system in all the North Eastern States;
7. Safeguarding the interests of refugees;
8. Taking effective steps for an honourable return of the Chakmas to Bangladesh;
9. Ensuring no further division of Assam; and

10. Implementing a sub-plan for the economic development of the Tribals.

Punjab

The BJP holds the Congress (I) squarely responsible for what is happening in Punjab. Punjab situation continues to deteriorate not because of any lack of power with the government. The government is possessing enormous powers but lacks a policy and a will to act.

The BJP has always been striving for maintaining social harmony in Punjab. Several party leaders including the State BJP President and other colleagues have laid down their lives in this cause.

The BJP would strive for a fair and peaceful solution of the Punjab problem. It would adopt the following approach for containing terrorism in Punjab –

1. Creation of a security belt all along the Western borders with Pakistan without delay;
2. Secure the assistance of Army to help the civil administration in the Mand area, if need be;
3. Strengthen the intelligence apparatus;
4. Punishing those who were responsible for the killings of innocents in Delhi and elsewhere after the assassination of Mrs Gandhi;
5. Adequately compensating the victims of violence; and
6. Review the structural changes in the economy of Punjab and to remove the distortions.

Jammu And Kashmir And The Western

The BJP views with concern the recent developments in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the continued discrimination against the people of Jammu. The rabid communal and pro-Pakistan elements are spearheading a massive hate India campaign in Kashmir valley and the entire region is engulfed by widespread terrorism. The unabated infiltration and smuggling all along the western border needs to be effectively curbed. The BJP suggests that –

1. Effective and immediate measures to weed out the foreigners from Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan and Gujarat be taken;

2. Border with Pakistan should be effectively guarded by creating a security belt to stop infiltration of trained terrorists and smuggling of arms and ammunition, narcotics and other contraband commodities; and
3. A Regional Council for Jammu be formed so that regional 12 imbalances in development be removed.

Law and Order and Protection of Weaker Sections

The BJP views with alarm the rise of social violence in the country. This includes communal violence, atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Tribals, and criminal assaults on women. The BJP believes that the weaker sections need an effective protection from atrocities and the Party is committed to the security of life, limb, property and honour of all citizens. In case of a serious eruption of violence, the BJP commends that –

1. A judicial inquiry will always be held;
2. The inquiry report will be published;
3. Those guilty of incitement to violence or dereliction of duty will be punished;
4. All sufferers will be suitably compensated and rehabilitated;
5. An indepth socio-economic study of riot-prone areas to take effective steps for riot-prevention will be conducted;
6. The Police Force be transformed into an efficient and impartial instrument of law and order, through modernisation programme and better service conditions; and
7. Political meddling in police work be stopped and a machinery for redressal of Police/ People's grievances be created.

Justice and Judicial Reforms

The BJP believes that without an independent judiciary, it is impossible to have the Rule of Law. Also the judicial system should be speedy, inexpensive and just. The BJP would under-take the following measures to restore the independence, integrity and efficiency of the judicial system –

1. Take effective measures to provide free legal aid to the poor and specially the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and

- gradual abolition of the Court-fees;
2. Simplify the legal procedures and increase the number of judges so that majority of the cases are disposed of within one year;
 3. Provide mobile courts for the rural areas and set up Nyaya Panchayats with judicial powers;
 4. Offer better service conditions and emoluments to judges at all levels;
 5. The Chief Justice of India should have the final say in the appointment of the High Court and Supreme Court Judges to be recommended by an independent body;
 6. Raise the retirement age of judges to 65, give them full pension equal to their salary, prohibit them from holding any office after retirement;
 7. Appoint a Commission for suggesting an overhaul of the Judicial System which is under serious stress;
 8. Appoint special courts for different categories of cases so that pending cases in various High Courts and Supreme Court are cleared within one year; and
 9. Introduce social security measures like provident fund and group insurance schemes for the advocates.

Decentralisation of Power and Panchayati Raj

The Panchayat System formed the bedrock of the democratic functioning of the Indian Social System since the Vedic period. Mahatma Gandhi and Jay Prakash Narayan were strong votaries of local self-government. The Jana Sangh under the leadership of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay had always canvassed for the Constitutional status of the Panchayats and Municipal boards.

The BJP believes in decentralisation of power and strengthening of democracy at the grass roots.

The party ensures a Constitutional status to the Panchayats and other local self institution and assured share of resources so that they do not depend upon discretionary grants.

The BJP will neither impose Panchayats from above nor will use them to bypass the State Governments.

National Economy

The Indian economy is presently going through an acute crisis. In fact it has been stagnating for the last ten years and more so since 1985. The per capita availability of the items of staple diet of the nation, in these years has gone down. The nation is more undernourished today than it was a few years ago. As a result of wrong plan priorities, the country is producing more colour TV sets, but not enough steel, more computers but not enough power, more fancy cars but not enough buses, more superfine fabrics but not enough cheaper varieties of dhoties and saris. The result of this lopsided elitist sense of priorities, combined with corruption and profligacy, is that today there are more people looking for jobs than ever before, more landless farmers than ever before, more illiterates than ever before. The consumer is groaning under the burden of back-breaking prices. There is more sorrow than happiness, more poverty than wealth.

The BJP hold the ruling party squarely responsible for deliberately neglecting the agriculture sector in pursuit of mythical modernisation.

Forty years ago, the disparity between the farmer and his counterpart in other sectors was not very large. Today it is one to three; soon, it will be one to four. A country that treats its farmers with contempt is bound to remain mired in poverty, as India is. The Country is again resorting to imports of foodgrains after so many years, which in itself is a tell-tale commentary on the mess that has been made on the farm front, in fact, in respect of the entire economy. Thanks to the wrong policies of our rulers over the years, thousands of crores of rupees from the rural poor have been transferred to the urban rich, resulting in a colossal rural

indebtedness. The BJP will reverse all these ugly trends and give the country a humane economy. It will take all steps necessary to achieve full employment, maximise production, stabilise prices and eradicate poverty and rural indebtedness. For this BJP offers the following programme:

Agriculture

In the opinion of the BJP the speedy development of the agriculture and rural sector is the key to India's prosperity. The party recognises that more than 65 per cent of Indian farmers are poor, they need capital and subsidised inputs for their rapid growth. The Kisan will continue to flounder in poverty unless the burden of people depending upon agriculture is reduced. A network of agro-industrial complexes in the rural areas is the real answer to the problems of poverty of the Indian peasantry. The party is committed to implement its Charter of Rights of Kisan.

The BJP offers a new deal to the farmers and it will –

1. Write off the debts of the farmers, agricultural labourers and rural artisans;
2. Allocate sixty per cent of the plan money, both Central and State, for rural development, agricultural and allied services;
3. Ensure remunerative prices to the farmers, computed after taking into consideration all the parameters like cost of inputs and living index etc;
4. Ensure minimum wages to farm labour;
5. Maintain parity of prices between agricultural and industrial produce;
6. Remove all restrictions on the movement of agricultural produce throughout the country;
7. Arrange abundant and regular supply of water and energy;
8. Introduce crop and cattle insurance schemes which would guarantee adequate compensation in case of crop failure, damage or loss due to natural calamities or outbreak of epidemics in cattle; also update the age old famine code;
9. Provide market value compensation in one instalment in case of land acquisition and rehabilitation of the uprooted in the process;

10. Issue Pass Books to Kisans and implement the land laws;
11. Reclaim all wasteland and give special attention to dry farming;
12. Speedily complete the on-going big irrigation projects, take up thousands of small and minor irrigation projects, organise efficient flood management and relief;
13. Encourage the cultivation of pulses, oil-seeds, fruits, nuts, and other cash crops;
14. Protect the traditional rights on village forests and Nistar Land;
15. Speedily provide the minimum civic facilities like drinking water, roads and other means of communication, public health and hygiene;
16. Organise the purchase operations through a wide and efficient network so as to ensure that all farmers and particularly the small farmers realise the guaranteed price and are not forced to make a distress sale; and
17. Restructuring the Agriculture Cost and Price Commission so that two-thirds of its members are drawn from those engaged in farming.

Cow Protection and Animal Standard

The BJP notes with concern that in spite of the clear provision of the Constitution in Article 48 and the Supreme Court's emphasis that cow protection is a constitutional mandate and slaughter of cows is not enjoined in any religion including Muslim religion, complete prohibition of cow slaughter has yet not been introduced in various States of India, specially in West Bengal and Kerala.

The BJP recognises the fact that from times immemorial Cow protection has remained one of the basic tenets of Indian culture and it is on the patient back of the cow and its progeny that the entire structure of the Indian agriculture rests. Over seventy million animals are employed in the farming operations in Indian villages, more than eighty percent rural transport requirements are met by the bullocks. Cow and its progeny continue to be the major source of power, manure and fuel including bio-gas. Cow is also an effective protection against environmental degradations.

The BJP regretfully observes that about three million cows are slaughtered every year and most of them for export. The party would put a total ban on the slaughter of the cows. It will

1. Amend the Article 48 of the Constitution to include bulls, and bullocks, and to prohibit State-trading in slaughter of cows; to ensure that no-one has a fundamental right of trade or business to slaughter cows; and to incorporate the subject of Cow-protection in the concurrent list;
2. Implement a policy of Go-Samvardhan or development of cow and cattle breeding including the improvement of Sheep and Goat breeds to bring about a white revolution in the country; and
3. Provide tax exemption to the income of Goshalas and Pinjarapoles.

Industry

The BJP's industrial policy flows from the following principles –

1. **Self-reliance:** The Party's industrial policy would be strongly nationalistic in approach and content. The party, would like to keep multinationals out of the field of consumer industries. The party regards self-reliance as an overriding component in our external economic relations, including the import of technology and capital.
2. **Decentralisation:** The party stands for political as well as economic democracy, so that the benefits of economic development go to the smallest man. The party believes that for this decentralisation of economic power, presently concentrated in the hands of the state or of big business, is necessary. Primacy for agriculture and Agro-based industries, Swadeshi and importance to the small and medium scale sector in industry are commitments that flow from this.
3. **Modernisation:** BJP will harness new technologies to the changing requirements of the country, and build India as a modern and progressive nation. But it will not allow technology to degrade man as just another input in Gross

National Product. Man will be the main focus of our developmental policies.

4. *Daridra Narayan Sewa*: Consistent with the above three elements, the party will aim at securing to every Indian citizen minimum conditions of material welfare in terms of food, raiment, shelter, health and education.

The party will leave no stone unturned in carrying jobs to the people. Generation of employment will be a major component of BJP's industrial policy.

BJP will encourage and improve industry all-round. We will –

1. Make the public sector productive and profitable; its management will be professionalised and a Central service called the 'Indian Management Service' will be formed to select, train and allocate the professional managers to these units;
2. Demarcate the spheres of multi-national corporations, big-scale industry, small-scale industry and cottage industry;
3. Ensure that the existing patent laws safeguarding Indian national interests remain intact under external pressure;
4. Cut down the plethora of controls which presently exist, and which breed corruption and dampen enterprises, and maintain only such of these restrictions as are necessary for social justice;
5. Foster the spirit of Swadeshi;
6. Reserve more and more consumer items to small-scale and cottage sectors;
7. Make credit more cheaply available to small-scale industry;
8. Modernise industrial plants; and ensure fuller utilization of capacity;
9. Promote agro-based industries;
10. Encourage Research and Development to play a live role in industrial growth;
11. Require businessmen to consider themselves as trustees of the public good;
12. Publicly honour excellence in industry and commerce; and
13. Provide tax and non-tax incentives to companies for making permanent workers share-holders out of a part

of their gross profit.

National Textile Policy

The BJP recognises the need to have an integrated textile policy and would ensure protection to handloom and cottage sectors of textile industry. To this end the party will demarcate the role of each of the Sectors viz. organised sector or mills, powerloom and handloom sectors, and Khadi and cottage industries. The Party would ensure cheap clothing to the poor and national and international market to various sectors. The handloom sector would receive adequate protection. The interests of cotton growers would also be duly safeguarded.

Taxation

BJP would adopt firm and bold measures to prevent generation of black-money.

1. Rationalise and simplify the entire tax structure. The highest rate of income tax shall be 40 per cent;
2. Raise the present exemption limit of income tax to Rs. 30,000; and introduce differential slab system and lower rates for fixed income groups;
3. Abolish octroi duty and require the State Governments to make good the loss of Municipalities;
4. Abolish Sales Tax and require the Centre to make good the loss of State Governments;
5. Exempt all savings and investments in approved organisations (including non-government institutions) from Wealth tax and Estate duty;
6. Share Corporation tax revenues with the States;
7. Take stringent measures against the smugglers and other economic offenders; and
8. Keep a strict watch on the operations of foreign banks.

Foreign Assets

The BJP will enact and strictly enforce a suitable legislation so as to require all Indian citizens to disclose their foreign assets including secret and undeclared bank accounts. The Party will take all measures including signing treaties for unearthing Indian unaccounted money in foreign countries.

1. Encourage the growth of small local banks, duly supervised

and guaranteed by the Reserve Bank of India.

2. Take drastic action against tax-evasion. Motivate people for savings and protect the honest tax-payer from harassment.
3. Pursue a policy of balanced-budget for the country and will discontinue the present practice of huge deficits in the national budget.
4. Impose statutory ceilings on deficits in budget and debts of the government.
5. Convert RBI into an autonomous institution, responsible to the Parliament for regulating the monetary policies of the government.

Prices

BJP will maintain price stability by efficient management of production and supplies, and by rooting out corruption – which is a major contributory factor for price rise. With this view the party will evolve a well coordinated wages, prices and profits policy.

The BJP will

1. Appoint a Price Commission to regulate the prices of manufactured goods both in private and public sector;
2. Fully and promptly neutralise any rise in prices by increased DA in both private and public sectors and in private and Government service, including Central, State and local government;
3. Open more fair price shops in towns and villages, existing arrangements will be streamlined; and
4. Make not only grains, sugar and kerosene, but also pulses, cooking oil and soap and such sundry articles of every day use available at these shops.

Consumer Protection

The BJP is of the opinion that there must be a co-relation between cost of production, price and profit. Nobody should be permitted to pocket super-profits. The party also recognises the need to enforce strict measures of quality control and price regulation. With this view the BJP will

1. Build a powerful consumer movement and formulate a price and profit policy for industrially manufactured

- goods;
2. Make statutory provision for declaring cost of production of industrially manufactured items;
 3. Ensure a reasonable rate of interest on the deposits by a consumer for registering his demand for cars, scooters, installation of telephones, gas, electric connections, etc; and
 4. Enforce the Consumer Protection Act, 1986, specially by constituting consumers' courts in all the districts.

Labour

BJP believes in healthy trade unionism. It will

1. Rationalise and simplify Labour Laws;
2. Recognise unions on the basis of secret ballot;
3. Introduce worker participation from the Shop Floor to the Board Room in all public sector projects, public limited companies and foreign companies operating in India;
4. Protect workers against inflation; and
5. Make laws and evolve an effective mechanism to protect the labour from occupational health hazards arising from industries like asbestos, cement, slate, mica, chemicals, textiles.

Full Employment and Right to Work

BJP recognises the citizen's Fundamental Right to work and will incorporate it in the Constitution. All our economic policies whether it is small dams or cottage industry, house construction or road building - will boost employment. In addition we will

1. Introduce Employment Guarantee Scheme throughout the country;
2. Provide Pensions for the aged poor;
3. Establish techno-economic project formulation bureaus in all districts and blocks for speedy launching of various full employment schemes with a special emphasis to cover the poor under-employed; and
4. Announce a work guarantee scheme as soon as the full employment plan for the block is approved.

Energy

There is acute energy crisis in India particularly in the villages,

which have remained without any dependable sources of energy even after forty-two years of Independence. This situation will have to be tackled on a war-footing. BJP will

1. Intensify efforts to find more oil, coal and natural gas reserves;
2. Improve the working of power plants which are now functioning at less than 50 per cent of capacity;
3. Stop the massive theft of electric power;
4. Introduce power-efficient, energy-saving devices in homes and factories;
5. Increase forest cover from the present 19 per cent of land to the desired 33 per cent; and
6. Encourage wind, water, bio-gas and solar power generation.

Justice To The Poor

For accelerating the process of distributive justice the following policy measures will be undertaken —

1. The surplus land already identified (about 5.5 million acres) shall be distributed to the landless within a maximum period of 3 years;
2. All tillers of the land shall be given title deeds, on the basis of quick, on-the-spot inquiries by competent authorities. The report regarding the progress made in this connection would be placed on the floor of the Assembly every year for approval;
3. Block level committees and tribunals with 50 per cent representation from tenants and landless labour would be appointed to implement land ceiling and tenancy reforms;
4. Legislative measures for the protection of unorganised rural worker would be introduced;
5. The share of small and marginal farmers landless workers and artisans in institutional credit will be raised upto 50 per cent under a time-bound programme;
6. Antyodaya Schemes covering every development block would be launched; and
7. The big industrial houses will be required to spend a portion of their wealth for the rural welfare every year.

□

The People

The Indian people are nation's greatest assets. They are the real instruments of transforming the country and building its future. The BJP is fully conscious of their manifold problems and is committed to redress their sufferings. It offers the following programme for different sections of Indian citizens.

Rural Folk

The BJP recognises that rural poor has to be provided or subsidised a set of social services and an infrastructure for their speedy development. The BJP will

1. Launch Schemes to supply ample and clean drinking water to each village, all problem villages to be covered in five years;
2. Energise every village;
3. Connect the villages through all-weather pucca roads;
4. Provide comfortable mass transit;
5. Implement schemes to offer health and family planning knowledge, supplies and services;
6. Undertake a massive drive for literacy and continuous non-formal education to transmit professional knowledge, and to raise the consciousness of the poor about current injustices, and their rights;
7. Provide sanitation (with increasingly mechanised and covered waste and sewage haulage, disposal and recycling; and
8. Implement Housing Schemes for the poor.

Salariat

The BJP fully appreciates the problems of the government employees and the salaried class, now crushed between fixed income and rising prices. It will

1. Link salaries in private services also to cost of living index; include minimum housing standard in computing minimum wages;
2. Provide residential accommodation to all government employees and encourage employers to build houses for staff;
3. Progressively introduce triple benefit schemes in private services, private sector and public sector;
4. Lower Life Insurance premia; and
5. Increase the return on Provident Fund deposits.

Senior Citizens and Pensioners

The Party recognises the need to have a National Policy for Senior Citizens. In the opinion of the BJP the pensioners are the most hard-pressed in the fixed income group. BJP will

1. Have a National Pension Policy to secure social and economic justice to all citizens including senior citizens;
2. Replace the 1971 Pension Act by a new law, more in tune with the changed social security concepts;
3. Launch Schemes to utilise the talents and expertise of the Senior Citizens;
4. Grant pensioners DA relief on the same scale as to serving employees;
5. Introduce lower income tax rates for pensioners and ensure higher rates of interest to Senior Citizens on investment in certain approved schemes;
6. Re-fix pensions as and when pay scales are revised; and
7. Grant travel concessions to pensioners and Senior Citizens.

Ex-servicemen

The BJP holds that the plight of the ex-servicemen has suffered at the hands of the Rajiv Government.

The BJP would work towards a purposeful resolution of their problems and is committed to implementing the following

proposals –

1. One rank, one pension;
2. Guaranteed avenues of employment upto the age of 58;
3. Necessary changes in the agricultural and urban land tenancy laws so as to ensure proprietary rights of servicemen;
4. To bring the welfare of ex-servicemen on the Concurrent List in the Constitution; and
5. Strengthen District Sainik Boards.

Sindhi Speaking People

The BJP recognises the valuable contributions made by the Sindhi speaking people for enriching the Indian society. The party also assures the Sindhi Community of protection and promotion of their identity, culture, language, and literature and fulfilment of constitutional guarantees enshrined in Article 350A and 350B of the Constitution of India.

The Party would also give them due representation in various spheres of social and political life.

Women

The BJP will

1. Take measures to remove gender discrimination and give equal status to the women in society; ban the determination of sex of a child in embryonic stage;
2. Make registration of marriages compulsory – like births and deaths to prevent child marriages;
3. Make the wife equal co-sharer in the husband's wealth and income;
4. Initiate schemes to provide economic opportunities for women, provide more facilities in technical and vocational training by starting ITIs and Polytechnics specially for women;
5. Take stringent measures against employers who discriminate against women workers on the ground of marital status, age or family responsibility, in order to save themselves from the responsibility of providing maternity benefit, creche facilities etc;

6. Launch a special drive to improve the educational status of women. More women's universities will be opened;
7. Reserve upto 30 per cent certain categories of jobs for women;
8. Treat burn injuries as attempt to murder and dowry deaths as murder under section 302 IPC;
9. Provide smokeless Chulhas at concessional rates to village women; and
10. Build hostels for single women working in the cities.

Youths

The BJP has a special appeal to the youth of India. The Party recognises the tremendous potential in them and calls upon them to join great endeavour of national reconstruction. The BJP in accordance with a National Youth Policy, will

1. Devise mechanism for the participation of youths in the implementation of the poverty alleviation programmes;
2. Ensure participation of youths in literacy drive, conservation of environment, Land Army etc;
3. Mobilise youths for fighting social evils like untouchability, dowry, superstitions, casteism, etc. and develop a scientific outlook in them;
4. Encourage the spirit of adventure in the youths; and
5. Inculcate in them a sense of pride for their glorious heritage and a will to transform India into a modern, progressive, prosperous and front rank nation.

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The BJP stands for all such measures which will bring the SC and ST people at par with the rest of the society, not in terms of economic status alone but on broad spectrum of social life giving them a rightful place of honour to live with a sense of belonging. The BJP will

1. Enforce laws against untouchability and atrocities very stringently and set up mobile or special courts to try cases of atrocities against SC and ST;
2. Atrocity prone villages will be identified and steps will be taken to safeguard the life, honour and property of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes;

3. A massive campaign to eradicate untouchability will be launched;
4. Full allocation and utilisation of funds under special component plan in proportion to SC population will be ensured;
5. A national level financial agency on the lines of NABARD to cater to the credit needs of SC/ST will be set up;
6. Ensure greater participation of SC/ST in small, cottage and rural industries;
7. Launch vigorous schemes during VIII Five Year Plan coinciding with Dr. Ambedkar's centenary to raise SCs and STs families above poverty line;
8. Implement the reservation policy for SC and ST by resorting to special recruitment drives so as to fill their quota within the shortest possible time;
9. Put an end to the carrying of night soil as headload and introduce modern technique for disposal. Also take steps for effective rehabilitation;
10. Separate heads of account for SC/ST expenditure will be maintained by the Central and the State Governments;
11. A befitting memorial to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar will be established in Delhi during his centenary year;
12. Evolve a new forest policy based on a partnership between the forest tribals and the forest authorities
13. Frame policies which protect tribals from exploitation, and indebtedness, and enable them to grow in accordance with their own genius;
14. Remove the impediments in the speedy development of Tribal and Hill areas and settle the pending claims for grant of permanent pattas to the tribals by amending the Forest Conservation ACT (1986);
15. Amend the laws relating to the collection and marketing of the minor forest produce to protect the economic interests of the ST;
16. Convert all forest villages into revenue villages; and
17. Formulate a sub-plan for the economic development of the Scheduled Tribes.

Reservation Policy

In the opinion of the BJP the question of reservation has to be viewed with an open mind free from all prejudices of any kind.

For this BJP commends –

1. Reservation should be continued for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as before;
2. Reservation should also be made for other backward classes broadly on the basis of the Mandal Commission Report, with preference to be given to the poor among these very classes; and
3. As poverty is an important contributory factor for backwardness, reservation should also be provided for members of the other castes on the basis of their economic condition.

Physically Handicapped

The BJP accepts the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped persons as a component of Social Welfare. The party will

1. Make a detailed survey and prepare a register of disabled persons in each district;
2. Open centres to train the disabled for appropriate vocations;
3. Give tax benefits to those industries, firms, and organisations who either absorb the disabled or provide limbs and other artefacts for their use;
4. Provide marketing and other infrastructural facilities for the items manufactured by the disabled; and
5. Will pay cash awards and other incentives to those handicapped who excel in any field of life;

Destitutes

The BJP recognises the need for providing the destitute homes and orphanages and this would form an important component of Social Welfare Schemes. Institutions providing such facilities would be given tax relief.



Quality of Life

Man does not live by bread alone. He must also have health and housing, education and sports, and above all a happy environment.

Housing and Town Development

The BJP recognises the right to shelter by all citizens of India. The party would evolve a National Housing Policy based on the minimum housing standards for the urban and the rural poor. In this direction the Party will

1. Take measures for providing minimum area of land for housing to each family at cheaper rates;
2. Expand and strengthen housing co-operatives, and encourage trusts and other establishments for building houses to be rented or sold;
3. Improve the basic civic amenities in towns and pay special attention to the problems of slums to improve their habitats;
4. Develop small and medium townships to prevent overcrowding of metropolitan towns;
5. Progressively develop all urban centres as garden cities;
6. Rationalise Housing and Rent Control laws; and
7. Double the number of houses now built annually by various State Housing Boards.

Education

The party views with concern that with the rising cost of education, the existing socio-economic disparities will be perpetuated in the field of education. The BJP believes in equalisation of educational opportunities and build up a system worthy of the genius of our heritage and the undoubted capacities of our youth.

Towards this end, we will

1. Implement Articles 45 of the Constitution to give free education to all children in the 6-14 age group, evolve a new strategy for a teacher oriented expansion programme for this;
2. Launch an Adult Literacy Programme;
3. Give education a vocational and technical content, establish a complex of agro-industrial polytechnics in each district;
4. Introduce compulsory moral instruction, that will be nondenominational but character-building;
5. Supply subsidised text books and writing materials, develop book-banks in the educational institutions;
6. Ensure academic freedom and the autonomy of universities, raise the emoluments and status of teachers;
7. Make the Universities and colleges adopt localities and villages and help them in their overall development;
8. Delink jobs from degrees;
9. Progressively increase the allocation for education till it reaches the six per cent of the GNP; and
10. Associate students' unions with the management of student welfare programmes.

Language

The BJP supports the principle that people have a right to be educated and run their administration in their own language. The BJP will

1. Impement the three language formula and make adequate arrangements for language teaching so that persons knowing different Indian languages are available in each region;
2. Speedily implement the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee on Official language;
3. Take necessary administrative steps that candidates can appear with Hindi medium in all Competitive Examinations and/or interviews for recruitment in all central services, and admissions to national institutions like IITs and AIIMS;
4. Remove all impediments in pursuing higher education and research through Hindi or other Indian languages;

5. Promote the study of Sanskrit language as the storehouse of ancient Indian wisdom and restore its position in the three languages formula;
6. Assist the development of those Indian languages which are neither State languages nor regional languages, but have contributed to the enrichment of Indian culture; and
7. Include Nepali in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

Health and Nutrition

Health care to all citizens is the primary duty of the State. A majority of children born in families below poverty line are undernourished and show sign of mental retardation chiefly due to protein deficiency. BJP, therefore, considers hygiene, sanitation and nutrition as more important than medicines and hospitals. We will

1. Along with Allopathy, recognise and promote Ayurveda and Siddha, Unani and Homoeopathy, Chromopathy and Nature Cure and in general encourage holistic healing;
2. Supply free milk and nutrition to children in primary schools, and give every child an annual physical check-up;
3. Improve the present district civil hospitals, and set up similar hospitals at taluka level;
4. Give every village a Health Care Centre to take particular care of expectant mothers and provide them with adequate nourishment;
5. Have a Mobile Dispensary in each taluka;
6. Build more and better public latrines, particularly for women in villages;
7. Organise Eye Camps, and camps for other serious ailments in various areas;
8. Implement Hathi Committee Report on Pharmaceuticals and make essential medicines available cheap to the people;
9. Implement a programme to control and eradicate the communicable diseases; and
10. Take effective measures against drug addiction and alcoholism.

Science and Technology

The BJP believes that Science and Technology (ST) should be allowed to play its due role to transform India into a prosperous, modern and enlightened society. The party would unhesitatingly

apply appropriate scientific and technological methods for increasing productivity, eradicating poverty, hunger and disease and to provide meaningful employment along with 'the basic amenities of life to the vast percentage of population living below the poverty line. The party holds that science is not merely harnessing nature for material wealth but is as well liberating and enriching mind and enlarging the human spirit. The BJP would use science in the service of the poor and would develop technology with a human face.

The party is equally concerned about the rising trends of brain drain. The BJP will

1. Foster a scientific temper among the people;
2. Use Science and Technology for increasing productivity and generating employment;
3. Implement a vigorous programme of science education and research for improving quality of life;
4. Establish a network of Centres for Application of Science and Technology to Rural Areas, implement lab to land programmes and develop a strong low cost agro-industrial base;
5. Put new life in National Laboratories, develop them as centres of excellence in applied research;
6. Direct these laboratories to evolve Appropriate Technology for Indian needs;
7. Accelerate the production of scientific literature in regional languages and evolve a national terminology for science and technology; and
8. Create the right working conditions, for our best brains to remain here and serve the country and not migrate to other lands.

Sports

The BJP will give all encouragement to sports and put India on the Olympic map of the world. We will

1. Evolve a new dynamic national sports policy aiming at bringing 10 per cent population on the playgrounds and winning medals in Olympic and other international competitions;
2. Provide play fields in schools, colleges, Universities, rural

- areas and open sports complexes in all districts with modern equipments under a time bound programme;
3. Give remuneration to sportspersons at par with those available to the sports persons of advanced countries;
 4. Ensure job security for sportsmen and admission to the colleges and technical courses; and
 5. Respect the Olympic charter and autonomy of the sports bodies and will prohibit governmentalisation of sports.

Family Welfare and Population Policy

The BJP recognises the growing concern of the people about the dangers of a demographic explosion and distortions created by the mishandling of the population control programmes by the Congress(I) government. The BJP is committed to the policy of responsible parenthood and believes that population control programme should be given top priority while formulating national plans. It expects all sections of Indian community to fully participate in these programmes. The BJP will

1. Strive for creating a national consensus for adopting a National Population Policy and if necessary to take suitable legislative measures for it;
2. Make Family Planning information and facilities available to the people. Involve all voluntary, social and cultural organisations in creating an awareness for adopting family planning as a way of life;
3. Perform Vasectomy and Tubectomy operations free, and encourage all methods including herbal and biorhythmic;
4. Help childless couples with medical assistance to have a child;
5. Integrate the family planning programme with other community welfare programmes; and
6. Pursue vigorously for the voluntary adoption of the 'two children' norm and evolve a system of incentives and disincentives for achieving the long term demographic goals.

Environment

The BJP attaches high priority to stop the degradation of environment. In the opinion of the BJP, the rapid depletion of natural resources, risks of green house effect, the destruction of tropical rain-forests, and the hazards of dumping of industrial waste and discharge of highly toxic materials in air and water are matters of global concern and world opinion has to be alerted against them. International efforts are needed to save the planet. Preservation of environment has been an integral part of Indian way of life. We look upon India as Bharat Mata and a holy land. Our land, air, waters, our hills, forests, flora and fauna are all sacred to us. We will keep them neat, clean and intact. We will

1. Formulate a National Resources Management Policy and adopt a holistic approach in planning;
2. Require anti-pollution devices to be installed to process and clean up industrial and Municipal effluents before the same are discharged into our rivers;
3. Keep a strict watch on chemical fertilizers and insecticides for any poisoning of the soil;
4. Improve auto exhausts to prevent the fouling of the air;
5. Curb the aggression of noise in the cities;
6. Undertake a massive afforestation programme;
7. While protecting the traditional rights of Vanavasis, we will require the planting of three trees for every single tree that is cut by anybody for any reason;
8. Make environmental concerns an integral part of education; and
9. Take special care in import of technology and promote research for developing indigenous pollution free technology.

Culture

The BJP believes in preserving and propagating the cultural values which have kept India united through the ages. It will

1. Conserve the ancient heritage of India and make people feel proud of it;
2. Promote Indian values of life through cultural centres;
3. Acquaint people with the glorious traditions and

achievements of ancient Indian genius in the fields of science, technology, medicine, agriculture, etc;

4. Wage a relentless war against superstitions and outmoded customs; and
5. Emphasise on culture as a dynamic and synthetic process.

Arts

Art is the essence of life. BJP will encourage all art forms. It will make the various arts, part of Education, Production and Life.

To promote theatre, BJP will, as a rule, exempt all theatrical performances from entertainment tax.

The BJP will encourage folk art in various fields.

Films

BJP recognises the great role of cinema in entertainment, education and national integration. BJP will

1. Have, in addition to 'A' and 'U' Films, 'Q' that is Quality films, which will be exempt from entertainment taxes;
2. Have special theatres in metropolitan centres to screen art films and other Quality films; and
3. Implement the recommendations of the Karanth Committee on National Film Policy.

Tourism

The BJP recognises the importance of tourism as an instrument of national integration, international understanding and employment generation. India abounds in natural beauty and charming tourist centres, which have fascinated people from far distant quarters.

It will

1. Promote tourism both national and international as an industry and give incentives to those who take it as a profession;
2. Will evolve a policy of integrating tourism and marketing of handicrafts and other art works;
3. Take a scheme of training tourist guides and opening tourist homes and information centres; and

Provide infrastructural facilities like sites for building dormitories at subsidised rates and network of communication

channels.

Mass Media

The BJP reaffirms its commitments to the freedom of thought and expression. We will

1. Make freedom of the Press an explicit Fundamental Right, and not just an implied one derived from the citizen's right to Freedom of Expression;
2. Encourage the growth of the Press by abolishing the duty on newsprint and the tax on newspaper advertising;
3. Revive the 'Prasar Bharati Bill' of 1979, which sought to convert AIR and Doordarshan into an autonomous corporation. The Corporation would have greater autonomy than that enjoyed by BBC today;
4. Review the Official Secrets Act in so far as it obstructs the Right to Know and enact a Freedom of Information Law; and
5. Implement the P.C. Joshi Report on TV software to improve the quality of TV programmes.

□

National Security

The BJP holds that National security is a primary responsibility of State. Security of the nation is an integrated whole: an amalgam of the internal, the economic, the social, the political, the military and the diplomatic. The BJP will, therefore, resolve the social and political turmoil in strategically sensitive border states like Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, North East and Assam. Indian diplomacy can assist in the protection of our national interests only if it is guided by a purposeful foreign policy.

Foreign Policy

The conduct of diplomacy by the Rajiv Government has left India's foreign policy in tatters. Never has the country faced so much animosity from so many of our neighbours, as today. It is BJP's view that the challenges we face in the field of external relations, arise from a re-assertion of the altered importance of non-alignment, as a concept, in a rapidly transforming world. It is our view that increasingly, we should give emphasis to foreign economic policy under the time-proved concept of non-alignment. It is vital to move the world towards a greater and more effective North-South and South-South Co-operation.

The BJP has stood for, and is committed to mutually beneficial aim of good bilateral relations with all our neighbours and a strengthening of SAARC. We stand for a normalisation of relations with China, with due safeguards for Tibet, proper recognition of India's national interests and honourable solution of the border dispute. We would work for a comprehensive package of settlement of all outstanding matters with Pakistan and a widening of the people-to-people relations between our two countries. We would

work for an early withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lanka. With Nepal BJP would seek the re-establishment of harmonious relations based on the concept of interdependent growth.

The BJP stands for a foreign policy committed to world peace, disarmament and a non-exploitative new international economic order. The Party will

1. Work towards re-imparting dynamism to the non-aligned movement;
2. Pursue a policy of peace, friendship and co-operation with neighbouring countries;
3. Reject the domination of super-power interest in South Asia and the Indian Ocean;
4. Work towards the establishment of a regional common market by strengthening South Asian Regional Conference;
5. Work for the establishment of a new international economic order, take initiative for trade and monetary reform, North-South dialogue with emphasis on enhanced South-South Co-operation;
6. Continued efforts for the world-wide rejection of apartheid; and
7. Continuously work towards the solution of problems of people of Indian origin living abroad.

Defence

Defence preparedness has suffered grievously in the hands of Rajiv Government gripped as it is, by ad-hocism and by corruption surrounding defence procurements. This has brought to a standstill all policy-making and implementation within the Defence Ministry. The other great harm that Rajiv Government has caused to the country is excessive misemployment in an adventurous manner, of the Indian Armed Forces on Political roles or on militarily unattainable tasks. This has caused a very serious lowering of the morale of our Armed Forces, and hence of its total combat effectiveness. BJP wishes to caution the nation against the extremely harmful consequences if such a situation is permitted to continue.

The BJP would work actively towards reviving the morale of the Armed Forces, giving a solemn assurance that the Indian Armed Forces, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, would not

lack either in equipment or in the necessary wherewithals to execute their responsibilities.

The BJP will exert for —

1. Optimum defence preparedness including production of nuclear bombs and delivery systems;
2. Diversification of sources of supply of defence hardware, continued emphasis on maximising indigenous production, self-reliance and Defence Research and Development;
3. Greater public accountability of defence expenditure;
4. Enhancement of Indian Navy's capability;
5. Identification, and elimination of, foreign lobbies associated with defence weapons procurement and contracts; and
6. Improve service conditions in the Armed Forces so as to make careers in the Army, Navy and Air Force more attractive to the best talent in the country.

This then is the programme which the BJP pledges to implement under the inspiring leadership of Shri A.B. Vajpayee and Shri L.K. Advani. The dedicated cadres of the party, headed by these brilliant leaders of impeccable record of clean public life and selfless service to the nation, are committed to usher in a new political culture. In the opinion of the BJP a critical moment of history has arrived for India. The country can not afford to miss this moment of history, this opportunity to throw out the last vestige of the dynastic rule mainly responsible for this country's ruination.

The BJP on its part has left no stone unturned in its efforts to put up a determined and united electoral battle and has unhesitatingly sacrificed its party interests whenever national interests so demanded. The Bharatiya Janata Party calls upon the people to join in its struggle for a value based polity and throw out this corrupt and incompetent government.

□

Towards a New Polity

Election Manifesto
1984

Indian polity today stands at a critical crossroad of history. The state of the nation is exemplified by the breakdown of law and order, an absence of purpose and direction in governance, deep divisions within society marked by deliberately engineered communal and castesist passions, and a serious erosion of institutions. Near about half our citizens continue to groan under the dehumanising yoke of abject poverty aggravated by spiraling prices. Urban chaos and rural neglect have degraded the quality of our citizens' life.

The shocking assassination of the late Prime Minister and subsequent occurrences are the most horrifying and telling symptoms of erosion of moral authority and a total decay of the ruling party.

At such a critical juncture a new direction and a fresh political initiative was expected from the successor government. Betraying all hopes, the government of the day, mired in immobility, a prisoner of the old caucus, continues cynically to repeat yesterday's irrelevancies. When decisive action is called for, it merely mouths platitudes and attempts to transfer responsibility by accusing others.

National integrity, unity, and cohesion are the paramount need of the hour; the reestablishment of national consensus a primary task. Today's challenge cannot be met by yesterday's government.

The need of the hour is a new polity, a new government, a new leadership. In the new polity we stand committed to value-based politics, to democracy, to positive secularism, and to Gandhian economics.

India needs a new government which is clean, effective purposeful and representative of the rich diversity of our land. Such a government must restore the moral authority of the State, commit itself afresh to the integrity of the nation and guarantee the security of every single citizen of the country. This Republic of

ours can no longer be left a Prisoner of the corrupt and criminal.

To fulfill this task the Bharatiya Janata Party offers to the nation the following programme.



National Politics

National Unity and Positive Secularism

BJP is pledged to defend the unity and integrity of India. It believes that India, from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari, is one country, and all Indians, irrespective of language, caste or creed, are one people.

Unity in diversity has been the hallmark of Indian culture, which is a unique multi-headed synthesis of the cultural contributions made over the centuries by different peoples and religions. In Indian tradition, since times immemorial, the State has always been a civil institution, which makes no distinction between one citizen and another on grounds of his religion. The very idea of a theocratic state is alien to Indian political history. So, when India became independent in 1947, we very naturally declared ourselves a secular state, unconcerned that Pakistan had opted for theocracy.

It is this positive concept of secularism to which BJP is committed. Secularism should not be allowed to become a euphemism for appeasement, alternately of this community, or that, or a sordid political device to garner bloc-votes.

Ours is a democratic federal Constitution. It envisages strong States, with a strong Centre. Indeed the whole cannot be strong unless the constituent parts are strong too. But over the years the States have been increasingly reduced to glorified municipalities. The BJP will restore the balance between the Centre and the States as visualised by our constitution makers. And to that end, it will:

1. Support and strengthen state Governments and not destabilize and topple them;
2. Appoint State Governors in consultation with State Governments;

3. Enact an anti-Defection Law;
4. Limit the number of ministers to 10 per cent of legislators; as per the Report of the Committee on Defections;
5. Give the states a fairer share of Central revenues and increase the financial powers of the States;
6. Delete the temporary Article 370 of the Constitution;
7. Constitute an Inter-State Council under Article 263 to settle all Inter-State and State-Centre disputes; and
8. Guarantee to all minorities, linguistic and religious, peace and security, and full opportunities for progress and development.

Fair Elections

The BJP believes in the primacy of elections. It is convinced that elections must be held regularly and very fairly. They must honestly reflect the public mind. And the parties fighting these elections must also function democratically – and cleanly.

Four evils threaten to subvert the freedom and fairness of elections – money-power, ministerial-power, media-power and muscle-power. The BJP is resolved to contain and curb all these evils.

The party will give high priority to electoral reform. More specifically, BJP will

1. Give the right of vote to all those above eighteen;
2. Introduce Identity Cards for voters;
3. Use electronic voting machines, and to this end, make necessary changes in the election law;
4. As recommended by the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Amendments to Election Law, examine the feasibility of introducing the List system of elections;
5. Give the right of Postal Ballot to Indian citizens living abroad;
6. Hold State and Central elections simultaneously every five years;
7. Make the Election Commission a multi-member body; strengthen its independence by making expenditure incurred on the Commission expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund of India, as is provided in the case of Comptroller and Auditor General and Supreme Court and

- High Court judges, and by providing the Commission with an independent, minimal infrastructure;
8. Extend the jurisdiction of the Election Commission to local body elections, and to ensure that elections to local bodies are held regularly;
 9. Arrange for public funding of elections, as is the case in Germany, Japan and most other democratic countries;
 10. Have party accounts publicly audited;
 11. To prevent abuse of governmental power by the ruling party, give legal teeth to the Code of Conduct framed by Election Commission; violation of the code shall be made a corrupt practice under the law.

Corruption

In the last 4 years or so corruption has not only become way of life but has in fact been institutionalized and legitimized. An unholy nexus has developed between the corrupt politician, the corrupt bureaucrat and the corrupt businessman. The volume of black-money has grown phenomenally and is now estimated at around 50 per cent of the total money in circulation.

The BJP holds that the roots of all corruption lie in political and electoral corruption. While measures to cleanse elections have been dealt with earlier, with regard to political corruption in general, the BJP will, inter alia, take the following steps:

1. It will enact a law, and create an Ombudsman-Lokpal and Lokayukta – as recommended by the Administrative Reform's Commission; and
2. Streamline procedures and rules relating to purchases awarding of contracts etc. in Government and public sector undertakings and regulate discretionary powers of political authorities; political interference and intervention in day-to-day End Government departments and public sector functioning of actions, dealing with purchases and award of contracts etc.; Rationalise and streamline the tax structure, providing sufficient incentives to savings and avoiding harassment to honest tax-payers and to avoid generation of black money; Require all Ministers to make an annual declaration of assets.

Our North East

All our North Eastern States suffer from unsatisfactory, economic development, insufficient recognition of local diversity, inadequate participation in National tasks, unchecked illegal immigration resulting in demographic imbalances and serious social destabilisation. The BJP believes that a resolution of all these problems has to be undertaken jointly and keeping in mind the peculiarities of the region. In this endeavor the Brahmaputra Valley and the State of Assam play a crucial role. No integrated development of the region is possible if Assam continues to remain unstable.

The BJP will, therefore, give high priority to the solution of the many problems afflicting Assam. It will work purposefully and expeditiously for their early resolution.

Whilst cooperating with the efforts of the Chief Election Commissioner, to carry out a detailed enumeration, leading to a proper revision and publication of electoral rolls, the party will simultaneously continue to emphasise the need for adequate safeguards so that the scrutiny of enumeration lists becomes meaningful.

Mindful of the national commitment of bonafide refugees in the region, the BJP will work continuously to protect their interests.

In addition, the BJP will take all effective steps to prevent further illegal immigration. For this purpose it will work towards joint, cooperative effort by all the concerned adjoining states like Tripura, West Bengal and Bihar.

At the heart of the continued impasse in Assam is the alienation of a whole section of our countrymen, resulting in the citizens of that state being deprived of their right to participate in current elections. The BJP will immediately resume the process of negotiation and reconciliation so that the many problems of the region can be tackled with the wholehearted participation of the citizens.

Punjab

'The BJP shares the agony of Punjab with the Punjabis. It congratulates the people of Punjab on maintaining the peace in the Punjab in the face of grave provocation.

The BJP holds the Congress (I) squarely responsible for

encouraging separatist and terrorist elements in the Punjab. As a result, for four long agonising years, the State has been subject to an orgy of murder and mayhem. The tragic murder of Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi, and the bestial carnage which followed in its wake, also, are poison-fruits of Government's Punjab policy.

The BJP wishes to declare unequivocally that the nation shall not allow another assault on the country's integrity, and that there can be no compromise with those who talk of Khalistan. At the same time, the BJP will not suffer any harm being done to innocent people, Hindu or Sikh.

1. The Punjab problem is basically political and we will solve it politically;
2. Separatism and terrorism will be sternly dealt with;
3. We will adequately compensate the sufferers of violence during the last three years;
4. The BJP will refer territorial claims and counterclaims river waters and other outstanding issues, to the Chief Justice of India, for arbitration within one year.

Law & Order

The BJP views with alarm the rise of social violence in the country. This includes communal violence, atrocities on Harijans and tribals, and criminal assaults on women. It is committed to the security of life, limb, property and honour of all citizens. Whenever there is a serious eruption of violence

1. There must be a judicial inquiry;
2. The inquiry report must be published;
3. The Report recommendations must be implemented;
4. Men guilty of incitement to violence or dereliction of duty will be punished;
5. All riot sufferers must be suitably and adequately compensated and rehabilitated;
6. We will conduct in-depth socio-economic studies of riot prone areas to take effective steps for riot-prevention.

The Police & The People

The Police is a vital organ of the State. Over the years, the gulf between the people and the Police has grown very wide. The people complain of Police Zulum; and the Police complains of political interference and of bad living and working conditions. The BJP will

1. Implement the Police Commission's recommendations particularly with regard to the emoluments and service conditions of police personnel;
2. Modernise the Police Force and convert it into an efficient and impartial instrument of law and order;
3. Set up a machinery for redressal of Police People's grievances;
4. Stop political meddling in police work;
5. Set up local committees of respected citizens to bridge the gap between the People and the Police.

Justice

The BJP attaches the greatest importance to Justice – Justice that will be quick, inexpensive and just. It notes with regret that over the years there has been an all all-round deterioration in this respect. The Independence of the Judiciary has been seriously eroded. BJP will take corrective steps to restore the independence, integrity and efficiency of the judicial system. We will

1. Simplify the legal procedures and increase the number of judges, so that no case lingers on beyond one year;
2. Appoint Chief Justices strictly in order of seniority;
3. Not harass judges with politically inspired transfers;
4. Offer better emoluments to judges to attract more talent to the Bench;
5. Raise the retirement age of judges to 65, give them full pensions equal to their salary, and give them quasi-judicial work after retirement without extra cash payment.

Human Rights Commission

BJP will widen the scope of the present ineffective Minorities Commission and convert it into a Human Rights Commission to take care of the just rights of all individuals, groups and communities.



National Economy

The National Economy is in bad shape. While production is moving up at snail's pace, prices are galloping away. More people are unemployed today than at the time of Independence. The rich are getting richer while the poor stay poor. Village industries are dying. Many of our industries are working at only 40 per cent of capacity. More and more millions are falling below the Poverty Line everywhere. Last year alone the Public Sector lost Rs. 6,000 crores (Rupees Six thousand crores) only.

The BJP will reverse all these ugly trends and give the country a humane economy. It will take all steps necessary to achieve full employment, maximise production, stabilise prices and pull more and more millions above the Poverty Line, until nobody is left poor in the country.

Agriculture

Agriculture is our biggest industry. It is the backbone of the economy. BJP will encourage it in every way. In particular, we will

1. Implement the land laws; quickly complete on-going big irrigation projects; start thousands of small irrigation works; subsidies inputs; give remunerative prices; establish a parity of agricultural and industrial prices;
2. Specially encourage pulses, oil seeds, fruits, nuts and, vegetables cultivation, and also production of cash crops;
3. Increase milk supply and effect a White Revolution;
4. Attain food self-sufficiency and never again need to import food-grains.

BJP will encourage and improve industry all-round. We will

1. Make the public sector productive and profitable;

2. Demarcate the spheres of multinational corporations, other foreign companies, big industry, small-scale industry and cottage industry;
3. Cut down on the plethora of controls which presently exist, and which breed corruption and dampen enterprise; and maintain only such of these restrictions as are necessary for social justice.
4. Foster the Swadeshi spirit;
5. Reserve more and more consumer items to small-scale and cottage sectors;
6. Make credit more cheaply available to small-scale industry;
7. Modernise industrial plants;
8. Promote agro-based industries;
9. Encourage Research and Development;
10. Require businessmen to act as trustees of the public good; and
11. Publicly honour excellence in industry and commerce.

Finance

The BJP will handle public funds with the same care and caution as one would handle one's own funds.

1. We will not impose any new taxes;
2. We will reduce some taxes. To begin with, the income tax exemption will be raised to Rs. 30,000;
3. We will abolish octroi duty-and require the State Government to make good the loss of municipalities;
4. We will abolish Sales Tax and require the Centre to make good the loss of State Governments, by matching increases in excise duties;
5. We will rationalise and simplify the entire tax structure. The highest rate of income tax shall be 49 per cent;
6. All savings and investments in approved organisations (including non-government institutions.) will be exempted from wealth tax and Estate duty;
7. Corporation tax revenues will be shared with the States;
8. Smugglers and other economic offenders will be severely dealt with;

9. A strict watch will be kept on the operations of foreign banks,
10. We will encourage the growth of small local banks, duly supervised and guaranteed by the Reserve Bank of India.

Prices

BJP will maintain price stability by efficient management of production and supplies, and by rooting out corruption.

1. Any rise in prices will be fully and promptly neutralised by increased DA in both private and public sectors and in private and Government service, including central, State and local government.
2. We will open more Fair Price Shops in towns and villages; existing arrangements will be streamlined.
3. Make not only grains, sugar and kerosene, but also pulses, cooking oil and soap and such sundry articles of every day use available at these shops.

Labour

BJP believes in healthy trade unionism. It will

1. Rationalise and simplify Labour Laws;
2. Recognise unions on the basis of secret ballot;
3. Introduce worker participation from the Shop Floor to the Board Room in all public sector projects, public limited companies and foreign companies operating in India; and
4. Insulate workers against inflation (specific measures spelt out in the next chapter).

Full Employment

BJP recognises the citizen's Fundamental Right to work. All our economic policies whether it is small dams or cottage industry, house construction or road building will boost employment. In addition we will

1. Introduce Employment Guarantee Scheme on the Maharashtra pattern, throughout the country;
2. There will be pensions for the aged poor; and
3. There will be 'Antyodaya' for the poorest of the poor.

Energy

There is a serious energy crisis throughout the world. The crisis is particularly acute in India with heavy oil imports, serious power-shortages and high power prices. This Situation will have to be tackled on a war-footing. BJP will

1. Intensify efforts to find more oil, coal and natural gas reserves;
2. Improve the working of power plants which are now functioning at less than 50 per cent of capacity;
3. Stop the massive theft of electric power;
4. Introduce power-efficient energy-saving devices in homes and factories;
5. Increase forest cover from the present 19 per cent of land to the desired 33 per cent;
6. Encourage wind, water, biogas and solar power generation.
7. Pay special attention to the development of nuclear energy.

□

The People

People, whether in the villages or in towns and cities, have had a raw deal all these years. BJP will make life more bearable for them.

Villagers

1. Since a majority of the people live in villages, a major portion of development funds will be invested in the villages;
2. Drinking water will be made available to all the remaining about 1.5 lakh waterless villages during the next five years;
3. Cow slaughter will be banned;
4. In the first stage all villages with a population of 1,000 will be connected by pucca road;
5. Likewise, all villages with a population of 1,000 will be given electric connection;
6. Village artisans will be trained and their techniques modernised. For example, smiths will become mechanics, carpenters will make furniture, washermen will become dry-cleaners etc;
7. Local people will be given preference in the matter of local jobs;
8. Panchayats will be reorganised in the true spirit of Panchayati Raj;
9. Mobile courts will decide minor disputes locally.

Townsmen

1. House construction by individuals, trusts, commercial establishments and cooperatives will be encouraged to make more houses available at reasonable rents;

2. City water, power and sewage services will be improved;
3. All applicants on the waiting list will be given telephone connections;
4. The menace of goondas will be ended; and
5. All urban centres will be progressively made into garden cities.

Salariat

The BJP fully appreciates the problems of the salaried class, now crushed between 'fixed incomes and rising prices. It will

1. Link salaries in private services also to cost of living index;
2. Encourage employers to build houses for staff;
3. Progressively introduce pension schemes in private service, private sector and public sector;
4. Lower Life Insurance premia;
5. Increase the return on Provident Fund deposits;
6. Abolish Compulsory Deposit Scheme;
7. Ensure payment of pension and GPF dues within one month of retirement; and
8. Ask all establishments to build Holiday Homes and organize cooperative stores, for their staff.

Government Employees

Central Government employees suffer from all the problems of the salariat; additionally, their salaries are lower than those in private service. Indeed, fourteen State Governments are paying higher salaries than the Central Government. BJP will move fast in the matter. It will

1. Ask the Fourth Pay Commission to submit a quick interim report, doing urgent justice to the employees;
2. Order full and prompt neutralisation of all increases in the cost of living index;
3. Immediately pay all arrears of DA instalments that have become due;
4. Provide residential accommodation to all Government employees.

Pensioners

The pensioners are the most hard-pressed in the fixed income group. BJP will

1. Replace the 1871 Pension Act by a new law, more in tune with the changed social security concepts;
2. Have a National Pensions Policy to secure social and economic justice to all citizens;
3. Constitute a separate Pension Commission to examine the special problems of pensioners;
4. Grant pensioners DA relief on the same scale as to serving employees; exempt pensioners from payment of income tax;
5. Re-fix pensions as and when pay scales are revised; and
6. Grant travel concessions to pensioners.

Ex-servicemen

The welfare of ex-servicemen is inextricably linked with the morale of serving personnel because we believe that today's soldier, sailor or airman is tomorrow's ex-serviceman.

The BJP holds that insufficient attention has been paid to their welfare, pensions, re-employment and other allied matters. The BJP would work towards a purposeful resolution of all these problems. We believe that the last Supreme Court judgement has given grounds for a great deal of disaffection. We would, therefore, take steps to ensure that:

1. Standard pension rate is kept at not less than 50 per cent of the total emoluments last drawn;
2. Introduce one rank-one pension system. This would include all old pensioners irrespective of their date of retirement;
3. Introduce a proper system for taking into account the cost of living and corresponding adjustments in pensions.
4. Take steps to restore the commuted value of pension on completion of the period of commutation;
5. Widows of pensioners who retired prior to 1.1.1964 to be given the same pension as is applicable in the case of family pensioners or reservists;
6. Strengthen Zilla and District Sainik Boards;
7. Enlarge the terms of reference of the Fourth Central Pay Commission so as to include the question of pensions.

Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes

The BJP takes note of the fact that during the last few years, oppression of Harijans and tribals has increased manifold. The party is resolved to exert its full strength in defence of these underprivileged sections. It will

1. Enforce laws against untouchability very stringently;
2. Give preference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes;
3. In the allotment of surplus land to agricultural labour, and housing sites to the homeless;
4. Take steps towards employing mechanical means of handling refuse, and thus to do away with the degrading practice of carrying night soil on the head;
5. Evolve a new forest policy based on a partnership between the forest tribals and the forest authorities;
6. Frame policies which protect tribals from exploitation, land-alienation and indebtedness, and enable them to grow in accordance with their own genius.

Women

Though women are described as the better half, they continue to be treated worse. BJP will redress this Unbalance. We will

1. Implement the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women (December 1974);
2. Build hostels for single women working in the cities;
3. Provide smokeless Chulas at concessional rates to village women;
4. Make registration of marriages compulsory – like births and deaths – to prevent child marriages;
5. Make the wife equal co-sharer in the husband's wealth and income;
6. Treat bride burning injuries as attempt to murder and dowry deaths as murder wider section 302. I.P.C.

Children

BJP looks upon Children as the greatest wealth of the nation.

We will give them:

1. Good Schools;
2. Good health care specially against gastro-enteritis;
3. Good milk to drink; and
4. Good play-grounds.



Quality Of Life

Man does not live by bread alone. He must also have health and housing, education and sports, and above all a happy environment.

Health

Health is wealth. BJP considers hygiene, sanitation and nutrition as more important than medicines and hospitals. We will

1. Along with Allopathy, recognise and promote Ayurveda and Siddha, Unani and Homeopathy, Chromopathy and Nature Cure and, in general, encourage holistic healing;
2. Supply free milk to needy children in primary schools;
3. Give every child an annual physical check-up;
4. Improve the present district Civil hospitals and set up similar hospitals at taluka level;
5. Give every village a Health Care Centre, to take particular care of expectant mothers;
6. Have a Mobile Dispensary in each taluka;
7. Build more and better public latrines particularly for women in villages;
8. Organise Eye Camps, and camps for other serious ailments in various areas;
9. Implement Hathi Committee Report on Pharmaceuticals to break the stranglehold of drug companies, and make basic drugs available cheap to the people.

Education

Knowledge is power. BJP views education as the key to allround development of personality, and the progress and prosperity of the masses. We will

1. Implement Article 45 of the Constitution to give free education to all children in the 6-14 age group;
2. Launch an Adult Literacy Programme;
3. Give education a vocational and technical content;
4. Make some school texts common throughout the country for national integration; consciously promote among school children feelings of patriotism and commitment to the nation;
5. Raise the emoluments and status of teachers;
6. Introduce compulsory moral instruction, that will be nondenominational but character-building;
7. Ensure academic freedom and the autonomy of universities;
8. Provide the universities with communication channels to carry their knowledge resources down to the village level;
9. Eliminate political interference from educational institutions; and
10. Delink jobs from degrees.

Science & Technology

BJP views science and technology as handmaids of human welfare. It will

1. Foster a scientific temper among the people;
2. Use Science and Technology for increasing productivity and generating employment; Put new life in National Laboratories;
3. Direct these laboratories to evolve Appropriate Technology for Indian industrial needs;
4. Specially develop biochemistry, cybernetics, avionics, electronics, nuclear technology and technocracy; and
5. Create the right working conditions, for our best brains to remain here and serve the country and not migrate to other lands.

Housing

BJP regards it as the basic right of a family to own a house. It will

1. Give housing sites to the rural poor;
2. Give them interest-free loans to build pucca houses;

3. Encourage house construction with local materials;
4. Convert city slums into housing colonies and meanwhile extend to them all civic amenities;
5. Rationalise Housing and Rent Control Laws;
6. Encourage all establishments to build houses for their own stall – as also help employees to build their own houses;
7. Double the number of houses now built annually by various State Housing Boards;
8. Encourage Cooperative Housing Societies; and
9. Build new townships round an industry in the countryside.

Family Welfare

BJP believes in the sanctity of life. It appreciates small happy families. It is committed to family planning as a means of individual and national development.

1. Make Family Planning information and facilities available to the people;
2. Perform Vasectomy and Tubectomy operations free;
3. Help childless couples with medical assistance to have a child.

Environment

We look upon India as a holy land. Our land, air and waters, our hills, forests, flora and fauna are all sacred to us. We all keep them neat, clean and intact. We will

1. Require anti-pollution devices to be installed to process and clean up industrial and municipal effluents before the same are discharged into our rivers; Keep a strict watch on chemical fertilizers and insecticides, for any poisoning of the soil; Improve auto exhausts, to prevent the fouling of the air;
2. Curb the aggression of noise in the cities;
3. Plant 20 crore trees every year;
4. While protecting the traditional rights of Vanavasis, we will require the planting of three trees for every single tree that is cut by anybody for any reason.

□

Culture

The BJP reaffirms its commitment to the freedom of thought and expression. We will

1. Make freedom of the Press an explicit Fundamental Right, and not just an implied one derived from the citizen's right to Freedom of Expression;
2. Encourage the growth of the Press by abolishing the duty on newsprint and the tax on newspaper advertising;
3. Revive the Prasar Bharati Bill of 1979, which sought to convert AIR and Doordarshan into an autonomous corporation sui generis. This Corporation would have greater autonomy than that enjoyed by BBC today;
4. Review the Official Secrets Act in so far as it obstructs the Right to Know and enact a Freedom of Information law on the US lines,
5. Implement the P.C. Joshi Report on T.V. software, to improve the quality of T.V. programmes.

Films

BJP recognises the "real role of cinema in entertainment education and national integration. It is also conscious of the damage that is being caused to the moral and social fibre of the people by their exposure to violence and vulgarity in films. The censors can play only a negative role. What is needed is conscious promotion and development of good cinema. The BJP will

1. Have, in addition to A and U Films, 'Q', that is Quality films, which will be exempt from entertainment taxes;
2. Have special theatres in metropolitan centres to

screen art films and other Quality films; and

3. Implement the recommendations of the Karanth Committee on National Film Policy.

Arts

Art is the essence of life. BJP will encourage all art forms. It will make the various arts, part of Education, Production and Life.

To promote theatre, BJP will, as a rule, exempt all theatrical performances from entertainment tax.

Sports

Government has set up a Sports Ministry; but it has issued Policy Directive. And it has few resources, BJP will arrange that and put India on the Olympic map of the world, We will

1. **Move Sports from the State List to the Concurrent List;**
2. **Enunciate a National Sports Policy;**
3. **Require Government to provide playgrounds for all schools;**
4. **Have a National Sports Council to develop stadium playing in fields gymnasia, swimming pools, indoor stadia all over the country;**
5. **Take care of the nutrition of promising sportsmen;**
6. **Eliminate political interference from the Nation, Sports Federations and the National Olympic Council;**
7. **Charge NSF and NOC with the task of coaching and guiding of athletes; and**
8. **Meanwhile concentrate on events in which we can make a mark and forget the events in which we are nowhere in the picture, to avoid humiliation and demoralization.**

..

National Security

National security is a primary responsibility. The BJP would work towards fulfilling this national duty with a sense of high purpose. Security of the nation is an integrated whole: an amalgam of the internal, the economic, the social, the political, the military and the diplomatic. Internal cohesiveness, and a united and determined national will is the foundation of a nation's defence preparedness. The BJP will, therefore, resolve the social and political turmoil in strategically sensitive border states like J & K, Punjab, North East and Assam. Indian diplomacy can assist in the protection of our national interests only if it is guided by a purposeful foreign policy.

Foreign Policy

The BJP will continue to follow an independent foreign policy committed to world peace, disarmament and a new international economic order. We believe that the task of freeing the world from economic exploitation, external influences, domination, and colonialism in all its new forms is yet to be completed. For this a continued strengthening of the non-aligned movement is the foundation of our policy plank. BJP will

1. Work towards re-impacting dynamism to the non-aligned movement;
2. Reject the domination of super-power interests in South Asia and the Indian Ocean;
3. Pursue a policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with its neighbouring countries;
4. Re-establish India's Asian identity with emphasis on a policy of constructive cooperation in South and South East

Asia;

5. Strengthen South Asian Regional Conference and work towards the formation of closer economic ties leading to the establishment of a regional common market;

6. Initiate fresh endeavours for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan – a political solution of the Afghan problem, free from outside intervention or interference so that Afghanistan and its identity as an independent, non-aligned nation could be re-established;

7. Work for the establishment of a new international economic order; take initiative for trade and monetary reform; North-South dialogue with emphasis on enhanced South-South co-operation;

8. Work towards Non-aligned initiatives for a resolution of the Iran-Iraq war; the problem in Lebanon and the Arab-Israel dispute;

9. Continued efforts for the freedom of Namibia, and a worldwide rejection of apartheid; and

10. Continuously work towards the solution of problems of people of Indian origin living abroad, more particularly the plight of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Defence

The Bhartiya Janata Party will exert for:

1. Optimum defence preparedness;

2. Diversification of sources of supply of defence hardware; continued emphasis on maximizing indigenous production; self-reliance and Defence Research and Development;

3. Greater public accountability of defence expenditure;

4. Enhancement of Indian Navy's capability;

5. Identification, and elimination of foreign lobbies associated with defence weapons procurement and contracts; and

6. Improve service conditions in the Armed Forces so as to make careers in the Army, Navy, and Air Force more attractive to the best talent in the country.

Here above is a proud and patriotic programme that the BJP pledges to implement. And it has the will, the ability and the integrity to implement it well. Its disciplined cadres are the envy of other parties. And its collective leadership, headed by

the inimitable Atal Bihari Vajpayee is the best and the brightest in the land.

The BJP commits itself to addressing all religious, linguistic and ethnic groups and work purposefully for a just and speedy redressal of their due grievances and issues that alienate. It reaffirms its faith in all Indians being co-sharers in the continuing task of nation-building and invites all to work shoulder to shoulder with the rest of their brethren. This process of healing and reconciliation cannot be undertaken by that very government which earlier caused the dismemberment of our national consensus.

The BJP commits itself afresh to the betterment of the Harijan, the Girijan, the backward, the downtrodden, the working class, the unemployed, the artisan and the women of India.

The betterment of the kisan, the upliftment of the rural landless and the amelioration of the lot of the poorest of the poor is our firm commitment.

To the youth of India we make a special appeal. You are the future destiny of our land. Come, join us in our endeavour, to build a new India.

The BJP accepts the challenge of the day, pledges itself to meeting the need of the hour, invites all citizen's to share these concerns and aspirations, and to join with us in our quest for a new value-based polity.

..