



BHARATIYA JANASANGH



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

2. The country wants today an alternative party. The party must be one which has sound principles, clear policies and a definite programme; which has roots deep in the soil and a countrywide organisation; which has a cadre of devoted, selfless and disciplined workers and which, with its eyes fixed on the goal, has a pragmatic approach to all problems. It was to fulfil this expectation that the Bharatiya Jana Sangh came into existence. The Jana Sangh has increasingly earned the cooperation and confidence of the people. Its policies have stood the test of time. Its outlook has been constructive. As an opposition party, it has acted as the watchdog of people's rights and interests. While on the one hand, it has been

opposing fearlessly the wrong policies of the Government, it has, on the other hand, never omitted to extend active cooperation to the Government in defending the country and promoting the welfare of the people.

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

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

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

Liberation Of Lost Territory

5. Both Communist China and Pakistan are in illegal occupation of large areas of Indian territory. The Congress Government has never cared to free them. On the contrary, by accepting the Colombo proposals, it has acquiesced in

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

Defence

6. Taking into account the continued aggression by Communist China and Pakistan and their future designs, the country's defence and foreign policies need to be changed.

The following steps will be taken to increase the nation's defence potential:

- (a) Increase in the strength of the Army, Navy and the Air Force, equipping them with modernest weapons; and improving the efficiency and ensuring better coordination among various branches of military and civil intelligence.
- (b) Constitution of a vast Territorial Army.

- (c) Intensive military training for two years in all colleges, and provision of a course of 'Military Science' in the universities.
- (d) Development of defence industries and military research to make the country self-reliant in arms.
- (e) Manufacture of nuclear weapons and missiles.
- (f) Creation of a permanent Civil Defence Organisation.
- (g) Special plans and facilities for the development and administration of and settlement of population in border areas.

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

Independent Foreign Policy

8. The policy of non-alignment was formulated against the background of the cold war between the two power blocs. Non-alignment can neither be our creed nor a permanent basis of our foreign policy. Today, when we are aggressed, we must have allies. With a view to safeguard the nation's interests and integrity, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will follow an independent foreign policy and will enter into bilateral alliances with countries irrespective of their allegiance to the two power blocs, on the basis of reciprocity and mutuality of interests.

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

10. So long as aggression by Communist China continues, Bharatiya Jana Sangh will oppose China's entry into the U.N.O.

11. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will recognize the Government of Taiwan provided the latter recognizes the territorial frontiers of India.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jana Sangh will try to secure full compensation for the

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

National Unity

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

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

Defence, Administration, Economic development and Geography.

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

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

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

22. In order to bring the State of Jammu and Kashmir at par with other provinces and to give to its residents all the

rights and privileges under the Constitution Jana Sangh will delete Article 370.

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

Equality

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

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

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

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

Administration

27. The administration is lax and loose. On the one hand there is widespread corruption and inefficiency, on the other, there prevails a sense of anxiety and discontent in the services with regard to their service conditions and emoluments.

Remedial measures in both directions will have to be taken. Corruption, like water, flows from the higher to lower level. Besides, conditions of shortage and bureaucratic control breed corruption. It is, therefore, necessary that the top be reformed, shortage removed, delays eliminated and controls relaxed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Judiciary, Health, Education, Engineering, Agriculture, Public enterprises and Police.

Civil Liberties

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

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

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

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

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

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

Decentralisation

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

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

Judiciary

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

45. Jana Sangh will increase the number of judges in proportion to the pending work. Retired judges will not be eligible for appointment to any Government post or to preside

over, or be a member of, any commission appointed by the Government.

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

Education

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

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

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

Higher and technical education will be included in the concurrent list.

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

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

52. Regional languages will be the medium of instruction upto the highest class. Hindi medium institutions will be established in all parts of the country. Arrangements will be made to prepare text books in all Indian languages.

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

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

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

Official Language

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

- (i) Sanskrit will be declared as country's National Language. It will be used on occasions of special importance.
- (ii) Immediate steps will be taken at the provincial level to make the provincial language the official language.
- (iii) In those departments of the Centre which come into direct contact with the people, Hindi and provincial languages will be used.

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

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

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

Rehabilitation Of The Displaced Persons & Compensation

58. There has been a continuous exodus of non-Muslims, particularly Hindus, from Pakistan due to its anti-Hindu policy and occasional programmes of squeezing them out by inciting large scale riots. By now more than 1 crore people have migrated to India. It is the Government's responsibility to rehabilitate and compensate them. But not much has been done so far. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will expeditiously implement the various schemes made in this regard. Cooperation of local residents as in Dandakaranya area will be secured so that there remains no gulf and lack of integration between the new settlers and the local people.

59. Citizenship rights will be conferred in the course of rehabilitation.

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

Social Security And Welfare

61. Traditionally, the joint family coparcenary ensured the individual's social security and entered to his welfare. As the joint family is breaking up, an alternative arrangement

will have to be made. In all propriety, this responsibility should be borne by institutions where the individual contributes his productive labour. The Employees State Insurance Scheme is a modest beginning in this direction. But we need a comprehensive plan. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will formulate a scheme insuring the individual against old age, disablement, sickness, unemployment as also for the education of his children.

Prohibition

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

Health And Medicine

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

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

Housing

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

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

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

Economic Programme

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

All sections of the people, industrialists, traders, farmers, labourers and consumers, are caught in a maze of controls and regulations. They are not allowed to breathe freely and contribute their mite towards the prosperity of the nation. To

meet ever increasing Government expenditure, unbearable taxes have been imposed and deficit financing on an unimaginable scale has been resorted to. Consequently the purchasing power of the rupee has fallen very low.

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

Microeconomic Planning

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

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

Food Policy

70. Shortage of food grains, fall in the purchasing power of the people and maladministration are responsible for the present food problem. The measures adopted by the Congress Government have further complicated the problem. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will take the following steps:

- (i) Farmers will be encouraged to increase food production. They will be provided fertilizer, seeds, bullocks and implements at subsidised rates. There will be a remission in the land revenue and irrigation charges for food crops.
- (ii) Remunerative and incentive prices will be assured for food crops. The system of levy and monopoly purchase will be abolished.
- (iii) The Food Corporation will open branches in all provinces. It will work as a competitive trader and make purchases at the prevailing market prices. However, at the time of falling prices, it will purchase all the grain offered at the previously declared support price.
- (iv) The Food Corporation will enter into forward contracts with the producers and advance them money.

This credit will be linked with production.

- (v) Marketing of Multi-purpose Cooperative Societies, wherever they exist, will act as agents for the Food Corporation.
- (vi) Food Zones will be abolished. All restrictions on the movement of food grains will be removed.
- (vii) Distribution of food will be Central subject. The Provinces will be entrusted with the responsibility only of increasing production.
- (viii) Import of American wheat will be completely stopped within the next five years. Trade agreements for the supply of rice will be negotiated with Burma and other countries of South East Asia.
- (ix) Big cities and areas of chronic shortage will be cordoned off. Rationing will be introduced there. The quantum of ration will in no case be less than 16 oz. per unit per day.
- (x) Fair price shops will be opened in all areas. Only persons with low income would be allowed to draw rations from these shops.
- (xi) Government employees and workers in the organised sector will get part of their D.A. in kind.
- (xii) Sales Tax and other taxes on food articles will be abolished.
- (xiii) Special plans will be formulated for the production of milk and other nutritive and subsidiary foods.
- (xiv) Colourisation of hydrogenated oils will be made compulsory.

Agriculture

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

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

Fixity Of Tenure

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

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

73. There are many farms which remain uncultivated because of restrictions on subletting. This has affected capital investment also towards the development of land. Bharatiya

Jana Sangh will get records corrected and then allow sub-letting to tenants with uneconomic holdings and to landless farmers.

Credit

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

Irrigation

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

Manures And Fertilizers And Seeds

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

Reduction In The Land Rents

77. The Congress Governments have increased land

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

Insurance of Farm Produce

78. Jana Sangh will arrange for the insurance of farm produce.

Cow Protection

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

80. The breed of cattle will be improved. A chain of 'goshadans' will be established where old cattle will be kept. 'Gracing lands' will be provided in every village. Goshulas will be reformed and dairies established.

Agricultural Labour

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

Forests

82. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will arrange for afforestation

on a wide scale. Varamahotsava will be made a purposeful programme and not a barren ritual.

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

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

Industry

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

84. This industrialisation has been excessively capital intensive, firstly because of priority to heavy industries in the plan, secondly, because of greater allocation to the public sector which is always more expensive and thirdly, because of foreign collaborations who only have a capital intensive technology. This has become a heavy burden on a capital-scarce country like India. Further it has led to concentration both horizontal and vertical. It is, therefore, necessary that the investment pattern be changed. Decentralisation, Swadeshi and labour-intensity should be the criteria for our industrial development. It will reduce unemployment, inequalities and the foreign exchange shortage and in physical terms our

achievements will be greater. Juna Sangh will evolve a pattern suited to the needs and conditions of our country and integrate it with the existing industries. Bharatiya Juna Sangh considers small scale decentralised industries to be most suitable for country's industrialisation. It will, therefore, give priority to small scale mechanised industries and provide them all facilities.

Swadeshi & Self Reliance

85. Bharatiya Juna Sangh has been laying emphasis on Swadeshi and self-reliance since its inception. The Government also thought of it when our production decreased due to stoppage of all foreign aid in the wake of our conflict with Pakistan. Some programmes of import substitution were then started. But since the resumption of foreign aid after devaluation, this policy has changed. The liberal import policy recklessly followed has harmed many such programmes. Bharatiya Juna Sangh feels that there should be rationalization of imports rather than liberalisation. We cannot get rid of the foreign exchange problem without resorting to 'Swadeshi'.

Foreign Exchange Problem

86. With a view to greater industrialisation and to conserve foreign exchange, Juna Sangh will dis-incentive all industrial units that can be established entirely with internal resources.

87. Industries that need foreign exchange will not be allowed to expand so long as their existing capacity is not fully utilised.

88. An industry-wise and unit-wise programme of import substitution will be prepared and executed according to schedule.

89. The research programme of the National Scientific Laboratories will be co-related with import substitution.

programmes. Private industry will be encouraged to organise research.

Foreign Trade

90. Import and export trade, except with Communist countries, will be in private hands.

91. New markets will be explored for import goods. Foreign aid as far as possible will be tied with trade.

92. While framing export policy, internal needs and price structure will be taken into account.

93. Jana Sangh will nationalise insurance of foreign trade.

Foreign Capital

94. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will minimise the use of foreign capital. Collaboration will be allowed only in some priority industries. Foreign capital will not be allowed to hold majority shares.

95. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will progressively Indianise mines, jute, tobacco, coffee, tea, rubber, matches, soap, biscuits, vegetable products and such other industries as are predominantly in foreign hands.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will amend the Patent Law.

Mixed Economy

96. Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes in mixed economy. The controversy going on at present between the public sector and the private sector is regrettable and meaningless. In fact, there is such a vast scope for enterprise that the energies of the two will fall short of requirements.

97. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the view that while assigning responsibility for developing a particular industry, the Government should be guided by merit rather than by doctrinaire principles of socialism.

98. During the three plan periods the public sector has expanded so much that it needs consolidation. Except in power, mineral oils and defence industries, ordinarily no programme of expansion in the public sector should be undertaken for some years to come.

99. Bharatiya Jana Sangh is not in favour of nationalising existing private sector industries. If at all need arises, the decision should be taken not on a political basis but on the basis of recommendation by a judicial commission to be appointed for this purpose.

Capital Formation

100. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will give all-out encouragement to capital formation. In order to inculcate the habit of simplicity and saving and greater capital formation maximum expendable income will be limited to Rs. 2,000/- p.m.

101. The Jana Sangh will place a definite programme of the Government and private banking institutions. Jana Sangh considers the proposal to nationalise banks as improper. The Jana Sangh will amend Banking Companies Act so as to secure representation on the Board of Directors for depositors and bank employees.

Taxation

102. In the course of the last fifteen years taxes by different authorities have been levied without any proper analysis of the country's fiscal structure. There are a number of taxes, though levied by different Governments, which fall either on the same commodity or the same class of people. This has

adversely affected both prices and capital formation. Jana Sangh will appoint a Taxation Enquiry Commission to examine the present taxes to provide relief to the tax-payer and recommend a unified fiscal structure keeping in view the needs of the state and objectives of economic development and social justice.

Price Policy

103. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will determine a price policy correlating prices of agricultural commodities and manufactured goods, profits and interests and wages and salaries. Jana Sangh is against physical controls. It will regulate the price policy through monetary and fiscal measures.

The prices of sugar cane and other cash crops will be increased in parity with prices of manufactured commodities.

104. In order to check the rising prices it is necessary to effect drastic economy in the Government's expenditure and to increase the supply of consumer goods. Jana Sangh will work in this direction.

Minimum Income

105. Jana Sangh guarantees a minimum standard of living to every family. In the present circumstances the minimum wages will be fixed at Rs. 125/- per month.

106. Provision of subsidiary employment will be made for women who can not work full time and for other unemployed.

Labour

107. Bharatiya Jana Sangh wants the labour to be a sharer in profits and management. It will prepare a programme for all large industrial units in this regard and firmly implement it. Public sector units will give a lead in this regard.

108. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will constitute a permanent Wage Board to determine the wage rates in different industries from time to time. So long as there exists a difference between the real wages and the nationally fixed wages, Bonus will be treated as deferred wage. Only after the extinction of this difference will it be regarded as a share in profits.

109. Bharatiya Jana Sangh accepts the right to bonus of contract labour.

110. The present consumer price index is outdated. Jana Sangh will revise it.

111. All labour laws will be made applicable to State enterprises.

Transport

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

113. Jana Sangh is opposed to nationalisation of road transport. Private services will be allowed to run on routes already nationalised.

114. Jana Sangh will run more Janata trains and provide sleeping facilities to all 3rd class passengers travelling overnight. On such newly constructed railway routes where extra fares are charged, the fare will be reduced to standard rates.

115. Railway employees will be represented on the Railway Board. Service conditions and emoluments on all railways will be made uniform. Vagaries of Selection Boards will be curbed.

116. There will be uniformity in regard to tax rates on motor vehicles and conditions of operation. Restrictions on inter-state transport will be removed.

117. The Ganga from Patna to Calcutta and the Brahmaputra from Dibrugarh to Gauhati will be made navigable. The contract system of *ghats* will be abolished and their management will be handed over to societies of boatmen.

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

119. Special plans will be made to develop transport and communications in the border areas. Alternative routes will be developed for Assam.

120. We have been consistently warning the people about the far-reaching damage which would be caused to national interest by the wrong policies this Congress Government has been pursuing for the past 20 years. The Congress leadership has been trying to make capital out of their past sacrifices. With the aid of high-sounding slogans, it has been trying to hypnotise the people into seeing fanciful dreams of a great future. But the events of these last 5 years have shattered all illusions and now, no amount of clever propaganda can falsify the following incontrovertible facts:

(1) The Government's criminal indifference to security and defence of the country, its reliance on clichés like Panch Sheil and Co-existence, and its utter failure to comprehend the real intentions of Communist China led the country to humiliating defeat in NEIA and LADAKH in 1962.

(2) As a result of our unsound and unreal foreign policy, India found itself entirely friendless at the time of Pakistan's invasion. Not only so, the U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R. all put pressure on us as a result of which India succumbed and agreed to refer the Kutch issue to an International Tribunal, and later

by accepting the Tashkent Declaration, wiped out the gains made on the battlefield by the valour and sacrifices of our Jawans.

(3) Instead of stressing the basic unity and integrity of the country, this Congress Government has been trying to appease separatist, disruptionist and anti-national forces which often seek to thrive in the name of diversities. As a result of this policy, Kashmir's integration with the rest of the country still remains incomplete, the rebels in Nagaland and Mizo land have been encouraged, centrifugal tendencies have been growing in the states, language controversy has been accentuated and English has been imposed on the country for all time to come. The evils of provincialism, casteism and communalism have been threatening the unity of the country.

(4) The Government's plans have been formulated in utter disregard of the country's resources and even its self-respect. As a result, Indian economy has been made entirely dependent on foreign mercies. No wonder, we had to go to the extent of devaluing our rupee under pressure of those who give us food and finance.

(5) By neglecting India's basic values in regard to character and righteous conduct, and by making people think almost exclusively in terms of economic progress, this Government has created a climate in which corruption is having a field day. There seems not a sector of national activity untainted by this evil. Even from amongst those who are at the topmost rungs of the Congress hierarchy it is difficult to point out exceptions to this sorry state of affairs.

The Congress rulers have been able to defend neither the country nor its Constitution. 49,000 miles of national territory are under enemy occupation. Emergency has been made almost permanent with the result that Fundamental Rights guaranteed under the Constitution have become meaningless. The provisions of the Constitution pertaining to official language have

been shelved. Similarly, the directives in regard to cow slaughter, compulsory primary education, eradication of untouchability, etc. have been entirely ignored.

For 20 long years, the Congress ruled this country. Here was an opportunity, absolute and untrammelled, for Congress to build up the country according to its concept. The result has been a disaster. The Congress has failed miserably and totally. It deserves no further opportunity. The people of India who are the real masters of this land and the makers of its destiny, must emancipate the country from the clutches of those who have developed a vested interest in the continuance of Congress Raj. These people have looted the country and brought it to the verge of ruin. Let us exert to bring about a democratic revolution through this fourth general election and give the country a new direction.

: JAI BHARAT :