

National Executive

Mumbai

22-24 June, 2004

Political Motion

The election for the fourteenth Lok Sabha will always be remembered mainly for the main issues in the history of Indian democracy. Firstly, this is the most fractured and uncertain mandate and the first government of the Congress led alliance has assumed the office, which is symbolizing the victory of anti-development forces of our political system and it has created an apprehension for the country in returning to unstable, uncertain and negative direction.

The Bharatiya Janta Party has accepted the mandate with all humility. The BJP and the NDA have to play the role of a constructive and responsible opposition. Our party and the alliance faced unexpected loss which no one, even those who are in government today, had ever thought of. All the pre-election surveys, exit polls and well-known Indian political analysts had forecast that the NDA in the able leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee would get another mandate. But the public took another decision.

The National Executive thanks the people to make the BJP the second largest party in Parliament. We are thankful especially to the people of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Orissa, Uttranchal, Arunachal and Punjab who have elected large number of candidates of the party. We express our thanks to the people of Orissa for re-electing the BJP-BJD alliance. We are also thankful to the people of Karnataka who

have made the BJP the biggest political party in Vidhan Sabha for the first time.

The National Executive appreciates Shri Atalji for leading the country for six years as Prime Minister with farsightedness. The BJP considers this six-year rule a glorious mile-stone for the future of the party.

Shri Atalji has shown that a Non-Congress Alliance can give a stable government and can govern the country successfully. It will be remembered as a significant contribution in providing maturity to the Indian democracy in history. The Atal government has left glorious legacy of achievements in all spheres of national activities such as security, economic progress, infrastructure development, social development, information technology, political reform, governance and international relations. India today appears stronger, more prosperous and full of confidence than before.

The National Executive expresses its gratitude to Shri Atalji in whose leadership we contested elections and who inspired and guided at every level. He and Advaniji both were in the fore front in bearing responsibilities for lakhs of our workers during the elections and thus they had set an example.

The BJP takes the set-back in election very seriously. It has become clear that our pre-election calculation and expectation were far away from the ground realities. We failed to gauge the negative trend in various states as a result of which we could not make an effort to improve our condition well in time. Likewise we couldn't convert good gestures and support prevailing in our favour into votes in some of the states. The party has constituted a committee to make all round review of our performance in the elections and the committee has been asked to give suggestions for the future action plan also. In this review participation of the party workers, office bearers and well-wishers will be ensured at all possible levels. Our thousands of devoted and laborious workers will get an opportunity to introspect, express their views and to work for the party through the reviewing of the election to be undertaken.

The National Executive considers the Congress led government which has support of the leftist and the other parties as a retrogressive incident of the history of our republic. It is quite natural in parliamentary democracy that an alliance pre or post the election having requisite majority may form the government.

Yet the way Congress is interpreting the mandate arbitrarily is not justified. The foundation of this new government is being erected on the meaning that has been deliberately distorted. The claim of the Congress that the people have given mandate to the Congress especially under the leadership of Shrimati Sonia Gandhi is entirely baseless. The exact game number punctures this claim. As a matter of fact the Congress was completely washed away in many Congress ruled states or it has lost there.

The claim made by the United Progressive Alliance in the common minimum programme and the President's address that this is the mandate in favour of the secular forces, is utterly false. These so called secular forces are in fact pseudo secular or anti secular forces and had never contested election on common platform of secularism. They in fact had contested against one another. The Congress which is engaged in competitive race of pseudo-secularism and the Samajwadi Party which is to have stated to support the UPA government from outside are lashing each other in Uttar Pradesh. Many of the constituents of the UPA government or its supporter parties were earlier with the NDA or at the state level they have shared power with the BJP.

The Congress and the Janta Dal (Secular) had contested each other in recent Vidhan Sabha elections. The Janta Dal (S) had promised to constitute a special court to try the cases of corruption against the Chief Minister and many other Ministers of Congress. The Congress didn't get mandate in the election, yet the Congress and the Janta Dal (S) have made an unholy alliance in the state in which those leaders have been sworn in as ministers who were likely to be prosecuted. All this has been done in the name of 'defending secularism'.

The perverted secularism of the Congress Party gets exposed from this fact that it has accommodated the member of a communal party like Muslim League in the Council of Ministers. For the first time in history, the member of a party responsible for the division of the country has been given representation in the central government in the name of secular fraternity.

The Congress by inducting such fellows in the Council of Ministers against whom a long list of heinous crimes are registered in the name of maintaining secular fraternity has compromised with the dignity of the government of India. The Congress has tainted

Indian Republic through criminalisation of the central rule instead of fighting the criminalisation of politics. The BJP together with its alliance partners has launched a campaign for removing these tainted ministers. The BJP demands for a law to be enacted in Parliament to debar the persons from contesting election or accepting any public post who are charge-sheeted for heinous crimes.

The Congress party by making two power centers has even tainted the governing system under which Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh is acting as an assistant to the 'Super Prime Minister' Shrimati Sonia Gandhi. For the first time in the history of our country we have got a Prime Minister who is nominated, not elected and who is bereft of rights. The Congress party and its allies are derogating the honour of the Prime Minister's office in a planned manner. The privilege of the Prime Minister to select the members for his council of Minister was violated when the DMK President, Dr. M. Karunanidhi signed a so called 'MoU' with the Congress General Secretary, Shri Jagmohan Reddy, which mentioned about the ministries that will be given to the DMK representatives.

The BJP intends to caution entire political class of the country that lowering the dignity of the higher posts like that of the Prime Minister, emergence of Shrimati Sonia Gandhi as an extra constitutional authority and the complete surrender of the Congress party to a particular family is not an auspicious indication for our democracy.

The Bharatiya Janta Party expresses its concern over emergence of the communists as the third power centre in the new power circle. Now it has become clear that the Congress is leading the UPA government on the basis of numbers but the communist power is leading from the point of ideology and programmes from the outside. Thus the communist party not only possesses the veto power but also controlling the hanging rope in its hand. The Chief Minister of West Bengal Shri Buddhadeo Bhattacharya said that the new government was liable to follow its every dictate. This is the height of arrogance of any party. The left parties should not remain in illusion that they with just 63 seats may hijack the mandate.

The mutual adjustment between the parties is wanting from the very first day of the formation of the UPA government. The External Affairs Minister has issued statements on important policy

matters without giving thoughtful consideration and discussing the same in the Committee on Cabinet Affairs related to Prime Minister or security putting the government in a peculiar situation. The Civil Aviation Minister issued a policy statement against which the members of Polit Bureau of the Communist Party staged a Dharna before the office of the Minister. The Human Resource Minister gave a statement regarding foreign direct investment in education, which was immediately criticized by the Communist parties. The Prime Minister and the Finance Minister had to rush in their efforts to undo loss with a view to persuading the investors who got confused on account of recession seen in the share market due to the statements of the communist leaders about the economic policies of the government. The Ocean Development Minister issues statement on Ayodhya and Tehelka and the Rail Minister continuously issues statements on Godhra.

The Bharatiya Janta Party expresses its concern over non-inclusion of cross border terrorism in Jammu-Kashmir and other parts of the country or the danger of large scale Bangladeshi infiltration in the common minimum programme of the government. The continuous emergence of anti-India Jehadi forces in Bangladesh which provides active assistance to the militants of our North East region is a matter of serious concern for us. The new Home Minister in his first statement diminished the issue of infiltration by calling it 'a human problem'. The Bharatiya Janta Party reiterates its demand to invoke IMDT Act in Assam. The party condemns the decision of UPA government to withdraw 'POTA'. It is sorrowful that some of the pseudo secular parties of the UPA in the name of human rights are engaged in defending anti-national elements who have been involved in terrorism and unsuccessful attempt of killing Gujarat Chief Minister, Shri Narendra Modi. The BJP cautions against undermining the threat of terrorism or politicization of the same. Accordingly, the National Executive has decided to launch a mass movement throughout the country against the soft stand of the Congress led government against terrorists and infiltrators. The BJP will fulfill its duty as the watchdog of national security.

The NDA government has left the legacy of the fast growing economy of the world. Even some Ministers of the new government have admitted this fact. The growth rate may be affected by the counter productive thought. The BJP condemns the adhoc rise in

the prices of petroleum products especially of LPG. There will be serious impact of it on the general pricing resulting increase in the prices of all essential commodities.

The Bharatiya Janta Party will keep strong vigil on implementation of the Common Minimum Programme especially the commitments made for the unemployed youths and the farmers. Our parliamentarians will express the stand of the party effectively on every aspect of the working of the government both inside and outside parliament. The BJP has patience to sit in opposition for five years as per the mandate but the new government in suffering from certain weaknesses right from its inception which creates suspicion about its longevity. The weak alliance of the government can't hide the internal differences, compulsions and compromises.

The National Executive expresses its concern over committing suicide by the farmers of Andhra Pradesh. Their deaths expose the promises made by the Congress government. We are equally concerned over the starvation of Adivasis of West Bengal. The communist party remaining in power for the last 27 years has become insensitive to this extent that one of its ministers ignoring this tragedy said that the Adivasis can remain alive even eating snakes, mice and frogs. The BJP condemns such insensitive statements.

The BJP demands from the new government for immediately passing the Bill providing reservation to women in Parliament and legislatures. We also demand that the work on the scheme of connecting rivers of the country must be immediately undertaken.

The National Executive resolves to energize the party at every level to make it strong to face the immediate and long term challenges. Our party still holds the good will of the people of the country despite the set back we have faced in Parliamentary elections. We will overcome the present situation as we have done in the past and we will come back to power.

The National Executive directs the units of every level to concentrate on the following main points:

1. To enhance its commitment to the ideology and ideals of the party.
2. To enhance its commitment to the issues related to development especially the issues related to the farmers,

poor villagers and unorganized poor, unemployed youths and women.

3. To energize the party especially in the states wherein the election for Vidhan Sabha is in the offing after removing the organizational shortcomings.
4. The constant efforts to increase the influence of the party in the new geographical areas and the social classes especially among the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes.
5. To expose vehemently the internal differences, compromises, compulsions and failures of the Congress led government at the center.

□

National Council

New Delhi

27 October, 2004

UPA Government

This meeting of the National Council of the Bharatiya Janata Party is taking place at a time when the Party has elected a new President. Shri M Venkaiah Naidu resigned from the Presidentship of the Party on 18 October. In a meeting of the office bearers and available members of the National Executive the same day, Shri Naidu's resignation was accepted and Shri LK Advani was appointed the new President of the BJP. This decision has been unanimously endorsed by the National Council at its meeting today.

The National Council places on record the Party's sincere appreciation of the leadership provided by Shri Naidu since his election as the President of the BJP at the Council's last meeting held in July 2002. With his hard work and constant mobility, he imparted much dynamism to the activities of the Party at all levels. His focus on teamwork and his emphasis on reaching out to the *karyakartas* and, through them, to the people energised the Party organisation.

The National Council is confident that, under the presidentship of Shri Advaniji, the BJP will successfully overcome the many challenges facing the Party today. During his previous two stints as the Party Chief, the BJP grew rapidly from being a marginal party to emerging as one of the two principal poles in national politics. He brought about a paradigm shift in India's polity by mounting a spirited mass campaign against pseudo-secularism. In his new task, Shri Advaniji will be ably assisted by our Party's many highly talented and experienced functionaries belonging to the younger generation. He and his team of office bearers will have at their

command a vast army of dedicated *karyakartas* ready to do battle for the BJP's goals. Above all, the entire Party will continue to have valuable *margdarshan* (guidance) from Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the founder of our Party and India's most respected elder statesman.

All these strengths, combined with the immense trust, goodwill and support that the BJP enjoys all across the country, will undoubtedly enable the BJP to surmount the challenges before it and to stage a comeback.

The National Council views the present political situation in the country with serious concern. The Congress-led UPA Government was the outcome of a fractured mandate that the people gave in the elections to the 14th Lok Sabha. Respecting the wishes of the people, the UPA should have followed a responsible course of coalition statecraft, concentrating on good governance and seeking maximum cooperation from the Opposition. The Government, however, has chosen an exactly opposite course – one of confrontation and vendetta against the BJP and the rest of the Opposition. In the process, it is making a mess of governance, which is its primary duty.

Devaluation and Disempowerment of the PM's Post

From the point of view of India's system of parliamentary democracy, the most worrisome development in the past five months has been the unprecedented devaluation and disempowerment of the post of the Prime Minister. An alternative centre of power, which is widely recognised as being stronger than that of the Prime Minister, has emerged in the form of the Chairperson of the so-called National Advisory Council. A third centre of power, which also has lowered the status and weakened the authority of the Prime Minister, is the CPI(M) leadership. Not a day passes without the Communist leaders trying to show that the UPA Government survives because of them. Never before has the Central Government become hostage to such blatant blackmailing and stonewalling by the Communist parties as has been witnessed in the past five months. It is also for the first time since Independence that criminal elements, who have been charge-sheeted in cases of heinous crimes, have been rewarded with ministerships. As a result of multiple centres of power and the Prime Minister's helplessness to remove tainted ministers from his Government, the quality of governance has badly suffered.

Internal Security Imperilled

The UPA Government is certainly the worst since Independence judged by its performance in the crucial area of internal security. On the one hand, it is proving to be clueless about how to deal with extremist violence in the North-East while addressing the genuine problems and aspirations of the people with understanding and sensitivity. On the other, it has, purely for vote-bank considerations, turned a blind eye to the large-scale infiltration of Bangladeshis. This demographic invasion, if unchecked, will render every other problem in the region intractable. Future generations of Indians will not forgive the Congress and the Communists for deliberately ignoring this grave threat to our national security and national integrity.

The National Council demands that the UPA Government send a strong message to the present Government in Bangladesh not to harbour anti-India extremist outfits on its soil and to cooperate with India in stopping the infiltration of its nationals into our country.

Similarly, the Congress is playing with fire by allowing its Government in Andhra Pradesh first to lift the ban on the PWG and then to conduct 'unconditional' talks with the Naxalites, who have killed more than 6,000 innocent people and political adversaries in AP alone. The Naxalites' insistence on not surrendering their arms has exposed the inherent weakness of the Congress Government in spite of commanding nearly three-fourths majority in the state Assembly.

The BJP urges the UPA Government not to overlook either the murderous campaign of Maoists in neighbouring Nepal or their systematic efforts to create a 'red-corridor' from neighbouring Nepal to Andhra Pradesh. It is ominous, though hardly surprising, that even as they were engaged in sham 'peace' talks in Hyderabad, the Naxalites were busy blowing up a government office and a railway station in Jharkhand.

Continuing the good work initiated by the NDA Government, the UPA Government must implement a coordinated strategy involving the Centre and all the Naxal-affected states to end the menace of Naxalism. Simultaneously, all development schemes and poverty-alleviation programmes in Naxal-affected areas should be effectively and expeditiously implemented with people's participation. The National Council urges the UPA Government, as a first step, to immediately convene an all-party meeting on how to deal with Naxal extremism.

The recent discovery of a huge stock of “live bombs”, hidden in scrap metal imported mainly from Gulf countries, is evidence of a serious breach of security. The National Council demands a comprehensive probe into this development to ascertain if it is a part of some anti-national conspiracy.

The UPA Govt. has lowered its guard against cross-border terrorism. The BJP is of the view that India’s ongoing dialogue with Pakistan should continue. However, the Government must not lower its guard against cross-border terrorism, whose base and infrastructure in Pakistan continues to be intact. In this context, the Party voices its concern over the absence of an explicit reference to ‘cross-border terrorism’ in the joint press statement issued after Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh’s recent meeting with the Pakistani President. Gen. Pervez Musharraf.

The BJP is deeply concerned that the momentum for peace and normalcy in Jammu & Kashmir, which had picked up during the NDA Government, has run aground. The last five months have witnessed four assassination attempts on the state Chief Minister, the last one having taken place on the same day that Dr. Manmohan Singh was holding talks with Gen. Musharraf in New York. Only three days ago, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the former Chief Minister of J&K, and Shri Omar Abdullah, President of the National Conference, survived a deadly terrorist attack. As many as 51 political activists have been assassinated by terrorists so far this year.

The National Council demands that the UPA Government end its callous neglect of the phenomenon of ‘refugee-isation’ of Kashmiri Pandits in their own country. The Party also reiterates its demand to immediately set up Autonomous Regional Councils for Jammu and Ladakh with adequate financial and administrative powers.

Economy is hurt by policy chaos and veto-holding Communists. The BJP National Council is distressed to note that within less than six months of assuming office, the UPA Government has disrupted the growth momentum in the economy, which was achieved by the Vajpayee Government. Inflation, which was around 4% during the NDA rule, has nearly doubled to levels that are the highest among important emerging economies. Interest rates, which had dipped to record lows during the NDA rule, have risen. If not corrected, these will push many sectors like housing, auto, construction and

manufacturing (which was on a revival path) into recession. The middle classes are anguished that their savings are being eroded with bank deposit rates a good 2% below inflation. The abrupt withdrawal of tax-free saving schemes and reduction in tax benefits has further eroded their incomes. As a result, it has become a losing proposition for the middle classes to put their hard-earned savings in bank deposits.

The UPA Government's abject failure to formulate a coherent economic policy and to implement it resolutely is because, for the first time since Independence, the Congress has allowed the Communists to do backseat driving at the Centre. They are arrogantly using their veto card on practically every important economic policy or decision of the Government. This has not only undermined the prestige of the Government but also vitiated the investment climate.

The BJP expresses deep concern at the fall in agricultural production this year. The National Council demands urgent and effective action by the Centre and the respective state governments to end the plight of poor farmers and weavers in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra, where many of them have committed suicide.

The UPA Government's non-performance is also evident in the sudden deceleration in the implementation of the various infrastructure development initiatives taken by the NDA Government. After many decades of criminal neglect by previous Congress governments, infrastructure development in power, railways, ports, highways and rural roads had been considerably speeded up under the Vajpayee regime. Progress in these has all but come to a stop now. The NDA Government's ambitious river-linking project has been given a burial.

Hollowness of the Congress Promise to Aam Aadami

The National Council expresses grave concern at the spiralling inflation and unprecedented rise in the prices of all essential commodities. The relief that the common man had experienced on the price front during the six years of the NDA Government has suddenly turned into daily disquiet. The Congress Party's election slogan, *Congress ka haath, aam aadami ke saath* has proven as hollow as the Party's earlier slogan of *Garibi Hatao*. The National Council calls upon Party units to mobilise the people to protest against price rise and to demand urgent remedial action by the Government.

In view of the steep hike in India's oil import bill, the BJP urges the Government to speedily promote the production of bio-diesel and ethanol, a measure that will also help our kisans. The Government should also incentivise adoption of energy-efficient technologies. The BJP feels that energy security should be made into a national mission.

Relief Needed to Ease States' Problem of Resource-Crunch

The BJP recognises that the steadily worsening fiscal situation of almost all state governments is a major hurdle to India's speedy development. Many factors have contributed to the mounting problem of resource crunch faced by states. The NDA Government took several steps to alleviate these problems. The National Council urges the Central Government to seriously consider a one-time waiver of all the old debts incurred by state governments. The Party urges the Centre to remove restrictions on states to raise non-budgetary finances for development projects that are commercially viable.

The BJP, and all the BJP-ruled state governments, shall soon write to the 12th Finance Commission to raise the states' share in the Central pool of tax revenue to 35%. The BJP is also of the firm view that the Finance Commission should allocate a separate, dedicated stream of at least 5% of Central resources directly to Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Resistance to Ideological Offensive Against the Party

Differences in policies and perspectives among parties is natural in a multi-party democracy. To respect each other's viewpoints, and to work together in spite of differences for the common good of the nation, is the quintessence of democracy. Ideological intolerance and misuse of governmental power against one's ideological opponents is therefore fundamentally undemocratic. The Congress Party and the Communists, however, have chosen this dangerous path with a zealotry unknown in the annals of Indian politics.

The sacking of governors appointed by the NDA government; the re-falsification of NCERT textbooks; the insult to Veer Savarkar; imprisonment of Uma Bharati in the Tiranga case; the sacking of the Chairman of the Censor Board, under pressure from the CPI(M) General Secretary, for allegedly being pro-RSS; Prasar Bharati's crude attempts to enforce cuts in the film on Jayaprakash Narayan; the HRD

Minister's open call to dismiss government officers and employees allegedly sympathetic to the BJP and the RSS; and a systematic attempt to discredit the achievements of the NDA Government under the visionary leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee — all these attest to a perverted mindset which will gravely harm India's democratic system. The danger is all the greater since most of these actions are guided solely by the pseudo-secular parties' desperate strategies to consolidate their minority vote-banks. This is also clearly evident in the Government's decision to repeal POTA and to institute a new inquiry into the Godhra carnage, whose sole purpose seems to be to establish that the kar-sevaks themselves somehow torched the train from inside and burnt themselves alive in order to provoke communal riots in the state.

The National Council cautions the people that, through their ideological offensive against the BJP for short-term goals, the Congress and the Communist parties are actually undermining India's unity, integrity, security and her democratic system. It also mandates every Party unit, from top to bottom, to organise agitational and awareness-creation campaigns to counter the ideological assault on the Party and its ideology.

National Council's Clarion Call

When the Congress stitched up the UPA after the last Parliamentary elections, it had all the birthmarks of an unstable and opportunist coalition. The new alliance had an opportunity to try to overcome the infirmities with which it was born if it had chosen to follow an honest approach, informed by a democratic ethos and commitment to good governance. After all, the NDA Government, under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, showed how this is indeed possible. The UPA Government, however, is blowing the opportunity with each passing month. Its guilt of non-performance has been compounded by its sin of vendetta against its political and ideological opponents.

The people's disillusionment is growing. Disillusionment will inevitably turn into disenchantment and intense dislike. In this situation, the role of the BJP is clear. The National Council resolves that the Party shall use every democratic means available — both inside and outside Parliament, both alone and in cooperation with its allies in the NDA — to oppose the Government that is weakening

India's security, has declared nationalist ideology and its adherents as its enemies, neglected people's problems and aspirations, given governance a go-by and is proving to be a failure on one front after another.



National Executive

Ranchi

24 November, 2004

Internal Security

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its serious concern over the criminally casual manner in which the nation's internal security is being handled. The internal dialogue process which was giving an impetus to the peace process in Jammu & Kashmir during the NDA Government has broken down. The UPA Government is completely at sea about combating insurgency in the North-East, also the increasing ISI activity and the support the insurgents are getting from the camps in Bangladesh. The emergence of a kind of a Maoist Red Corridor from the Nepal border to Andhra Pradesh covering several states has added a challenging dimension to our security. Infiltration from Bangladesh continues unabated. The subversive activities of the ISI in the country are a matter of grave concern.

What is the attitude of the UPA Government to these challenges? It is entirely influenced in its handling of the national security compulsions by vote bank politics.

The issue of illegal infiltration from Bangladesh to India amounts to a demographic invasion of India. This issue cannot be handled through a politically partisan approach. Infiltrators cannot be seen only as potential voters. It has serious social and security dimensions. The UPA Government, instead of adopting a focused and firm approach, has been apologetic even about our census figures, and has shown a complete lack of firmness in dealing with infiltrators. The BJP holds that the IMDT Act ought to be repealed as initiated by the NDA Government.

India has been at the receiving end of both internal and cross-

border terrorism. Thousands of our fellow citizens and security personnel have fallen to terror. Yet, motivated only by vote-bank considerations, the UPA Government has repealed India's anti-terror laws. The nation will have to pay for this short-sighted and politically motivated decision.

The Kashmir policy of the UPA has left the nation bewildered. There is a lack of clarity in the Government about the basic ideological roots of the problems between India and Pakistan. The omission of any reference to cross-border terrorism in the joint statements by Pakistani President, Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh is reflective of the Government's mindset. The statement of the External Affairs Minister on the Pakistani President's pronouncements coupled with the Prime Minister's assertion that "All options are open" for solving the Kashmir issue further compound the situation.

The recent decision of the Government to lift the ban on the People's War Group and to allow the Naxalites to move in Andhra Pradesh with arms is entirely reprehensible and must be condemned. The recent killing of 17 policeman in UP by the Maoists is a reminder, if still needed, of how serious the situation has become. During the last Lok Sabha elections, a nexus between the Congress and its allies and extremists, was visible.

The situation in the North-East has markedly deteriorated. The serial blast in different states of the North-East, trouble in Manipur, and lack of progress in the Nagaland peace talks are all a matter of deep concern. The Government's talk of abolishing or diluting the Armed Forces Special Powers Act has further emboldened secessionist forces.

The lack of police reforms and the increasing rate of crimes has instilled a sense of fear in the minds of the Indian people. In urban centres, crimes against women are on the rise. Lack of progress in curtailing the underworld and anti-social forces, especially in Bihar, UP, and Mumbai, is pushing the people in a vortex of insecurity. Rampant corruption in the urban police force is also a matter of grave concern.

Therefore, the BJP National Executive calls upon the Government:

1. to improve the situation in J & K, and make progress in the peace process;

2. to desist from snatching away from our defense forces instruments that are necessary to fight terrorists and secessionists;
3. to scrap the IMDT Act, which has completely disabled security and civilian authorities from deporting Bangladeshi infiltrators, and which has, perversely, served as an open invitation for a demographic invasion of India;
4. to provide a multi-purpose National Identity Card for all citizens as decided by NDA Govt;
5. to implement prohibition against the carrying of unlicensed arms by any one;
6. to institute forthwith an integrated command for the entire North-East;
7. to institute a joint command and task force for crushing the Naxalite terrorists adequately;
8. to firmly scotch moves that seek to pull Kashmir away from the rest of India under the pretext of talks;
9. to scrupulously implement recommendations of the four Task Forces that had been set up by the NDA Government in the wake of the Kargil War;
10. to act on the dire warnings and detailed recommendations that intelligence agencies have given in regard to the growth and perverse use of some madarasas all along the country's borders;
11. to reinforce coordination with the Government of Nepal, and to give it all possible assistance in fighting the insurgency that has paralyzed that country;
12. to expeditiously carry forward the numerous proposals that had been initiated by the NDA Government with the Government of Myanmar; and
13. to draft a strict and decisive strategy to combat underworld, and anti-social forces.

Time is of the essence. There is no alternative to decisive action. We call upon the UPA Government to act, and do so immediately, only with national interest as the priority.

□

National Executive

Indore

04-05 April, 2003

Completion of Five Years of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee's Prime Ministership

India's democracy crossed a historic milestone when Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee completed five years as India's Prime Minister on 19 March, 2003. He is the first non-Congress Prime Minister to accomplish this feat. Indeed, of the 13 Prime Ministers that India has had so far, only two others – Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi – have served longer tenures. The National Executive warmly felicitates our beloved leader Shri Atalji on this accomplishment and records its deepest gratitude to him for the visionary leadership he has provided to the nation and to our Party.

Shri Atalji's success is especially remarkable because he has led a large coalition of parties with diverse backgrounds and ideologies. Under his astute leadership, the National Democratic Alliance has disproved the self-serving myth propagated by the Congress Party that coalition rule at the Centre is a prescription for instability and that it alone can provide stable governance.

The National Executive deems it to be its duty to record its greatest appreciation of the contribution of every constituent of the NDA for this collective achievement. We also thank the Telugu Desam Party for its contribution to this achievement. Unflinching commitment to the supremacy of national interests and faithful adherence to our common manifesto have enabled the NDA to successfully face all kinds of challenges (sanctions, supercyclone, Kargil War, Gujarat earthquake and drought) during the past five years. Today, our alliance is stronger and more cohesive than ever

before. Atalji's tenure is an era of statesmanship, stability and development. It marks the evolution of India as a global force, as an economic power, a crucial diplomatic player and a nuclear power.

Game of Destabilisation Defeated

For the Bharatiya Janata Party especially, this is an occasion of immense satisfaction and pride. In the completion of five years of the NDA Government lies the proof of our having redeemed our pledge to the people of India. The BJP had promised stable governance with able leadership, and that is what we have delivered. Under the leadership of Shri Atalji and Shri Advaniji, the BJP has converted the compulsion of coalition governance in 1998 into a model of stable and purposive governance today and for the years ahead.

A quick flashback would show the difficult road our Party has traversed. A debilitating instability had gripped the nation in the later half of the nineties. The Congress was voted out of power in May 1996 and, for the first time, the people of India made the BJP the largest party in the 11th Lok Sabha. Clearly, the mandate was against the Congress and for a BJP-led Government. However, a defeated and discredited Congress Party started its game of destabilization, effecting the first of its four infamous moves in 1996 itself. Shri Vajpayee's first tenure as Prime Minister lasted only 13 days, because the Congress made a mockery of the people's mandate by usurping it to perpetuate its own rule through proxy.

After pledging 'unconditional' outside support 'for full five years', the Congress Party destabilized two United Front Governments in less than two years - and that too on patently flimsy grounds. In hindsight, it shows the contrast between the Congress Party's contempt for coalition politics and the BJP's principled commitment to it. Congress leaders pulled down the UF Governments under the calculation that power would naturally be theirs after the premature elections to the 12th Lok Sabha. In reality, the electorate handed a worse defeat to the Congress than in 1996 and gave an unambiguous mandate to a Government led by Shri Vajpayee. Even this bitter experience did not discourage in the power-hungry Congress the habit of destabilization. It plotted to pull down the NDA Government in April 1999, forcing yet another mid-term election on the nation. The outcome, again, was no different: the Congress fared worse than before, the BJP did better than before

and Shri Atalji began his third term as Prime Minister, with a clearer and stronger mandate than before.

BJP defining Main Trends in Indian Politics

These are not ordinary developments, nor are they accidental. They point to three important trends underpinning contemporary Indian politics. First, the Congress Party has entered a phase of terminal decline. Second, the period between 1998 and 2003 marks the confident rise of the BJP as the principal pole in Indian politics. Today, the BJP is the only party that has demonstrated its capability to win the trust and support of smaller and regional parties, which have come to play a major role in national politics. Third, the main reason why this shift has taken place is that the Congress has failed, and the BJP has done well in the tests of nationalism, governance and leadership.

Never in its 118-year-long history, and certainly not in its post-Independence history, has the Congress Party been more ideologically adrift, organizationally enfeebled and uncertain about its present and future leadership. In each of these four episodes of destabilization, the Congress employed a single bogey, namely, that the 'communal' BJP's ascent to power has endangered India's secularism and posed a grave threat to the minorities. Both in tone and logic, this was no different from the Muslim League's self-serving propaganda against the Congress in the pre-Partition years. With the Communists as its ideological cheerleaders, the Congress has sought to isolate the BJP in Indian politics on the plank of 'pseudo-secularism'. But after each dabbling in destabilization, it is the Congress that has got isolated more and more from the people.

Strangely, the Congress leadership has still not learnt the right lessons from its defeats. On more than one occasion, its blind anti-BJPism, coupled with its habitual reliance on vote-bank politics, has led the Congress to take positions that are detrimental to our national security. This was evident from its criticism of Pokharan-II, its stand during the Kargil War, its hypocritical opposition to POTA, and its continued opportunism on the Ayodhya issue.

NDA Government's Proud Achievements and Initiatives

In contrast, the past five years have seen the BJP ensconced not only as the principal national and nationalist party, but also as a party of effective governance. Any objective balance sheet of

the past five years would show how Shri Atalji's Government has used stability to strengthen the four main pillars of nation building – namely, national security, economic growth, social development, and democracy. Many of its initiatives and achievements in these four areas are unprecedented and of historic significance.

By making India a nuclear weapon state, our Government has fulfilled the longstanding aspiration of our people, articulated fearlessly first by the Jana Sangh and later by the BJP, to immunize our country against nuclear blackmail by any hostile power. The deft and courageous manner in which the NDA Government managed the post-Pokharan scenario made every patriotic Indian proud.

If the Prime Minister's Bus *Yatra* to Lahore demonstrated our genuine search for peace with Pakistan, Kargil showed our leadership's ability and readiness to teach a bitter lesson to the aggressor.

Never before since Independence has internal security received such comprehensive attention as in the past five years. Our multi-pronged strategy to combat Pak-sponsored cross-border terrorism is yielding results, notwithstanding periodic incidents like the barbaric killing of 24 innocent Kashmiri Pandits in Nandimarg on 24 March. The Government's sustained diplomatic initiatives have succeeded in terrorism becoming an important issue on the global agenda, a process that has quickened after al-Qaeda terrorists struck in the US, Bali, Mombassa and elsewhere. As a result, Pakistan, which has emerged as the epicentre of international terrorism, has started to face growing pressure from the international community.

Pakistan suffered its greatest setback when the Government, fulfilling the solemn promise made by the Prime Minister on 15 August, 2001, held free and fair elections to the Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly in October last. The enthusiastic and large-scale participation of the people, defying the terrorists' bullets and threats, have conclusively exposed Islamabad's propaganda on Kashmir in the eyes of the international community.

We fulfilled our election promise of creating Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttaranchal as separate states, meeting the longstanding aspirations of the people of these regions. The smooth and peaceful manner in which this was accomplished stands in contrast to the reluctance and ham-handedness exhibited previously by the Congress governments to the popular demand for smaller

states.

Never before in recent decades have Centre-State relations been as harmonious as during the NDA rule. Never before in the past has a Prime Minister so frequently consulted Chief Ministers and leaders of the Opposition parties on matters of national importance.

For the first time, a separate ministry for the all-round development of the North-Eastern states has been created. The successful conclusion of a peace agreement with the Bodo Liberation Tigers and the optimistic direction in which talks for peace in Nagaland are proceeding, portend well for the region. Good showing by the BJP in the recent Assembly polls in Nagaland has dispelled many myths. It has also pointed to the significant scope for our Party to work closely with the various democratic parties in the region for the cause of peace, development and national integration.

The NDA Government has introduced several pathbreaking policy changes and launched some of the most ambitious infrastructure and other developmental projects since Independence. The beneficial results of these have already become visible. To cite a few examples: the Rs. 54,000 crore National Highway Development Project; the Rs. 60,000 crore Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana; the Rs. 17,000 crore Special Railway Safety Fund; the Rs. 15,000 crore National Rail Vikas Yojana; the significant growth and improvement in our port and airport infrastructure; the rapid growth in telecom services accompanied by dramatic fall in tariff; India's spectacular achievements in information technology; the impressive strides being made in pharmaceuticals and bio-technology; the many successful initiatives to achieve energy security; and the bold and transparent steps to implement the policy of disinvestment.

The Government's initiative to bring suitable legislation in the budget session to extend the social security net to 37 crore workers in the unorganized sector is a laudable step. At present, social security is available only to 3 crore out of a workforce of 40 crore in the unorganized sector.

Examples in the area of social development include the *Antyodaya Anna Yojana*, which is the world's largest food security programme for the poor; *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* and the related Constitutional Amendment to make elementary education a Fundamental Right; the unprecedented growth in housing

construction through *Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna*, and *Swajaldhara* and *Hariyali* programmes for drinking water and water conservation.

The NDA Government has taken major initiatives to benefit agriculture, rural industries and small scale enterprises, as is evident from the Kisan Credit Card scheme, consistent increases in minimum support prices, the steady expansion in the activities of the KVIC, and the special credit package to the SSI sector. Ours is the first Government to create a separate ministry for rural industries.

Employment-intensive growth has been the principal plank of the BJP's economic policy. This is reflected in the Government's initiatives. The *Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana* with an annual outlay of Rs. 10,000 crore, half of it in the form of free foodgrains to states, is the largest food-for-work programme in the world. The *Swarna Jayanti Swarozgar Yojana* and other initiatives to provide micro-credit have unleashed a silent Self Help Group (SHG) revolution in the country.

It goes to the credit of the NDA Government that it has kept the prices of essential commodities in check during the past five years. Even though as many as 14 states have suffered severe drought conditions this year, there is no shortage of foodgrains anywhere. Never in the past has so much been done for drought relief as the NDA Government has.

Barring the temporary dip in agriculture due to the failure of monsoon, India's overall economic growth is steadily accelerating. In spite of many adverse conditions, both domestic and global, our macro-economic fundamentals continue to be robust. Inflation is firmly under control. Our exports are rising steadily in a highly competitive international market. We have added nearly as much to our forex reserves in 2002-3 as was the total reserve when the NDA Government took office.

Our Government has taken bold steps to redeem our commitment to Social Justice. One of its first decisions was to rename the Ministry of Social Welfare as the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. Ours is also the first Government to create a separate ministry for the development of tribals. The NDA Government repealed three office memoranda issued by the UF Government on Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes to help them avail full benefits of the reservation policy.

Incredible rate of growth of digital telecom, IT connectivity and

services have been unfolded at an unprecedented scale.

With sustained growth in the GDP, the ratio of external debt to the GDP has been brought down from 23.61% in 1998-99 to 20.81% in 2001-2. The external debt service to current receipts ratio declined from 18.9% in 1998-99 to 14.1% in 2001-2.

Shri Vajpayee led NDA Government has ushered in several initiatives like *Bhagyashri*, *Rajrajeshwari*, *Swayamsiddha* to make Indian women self-reliant with self-respect. Further, for the first time since Independence, the caring NDA Government has provided with a net of social security schemes for senior citizens, benefiting eight crore people.

Tasks Before the Government and the Party

Thus, the NDA Government's completion of five years in office is an occasion to rejoice for the BJP. At the same time, for both the Government and the Party, it is also an occasion to look at the tasks ahead. We are not a Party given to resting on our past laurels. Time and again, we have demonstrated that we neither despair in defeat, nor become complacent and conceited in the hour of success. As enjoined by our Poet-Prime Minister, we have to continue marching on *Kartavya Path* – the Path of Duty toward our country and our people.

The National Executive urges the Government to attend to the following immediate tasks:

1. The massacre of 24 Kashmiri Pandits in Nandimarg in Jammu & Kashmir, preceded by similar acts of jihadi terrorists in Jammu region in recent years, is a grave and intolerable development. It prompts the National Executive to reach three conclusions: (a) The Government must now act in a manner that shows that Pakistan has paid a price for its continued sponsorship of cross-border terrorism; (b) The United States has not been able to rein in Pakistan; (c) The PDP-Congress coalition Government in J&K must stop its laxity towards terrorist and anti-India elements.
2. The National Executive commends the Finance Minister for crafting a growth-oriented Budget. It has many imaginative ideas and initiatives, which are crystallized in what he has rightly called the *Paanch* Priorities. We

urge the Government to implement them with alacrity. In particular, urgent action should begin on the bouquet of infrastructure projects, which together have an investment outlay of Rs. 60,000 crore, including on the mega project of inter-linking of rivers.

3. While the Budget has done the right thing by expanding the scope of the *Antyodaya Anna Yojana* to cover 50 lakh additional very poor families, the National Executive feels that there is still a big scope – and, of course, the obvious need – for its further expansion. Specifically, making full use of the surplus stock of foodgrains, the Government should (a) provide free foodgrains to destitutes; (b) expand the scope of mid-day meal schemes and meal-for-the-poor programmes run by voluntary and religious organizations; (c) larger food-for-work programmes in the poorest and least developed districts in the country; and (d) ensure better monitoring of the *Antyodaya Anna Yojana*, as part of the improved functioning of the PDS.
4. While the Government efforts to generate over one crore jobs annually deserve to be complimented, the National Executive feels that there is an urgent need to launch stronger and more comprehensive initiatives to create one and half crore employment and self-employment opportunities each year. The report of the S.P. Gupta Committee, constituted by the Planning Commission, has made many sound recommendations. The Government should set up an appropriate body to implement these recommendations.
5. The Women’s Reservation Bill should be passed without any further delay.
6. As promised by the Prime Minister, necessary steps should be initiated to introduce, in the current session of Parliament, a Constitutional Amendment for devolving effective financial and administrative powers on Panchayati Raj Institutions.
7. The Union Home Ministry is taking strong steps to detect and send back the Bangladeshi infiltrators. The National Executive wants the Union Government to take necessary steps to repeal the Illegal Migrants

Detection Act which has proved to be detrimental in throwing out illegal Bangladeshi migrants from the Indian territory.

The National Executive outlines the following immediate tasks before the Party:

1. Winning in all the four states that will go to Assembly polls later this year - Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh and Delhi - is foremost priority. The Party must also gear up for the Assembly polls in the other states early next year, with a resolve to record winning performances everywhere. The political situation is highly conducive to the BJP in all these states. What is needed is to fully gear up our organization to meet the challenge and seize the opportunity.
2. Our State units should intensify their mass campaigns in states ruled by the Congress and other Opposition parties, highlighting the misrule and non-performance of their Governments.
3. Continuous expansion of the Party's support base in newer geographical and social spaces, accompanied by consolidation in our traditional strongholds, was the clarion call that the National Executive gave way back in June 1996 at its meeting in Bhopal. The Bhopal meeting, which was held in the immediate aftermath of Shri Atalji's 13-day government, had also directed the Party to continue to strengthen its efforts at alliance-building. The spectacular progress that the BJP has made since then is principally because of our successful efforts in this direction. Yet, we must realize that we have not reached out to all sections of our diverse society and to all regions of our vast country. Therefore, our Party units must continue to exert themselves in this direction.

□

National Executive

Raipur

18-20 July, 2003

The issue of Shri Rama Janmabhoomi

The Bharatiya Janata Party adopted a resolution on Shri *Rama Janmabhoomi* for the first time at the meeting of its National Executive in Palampur (HP) on 9-11 June, 1989. In this resolution, the BJP endorsed the demand for handing over Shri *Rama Janmabhoomi* to Hindus for the construction of a Ram Temple there. We also stated that the dispute at Ayodhya should be resolved through mutual dialogue between the two communities or, if this was not possible, through an enabling legislation. The BJP reiterated its commitment to construction of a Ram Temple at Ayodhya in its subsequent statements, resolutions and election manifestos.

The National Democratic Alliance was formed after the 1998 Parliamentary elections. In the National Agenda of Governance that the NDA adopted at the time, as also in its common manifesto for the 1999 Parliamentary elections, there was no reference to the issue of Ayodhya. Nevertheless, there was broad consensus on resolving this issue either through dialogue or a judicial verdict. On the basis of this consensus, the NDA Government supported sincere efforts by certain eminent individuals to reach a negotiated settlement through dialogue.

Even though the common agenda of the NDA makes no mention of a legislative initiative to resolve the Ayodhya issue, the BJP is of the view that this alternative too should be explored. This is what our Party had stated in its Palampur resolution. In the present Parliament, the legislative approach would be fruitful if our allies in the NDA as well as the parties in the Opposition, especially the Congress, extend their support to it.

The Bharatiya Janata Party remains committed to its stand that a magnificent Ram Temple should be constructed at Shri *Rama Janmabhoomi* in Ayodhya. The Party believes that dialogue between representatives of Hindu and Muslim communities, resulting in an amicable negotiated settlement, is the best option to achieve this goal. This would promote communal harmony and national integration.

There is a rapidly growing public opinion, in both communities, that this issue should not remain unresolved any longer because of its having become a source of contention and tension. Hence, the dialogue process should continue in a spirit of goodwill and mutual understanding. We urge all sections of society to extend their cooperation to the dialogue process.

□

National Executive

Goa

12-14 April, 2002

Godhra and its Aftermath

The state of Gujarat has passed through extremely challenging moments in its recent history. Last year, the massive earthquake disrupted the economic progress of the state. Massive rehabilitation work was undertaken and some was still in progress when the social harmony in the state was disrupted by the deplorable and ghastly burning of Ram Sevaks in the Sabarmati Express on 27 February, 2002. Innocent and unarmed people, mostly women and children, were roasted alive in what appears to be a premeditated attack intended to disrupt the peace and harmony in the state.

What happened in the aftermath of Godhra was equally reprehensible. Uncontrollable mobs took law into their own hands. The victims, either on account of burning or stabbing, were the innocent persons. The Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee correctly said, fire cannot be doused by fire.

What was needed at this stage was a national consensus towards calming and cooling down the anger of different sections of people in the state. What was witnessed, unfortunately, was an attempt to discredit the state Government, its political leadership, administration, police. Regrettably, no one looked at the real facts – hard facts that belie this campaign of calumny against the state administration.

The state police have arrested about 27,000 persons – 11,000 for criminal charges and 16,000 as a preventive measure. Already 3,400 FIRs recording the involvement of persons in rioting, looting, arson and killing have been lodged. To prevent mobs from wreaking violence, the police have fired 7233 rounds across the state – 139 persons got killed in police firing alone. In which communal riot in the history of India have so many arrests been made and such firm action been taken by the police that 139 persons got killed in police firing alone? Is this an example of police not doing its duty?

The total number of persons killed in the Godhra carnage and the subsequent riots from 27 February to 5 March, was 601. One hundred were killed in police firing till that day. By contrast, since

then, 68 have died in riots and stabbing, and 39 have lost their lives in police firing. In the last few days, the situation in the state has become by and large peaceful, and conditions have been created for the persons to even return home from the relief camps.

It is to the credit of the state administration and police that the incidents of mass rioting were brought under control in the initial few days, and thereafter only sporadic incidents have taken place. The police action has been aimed at the rioters irrespective of the religious community to which they belonged.

The firmness and promptitude with which the Government has acted, contrasts sharply with the way earlier governments, such as of the Congress responded. Shri Narendra Modi called the Army to assist civilian administration within sixteen hours; by contrast, the earlier Congress Government, faced with a similar situation, took five days, to call out the Army.

Relief camps have been set up all over the state. Several liberal rehabilitation packages have been announced by the state Government and improved upon by the Prime Minister. These rehabilitation packages are far larger than what has been given by any previous Government.

The state today needs a healing touch. Victims have to be sent back to their homes. Rehabilitation packages have to be implemented expeditiously. The administration and people of the state have been exerting their utmost to rebuild confidence. Instead of aiding this effort, the Congress and others have been exerting to undermine confidence of both the people and administration.

Violence has been brought under control. The situation has been returning to normalcy.

- From 18 to 28 March, 2002, the SSC and HSC Board examinations have been carried out smoothly. More than 9 lakh students participated in the examinations at around

1000 centres. On an average, the attendance was 98% which is at par with the previous records.

- 1700 village panchayats went to elections from 11 March and the election process was completed without even a single incident. In fact, 37% of these panchayats have been elected unanimously. Average polling exceeded 75 per cent.
- The observance of Moharram passed off peacefully and around 2000 Tazias were taken out.
- Holi also saw no problem in the entire state, and it was totally peaceful.
- Around 6000 Haj yattris returned to the state and they were welcomed in their villages.

The Chief Minister, Shri Narendra Modi, the state Government and the state police have endeavoured their very best to face the challenges. In addition, they have instituted a Commission of inquiry to pinpoint any lapses if these have occurred, and to suggest appropriate action.

In the best traditions of the Party, so as to assist the Party in discussing the happenings in Gujarat threadbare, and so that it may take a decision without any inhibition, Shri Modi offered to step down as Chief Minister.

In a democracy, there is only one way to put the issue, and the calumny to rest: the people are the ultimate arbiters, and so the people of Gujarat are the ones who can and must decide.

Accordingly, the National Executive unanimously rejects Shri Modi's offer to resign his post. It is confident that Shri Modi can meet every challenge, that by effective action he can counter every canard.

Instead of accepting his resignation, the National Executive advises him to seek dissolution of the Assembly, go to the people, and seek their verdict.

□

National Executive

Goa

12-14 April, 2002

7.15 Empowerment of Panchayati Raj

The Bharatiya Janata Party endorses the National Declaration passed by the All India Panchayati Raj Conference last week. It urges the Government to bring in a new Constitution Amendment at the earliest in the Parliament to ensure effective and speedy devolution of financial and administrative powers to Panchayati Raj Institutions.

This year marks the tenth anniversary of the passage of the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution. The BJP too supported these Amendments for our party has always believed in decentralization of governance with Panchayats as the basic building blocks of our democracy.

Panchayats have existed in India for almost as long as India existed. They are the living proof that democracy was not imported into India; but rather it has been an inseparable part of India's civilization heritage. Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay used to emphasize that decentralization is the key to both healthy democracy and for the socio-economic development. This thinking is rooted in the Indian ethos of regarding a Panch, of a biradari or of the village as Parameshwar.

Since the attainment of freedom in 1947 and the adoption of a Republican Constitution in 1950, Panchayats have become a formal part of our democratic system. It is, however, a proof of the utter disregard for the importance of Panchayats that the earlier regimes, which ruled at the Centre and in most States for many decades after Independence, did not care to make them effective instruments of grassroot governance and participative developments. The people who claimed to inherit the mantle of Gandhiji in reality did not care for the kernel of Gandhiji's political philosophy, which gave Panchayats the prime position in building the new India based on *Gram Swaraj*.

The Constitution Amendments, which the earlier Governments brought about, did not empower Panchayati Raj Institutions in the true sense of the term. In most States, elections to Panchayats were either not held for years together or when held, the Panchayats were

routinely superseded by the bureaucracy to serve the partisan ends of the ruling party. It is a telling commentary on the neglect of the Panchayati Raj Institutions that the average annual income, from their own sources, of Gram Panchayat is only Rs. 30,000 a year; that of an Intermediate Panchayat is only Rs. 60,000; and that of a Zilla Panchayat is a mere Rs. 12 lakh.

With such meager internal resources, how can Panchayats be expected to discharge their responsibilities in as many as 29 subjects—ranging from primary health to primary education, from minor irrigation to minor forest produce, from sanitation to community lighting—that have been mandated to them by the Constitution?

The party notes some of the positive outcomes of the 73rd and 74th Amendments. In particular, they have partially promoted the ideals of social justice and women's political empowerment. This is borne out by the fact that of the 34 lakh elected representatives of our Panchayati Raj Institutions, 10 lakh are women and 6 lakh belong to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. However, even these positive developments have been largely negated by the lack of financial and administrative powers to Panchayats. After a decade of the passage of the Constitution Amendments it is universally and acutely realised that the empowerment of Panchayati Raj institutions cannot be complete without devolution of adequate rightful financial and administrative powers to them.

It is in this context that the NDA Government under the farsighted leadership of Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has initiated the process of true empowerment of Panchayati Raj Institutions. The National Declaration unanimously adopted at the conference is an indication of the tremendous urge, cutting across party lines, that exists among the elected representatives of our local self government bodies to have adequate and effective financial and

administrative powers.

The party whole-heartedly endorses the contents of the National Declaration. In particular, it urges the Government to devise new and innovative ways of making non-budgetary resources available to Panchayats. The BJP feels that it is time to think in terms of earmarking funds specifically for various tiers of Panchayati Raj system without giving scope for any diversion or delay in reaching the funds. The BJP urges all political parties and also State Governments to support the early passage of the new Amendments to the Constitution to go ahead with the second generation Panchayati Raj Reforms.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

26 September, 2002

Attack on Akshardham

An emergency meeting of the Members of the National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party was held in New Delhi today at the party headquarters under the Presidentship of Shri M Venkaiah Naidu, where the following Resolution was passed:

The National Executive strongly condemns the terrorist attack on the Akshardham Temple on 24 September, 2002. This attack is a barbaric assault on humanity. This attack is a manifestation of the frustration of the terrorists and their mentors after their designs to disrupt the democratic and the popular elections have been defeated by the people of Jammu & Kashmir. It is a matter of satisfaction that the people of Jammu & Kashmir have demonstrated their commitment to the democratic process under the Constitution of India by voting in large numbers braving continuous onslaught unleashed by mercenaries of Pakistan engineered cross-border terrorism.

The dastardly attack on the Swaminarayan Temple in Gujarat is a part of a larger conspiracy to weaken our country, disrupt our social fabric and bring our polity under strain by instigating social tensions. It is a calculated effort to deflect our nation's march away from the path of development. Forces inimical to India have been doing this for a long time now.

At this testing time, the maturity of the Indian people is also on trial. We need to speak in one voice against this menace of terrorism. We must not allow any social tension to overtake us, since, by doing so, we would be falling into the trap set for us by the terrorists.

The Bharatiya Janata Party shares the grief of all families, which have lost their family members in this gruesome assault. The Bharatiya Janata Party places on record its deep sense of appreciation on the expeditious manner in which the security personnel limited the damage to human life, prevented any major damage to the temple shrine and liquidated the terrorists. The BJP compliments the people of India, particularly the people of Gujarat, for the manner

in which they have reacted to this grave provocation and remained calm and peaceful.

It is time for the world at large to understand the diabolical designs of Pakistan and realize that it is an established headquarters of terrorism. It is ironical that Pakistan, on the one hand, is claiming to be a member of the international coalition against terrorism, while, on the other, it has been unabashedly patronizing terrorism.

The BJP calls upon the people of the country to stand united and speak in one voice in the face of conspiratorial designs to weaken our country and expose Pakistan. It is becoming increasingly intolerable for patriotic citizens of our country to accept such actions lying down. While the Government of India has succeeded on the diplomatic front by isolating Pakistan in the international arena, is successfully holding elections in Jammu & Kashmir and has taken many initiatives for curbing and countering terrorism, it is time now to take further steps for totally eliminating and wiping out the terrorist menace from the country.

Rising above narrow political and partisan considerations, the nation has to be more vigilant to frustrate the evil designs of the enemy. Let us join hands to strengthen the fabric of social harmony and unity to a degree that no one can dare to breach. The need of the hour is for a change in the mindset for promoting solidarity.

The Bharatiya Janata Party shall organize an 'Anti-Terrorism Day' all over the country on 1 October 2002 wherein Party leaders will visit various states and address meetings.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

24 December, 2002

NDA Government Poised to Complete Full Tenure

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party is meeting at a time which is crucial to India's polity.

The NDA Government led by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has completed more than 4-1/2 years of governance. It is poised to become the first non-Congress Government to complete its full tenure in New Delhi. The NDA Government has launched a series of pathbreaking measures to put India on to the road of development and becoming a major economic force.

The NDA as an alliance of political parties to run the Government at New Delhi, has conclusively established its commitment to the agenda and its ability to work smoothly and demolish the myth that alliances in India cannot run stable Governments. The National Executive is meeting immediately after the elections to the Gujarat State Assembly where the Bharatiya Janata Party has won the third election in a row. The Gujarat elections are not an ordinary political victory. The politics of Gujarat attracted attention not only nationally but globally. A campaign of falsehood was unleashed against the BJP's State Government in an attempt to defame our ideology, governance and leadership. What had happened at the Godhra railway station on 27 February, 2002 was unprecedented and inhuman. It unleashed highly condemnable violence in the state in which several innocents lost their lives. Even though the machinery of the state was fully geared up to deal with unprecedented situations, our critics wanted to use this as a campaign of calumny against the Bharatiya Janata Party and its leadership. The election in Gujarat thus divided the state on ideological lines. The election was considered a trial for the cultural nationalism of the BJP and our commitment to eliminate terrorism, a menace which threatens our national sovereignty. Our opponents considered terrorism as a virtual non-issue. The people of Gujarat endorsed our commitment to cultural nationalism and voted us back for a third time in a row. Gujarat witnessed an unprecedented pro-incumbency wave.

The election results of Gujarat have stunned our opponents. A

campaign has now been launched that Gujarat would be repeated elsewhere. Let our critics remember that the BJP stands for the protection of each and every Indian and his right to religious freedom. We are committed against terror; we condemn what happened in Godhra and thereafter. We shall not tolerate incidents which took place at *Akshardham*. We are confident that the Gujarat elections will prove to be a turning point in India's history and the ideology of cultural nationalism propagated by the BJP will find wide-scale acceptability all over the country. The Bharatiya Janata Party thanks the people of Gujarat for endorsing our ideological positions.

The other significant achievement of the recent period has been the success of the NDA Government in preparing the nation to combat terrorism. We have isolated Pakistan's ideology of using terrorism as an instrument of State policy. The world today abhors that policy. Pakistan is on the back foot. Our national security systems and our intelligence grid have improved in their efficiency to counter terrorist activities. Most importantly, the people of Jammu & Kashmir have been alienated from the terrorists inasmuch as they defeated terror and fear and turned up in large numbers to vote in the J&K elections. The successful holding of free and fair elections in Jammu & Kashmir has re-established the credentials of the vibrant Indian democracy. The J&K election was a victory of Indian democracy over Pakistani terror. The elections threw up a hung verdict and by a post election adjustment, the PDP and the Congress have joined in coalition to form a Government. It is regrettable that the Congress has compromised on the PDP agenda which has started going soft on terror. The coalition Government has decided to merge with the local police, the Special Operation Group, a police force which is a professionally trained organisation to fight terrorism. Without undertaking a comprehensive review on the merits of any case, they have decided to release certain terrorists. The releases appear more to

be an act of political reciprocity rather than a means to achieve peace. The decision of the Congress not to implement POTA in Congress ruled states is a mockery of Indian federalism. It is unprecedented that the laws framed by the Centre in exercise of its constitutional jurisdiction are not respected by a state. This precedent, if allowed to go unchecked, can prove dangerous both for our democracy and federalism. If there is one state in the country which needs active enforcement of POTA, it is Jammu & Kashmir. Why must any political party want to go soft on terror is a question which baffles the whole country. The Congress owes an explanation for this.

The BJP urges both the Central Government and the State Government of Jammu & Kashmir to implement the proposal for the creation of Regional Development Councils for the different regions of Kashmir.

The latest attack on the Rangunath Temple, the beheading of women for failure to abide by a dress code and the killing of a PDP MLA has established that terrorism spares none – not the innocent, not its opponents and not even those who are soft on terror.

The BJP expresses serious concern over the increase in the activities of Naxal extremism in several parts of the country. These terror tactics are identical to the ones used by those indulging in cross border terrorism. The BJP welcomes the recent initiatives to negotiate a larger settlement with some underground groups in the North-East. Peace in the North-East is the need of the hour. These recent initiatives will go a long way in restoring peace. The BJP urges the Central Government to seriously consider the repeal of the IMDT Act.

The BJP expresses concern over the aberrations in the Human Rights movement in India. These have been noticed in the context of the 13th December, 2001 attack on the Parliament House. Human Rights are essential for democracy and liberty. Their essence lies in the fundamental rights and the rule of law. Traditionally, the Human Rights movement was aimed at protecting the rights of a citizen against the oppressive power of the state. Currently, the real threat to Human Rights is not from the state but from Private Terror Groups. The rights of a Civil Society have to be protected from these terror groups. Regrettably, many Human Rights NGOs have decided to side with these terror groups from whom the real threat of terror comes.

The last 4-1/2 years of the NDA Government have been an

era of reform and development. The Indian economy today has transformed from shortages to surpluses. The infrastructure such as highways, rural roads, telecommunications, ports, transportations etc. have been growing at a rapid pace. Power sector reforms are finally beginning to see the light of the day. Even in the phase of deceleration of global economy, India has managed respectable rates of growth. With the approval of the Tenth Five Year Plan, the BJP welcomes the target fixed by the Government for an 8% GDP growth.

The BJP is of the opinion that the Economic Agenda of the NDA Government is the best course to accelerate growth rates and bring down poverty figures in the country. The BJP is firmly committed to this agenda.

The conspiracy of our opponents to create a rift in the NDA has been foiled repeatedly. The NDA stands together like a rock. Their efforts to raise ideological issues to split the NDA have not worked. The phoney issue of the so-called saffronization of the history books has been exposed by the rebuff that our opponents got from the Supreme Court. Let alone any ally of NDA leaving us, others have shown interest in joining us. The BJP welcomes the setting up of a separate Scheduled Tribe Commission.

As against this, our opponents are in shambles. Be it in Uttar Pradesh or Gujarat, our opponents are pulling in different directions. The Congress Governments have a miserable performance. While the J&K Government has decided to go soft on terror, the Rajasthan Government is unable to fight hunger and starvation deaths in an age of food surplusage. The incompetence of the Rajasthan Government to handle the situation in the state has created a huge anti-incumbency which was responsible for its defeat in all the three by-elections in the state recently. Bihar and Madhya Pradesh are icons of non-development. The Maharashtra Government is a glaring example of in-fighting. The Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra Governments have failed to prevent starvation deaths. The Karnataka Government, unable to deal with a bandit, is cracking up under a crisis of confidence. The irresponsible political behaviour of the Chhattisgarh and Punjab Chief Ministers in courting arrest outside the Prime Minister's residence have demeaned the dignity of their office. The West Bengal Government has retarded the growth of the state. The West Bengal Government is unprepared to cope with the Al-Qaeda threats which have shifted base to Bangladesh. All

border states in the East require to be prepared to check infiltration from Bangladesh.

The NDA Government, on the contrary, is endeavouring to concentrate on governance and reform. Major social and economic initiatives are aimed at making India a global economic power. The recent decision to integrate rivers in India is a historic initiative. The Freedom of Information Bill will bring about unprecedented transparency into the Government's functioning and raise the level of probity in public life. The recently concluded session of Parliament will go down as historic for a series of economic legislations undertaken in the country. The Prime Minister's announcement in giving interest relief to farmers affected by drought will go a long way in diluting their difficulties.

It is at this stage that the Bharatiya Janata Party enters the new year with a renewed sense of confidence. The year 2003 is a year of state Assembly elections. We shall wrest back from our opponents each state held by them.

Our roadmap for the future is clear: Cultural Nationalism, Economic Liberalism and Development, Good Governance and the Highest Standards of Probity.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

04-05 January, 2001

Resolution on Peace Initiative in Jammu & Kashmir

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive welcomes the National Democratic Alliance Government's peace initiative in Jammu & Kashmir. On 19 November, 2000, the Prime Minister announced the suspension of operations by security forces during the month of Ramazan. While announcing this, he said that the Government would continue with its efforts to normalise the situation in the state and urged the terrorist and separatist forces to return to the path of peace. He also expressed the hope that Pakistani shelling and infiltration of terrorists from Pakistan along the LoC would cease.

The National Executive views the developments over the subsequent weeks as encouraging. The people of Jammu & Kashmir have responded to the peace initiative wholeheartedly. Various organisations, including the All-Party Hurriyat Conference, have endorsed the Government's move and offered dialogue. There is an air of optimism in Kashmir Valley which has suffered grievously for more than a decade due to the blood-letting by terrorists armed, aided and trained by Pakistan.

Pakistan has responded by officially announcing that its forces would maintain 'maximum restraint' along the LoC. In recent weeks there has been a decline in attempts at cross-border and cross-LoC infiltration by terrorists from Pakistan. Relative peace prevails along the LoC with a marked fall in Pakistani shelling.

Against this backdrop, the Government has further extended the period of no initiation of operations by another month, till 26 January. The Government has also announced that it will initiate exploratory steps for resumption of dialogue with Pakistan, when peace is fully restored.

The BJP National Executive, while congratulating the Government on its bold initiative, would like to draw attention to certain realities that cannot be wished away. It is true that there has been a decline in overall violence in Jammu & Kashmir, largely because the people are tired of being captives in the vicious cycle of violence

that terrorism generates. At the same time, criminal Pakistan-based organisations like Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad and Harkat-ul Mujahideen have stepped up their activities, as is evident from the attacks on Army camps in Jammu & Kashmir, the daring attack on Red Fort and the open threats issued by Lashkar to continue its murderous activities including an attack on PMO. The Government cannot afford to let down its guard against such organisations that continue to enjoy the patronage of the present regime in Islamabad.

It merits reiteration that the previous 'ceasefire', offered by Hizb-ul Mujahideen, to which the Government had responded favourably, collapsed due to the intransigence of the ruling military establishment in Pakistan. While some soft statements have emanated from Islamabad in recent days, there is little evidence to suggest that there is any effort on the part of the Pakistani military regime to contain terrorist outfits whose links with the Inter-Services Intelligence are no secret.

The BJP believes in good relations between, and peaceful co-existence of, India and her neighbours, including Pakistan. But such relations cannot be forged through unilateral efforts by India alone. Pakistan, which under its present military regime stands virtually isolated in the world today for adopting cross-border terrorism, disguised as *jehad*, as an instrument of state policy and for dismantling democracy, must realise the folly of its misadventure.

Such realisation should get reflected in complete cessation of cross-border terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir and other states of India and a halt in its hostile anti-India propaganda. It is also necessary for Pakistan to rein in the ISI, which is behind much of the disruptive and terrorist activities on Indian soil, as well as crack down on terrorist outfits that are openly operating in various Pakistani towns and cities.

Till such time this happens, Pakistan will continue to be seen

as talking with a forked tongue. And, any dialogue is bound to fail. In any event, for talks to succeed, Pakistan must accept the sanctity of the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration that stipulate bilateral dialogue to sort out all outstanding issues.

The National Executive endorses the Government's view that talks can be held with all parties and organisations in Jammu & Kashmir. But these talks must be delinked from any dialogue with Pakistan. The question of 'tri-lateral talks' does not arise.

It would be tragic if the plight of the displaced 2.5 lakh Kashmiri Pandits were not taken into account while seeking peace in Jammu & Kashmir. The BJP remains committed to the return of the displaced Kashmiri Pandits to their ancestral land, from which terrorists and their mentors forced them out, with full honour, dignity and security.

Lasting peace in Jammu & Kashmir is a desirable objective. To achieve this objective, the Party will stand by the Government. But at every step, the Government must exercise extreme caution and make it abundantly clear to all that the Indian people's desire for peace should not be misconstrued as a sign of weakness. The Lahore initiative was misconstrued and India gave a fitting reply. Let that remain the benchmark today and tomorrow.

The National Executive resolves to strengthen the Government's hands in its search for peace even while standing by the Government in fighting all anti-national, terrorist and separatist forces that are bent upon scuttling the latest initiative. We reiterate our firm belief that India's territorial unity and integrity are non-negotiable. No peace can be lasting unless this is taken into account.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

24 March, 2001

Current Political Situation

When the world has started looking upon us as one of the fast emerging global powers, when the nation is on the path of regeneration, when the inimical nations have started worrying about our growing power, when the nation is on the path of economic recovery, when we are moving from strength to strength, a counter-effort has been launched to destabilise the economy, the nation's defence, leadership and the social fabric. This shall strengthen our resolve to enable a resilience to accelerate the growth of our nation.

The nation has been confronted with the issue of probity in public life, the accompanying question of accountability and the need for reforms to eliminate corruption in public life.

The BJP resolves to strengthen the Prime Minister's call to remove the dirt in public life wherever it can be traced. There are several steps required to be taken for this.

First, the full truth will be established by a credible inquiry. The Government has expeditiously announced an inquiry within 72 hours of the disclosures made by the Tehelka Tapes.

Secondly, there will be strict accountability standards. For this, even introspection within the Party is required. We shall undertake that exercise so as to prove that we are a Party with a difference.

Thirdly, the law will be allowed to take its own course. The guilty shall be punished but the reputation of no honest man will be allowed to be sullied.

Fourthly, wherever institutional changes are required to reform the system, we will take initiative in that direction. The principal issue to be addressed is that of political funding. Parliamentary Democracy is the essence of Indian political system. Political parties are the life and soul of Parliamentary Democracy. Funding of political parties is a legitimate activity and the same will be made more transparent.

The Congress is known for its institutionalisation of corruption in politics. The state of political affairs which have taken shape in the course of the history of independent India is the product of successive Congress regimes. And the funding of politics in Congress has been

made to suit the individual conveniences within the Congress. It created a morass out of politics. The history of Congress party's governance is a history of scams.

It is ironical that the Congress Party is lecturing about moral standards in politics. Its two former prime ministers have been accused of corruption. One has been convicted and the other is in column no. 2 of the Bofor's charge sheet. Even today, it is preparing for elections in Tamil Nadu under the leadership of a person convicted in a corruption case. All the twenty-three Congress MLAs are ministers to sustain a corrupt government in panel in Bihar.

The BJP as a party has been fighting this political culture from the very beginning. We are determined to root out evils in the body politic of the nation. Our resolve is not going to be weakened by the conspiratorial propaganda of those who thrive on such dubious methods.

As a party, we have always been concerned about the funding of politics. We have devised a scheme of *Aajiwani Sahayog Nidhi*. This scheme of political funding is based on the philosophy of decentralisation of political funds in order to reduce dependence on big money. It is based on the principle of collecting funds through small amounts from larger sections of supporters and sympathisers.

It is our resolve to make *Aajiwani Sahayog Nidhi* so wide-based that the entire requirement of funds for the party is met by it.

The Vajpayee Government has completed just three years in office, and yet its achievements have been of historic dimensions. It is during this regime that a proper institutionalisation of National Security Council took place. India became a Nuclear power in spite of severe international pressure. We overcame harsh economic sanctions and the economy was put back on rails. The Government has taken historic steps to improve the rural infrastructure so that our villages can become the centres of prosperity. The prosperity

of the villages means prosperity of the country. Above all, this Government has generated a confidence among the people that the nation is acquiring new heights. The march of the nation is toward becoming a global power.

The National Executive of the BJP takes strong exception to the irresponsible statements of the Congress President Smt. Sonia Gandhi in the speech of the AICC Session in Bangalore. She called the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the Government 'traitors' and asked her party to take the battle to the streets.

The Congress Party's stance in recent years on the national security issues is a matter of grave concern. It went against the national mood at the time of Pokharan and Kargil. Having been rebuffed by the people, the Congress Party has vainly tried to 'expose' the BJP's commitment to national security by trivialising national security issues, thereby unwittingly contributing to the lowering of India's standing abroad.

A high tradition has been followed by Shri Bangaru Laxman while resigning from the post of President of the Party the moment a charge was levelled against him. The Party is greater than an individual and the individual's interest is always subordinate to Party's interests. We have always held that the nation's interests are uppermost and Party's interests are subordinate to the nation's interests. This is what the BJP means when it says, 'Nation first, Party next'.

The Opposition, knowing well that this NDA Government under Vajpayee's Prime Ministership has become stable and that it has come to stay for full five years, is desperate to circumvent the people's mandate given in a free and fair election and compel the Government to oblige them by resigning. Some political parties are attempting to create instability in the country by asking a Government with a popular mandate and a parliamentary majority to quit. Their agenda is chaos and the BJP shall prevent the nation from being inflicted with this malady.

The National Executive assures the people that it is for upholding the purity of public life and that there will be no compromise on this. The Prime Minister in his address to the nation has voiced the resolve of the NDA and the BJP in particular.

The Prime Minister has stated:

"In a word, my countrymen, let us rise above our day-to-

day preoccupations. Let us, by joining hands, convert this into an opportunity to make the defence of our country even stronger, to cleanse our political life, to cleanse our administration... .”

“I shall spare no effort in this regard. You have my word... .”

“That I shall do everything towards ensuring these wide-ranging reforms. I shall get to the bottom of the allegations which have been made... .”

“I shall work to clean up the dirt that has come into view... .”

“I will ensure that all this is done in such a way that the security of the country comes out stronger.”

This is our resolve too. This is also our pledge. Let every party *Karyakarta* and the people strive together their utmost to achieve and realise this.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

4-5 April, 2001

The Motion on the Condition of the North East States

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janta Party expresses its deep concern over increasing terrorism and secessionist violence in Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya and the other states of the North East. A large number of innocent persons have lost their lives due to continuous violence and near surrender of their authority by some of the state governments. The recent massacre of innocent persons in Assam and the complete disruption of the civil administration in Manipur is very disturbing. Militants brandishing their rifles are defying the orders of the civil authorities and in fact a parallel government has been formed in two districts of Arunachal Pradesh. This shows as to what sort of terrible situation is prevailing in some parts of the North East. The situation has deteriorated to this extent that in some parts even government officers including the police personnel have to pay 'tax' and protection amount to the militants.

Mainly state governments are responsible for such a sorry state of affairs. The state government of Manipur has remained inactive in fighting the militant and secessionist forces. The state government of Assam has not adopted that much tough posture as was required for suppressing secessionist forces. The NDA government is committed to ensure peace and prosperity in this region. It is providing assistance of various nature and central forces are immediately rushed whenever there is demand from the state governments. The state governments couldn't have made effective use of the adequate funds made available to them for the development. They even failed to make proper use of the central forces which have been sent there at their request.

The ULFA has been involved in merciless killings and criminal activities in Assam. They have remained indulged in loot, arson and murders. The Bodo organization is also not lagging behind in this. Fear and uncertainty prevails in Assam and sense of insecurity lies

among the people. The advent and rise of several Islamic Militant organizations has further intensified the fear and tension of the people. The politics of vote bank, disruption of administration, a inability of the states to check the infiltration and violence perpetrated by the militants are interwoven problems and the legacy of misrule of the Congress is the root cause of all these problems. The misrule of some of the regional parties during the recent years has further aggravated the problems.

The National Executive is of the firm view that the local politicians are patronizing those who are perpetrating violence in North East and the militants, secessionist elements and the infiltrators are inter linked and they are using the networks of one another. The amount in crores sent by the center for the developmental activities is vanished in uncommon way in which some amount goes inside the pockets of the local politicians and the major portion of it goes to the hands of the militant organizations, which use these amounts in running criminal activities. The state governments in fact react with anger whenever explanation regarding expenditure of the amount sent thereto is sought.

The funds sent from abroad for some human purposes too are diverted for purchasing arms and conducting anti-national activities.

The inimical forces of our country now find it easier to launch their dangerous activities in this region due to worst situation prevailing there. The ISI has strengthened its ties with the militant and secessionist organizations and using them to intensify proxy war against India. The constant and uncontrolled illegal infiltration from Bangladesh is helping a lot to the ISI. A large area of North East is full of such illegal migrants. The demographic balance in Assam has already got imbalanced. Such dangerous change has started in the adjoining states as well.

The illegal infiltration at large scale has infact helped the vote

bank politics of the Congress. This must be a matter of great concern for every Indian that the election result in such a vast areas will now depend on the decision of the infiltrators. This is the very cause which has created this situation. The allegation that the center has shown negligence for these areas is baseless and the purpose of making such allegation is to divert the attention of the people from basic cause.

The National Executive appreciates the NDA government for concentrating more on the North East. The center has allocated around Rs. 14,000 crore separately for the North East regions during the current year. The government is trying to ensure that the central ministry may invest at least 10 percent of the allotted amount of the projects of this region. A special cell has been set up in the Prime Minister's office to monitor on monthly basis the execution of projects from the Prime Minister's package. The monitoring report is made public every month and ministry of Information and Broadcasting has launched a special T.V. channel for this region and many concessions have been given for this region in national programmes also. For example, under the Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yogna the villages having 1000 population are to be connected with the main road but the hilly areas of this region this limit has been reduced to the population of 250.

The National Executive emphasizes to monitor effectively to maintain transparency in the total expenditure made in this regard and it urges the government to unite the people from all classes of the society including the media on this issue.

The National Executive resolves to inform the people about the flow of the funds sent to the North East region during the past and thus it takes the challenge to expose such political corruption and the nexus between the politicians and the militants, which are the main obstruction in the way of socio-economic development of this region and joining the main stream.

In this context the National Executive urges upon the government to contemplate setting up a special commission for exposing the nexus between some politicians and the secessionist/restricted organizations and publishing the guilty.

The National Executive requests the government to deal sternly with the following issues of great concern:

- All possible measures should be taken to deal with the ISI

activities in the North East States. This region will become the center of terrorism and secessionism if the ISI is not controlled. The central forces must be utilized in driving at the people involved in ISI activities and in destroying their base camps.

- The demography of many of North East regions has badly changed due to constant flow of illegal migrants and it has shown a serious political, social and economic impact therein. The National Executive in this context requests the government to ensure the issuance of multi-purpose identity cards to all the citizens especially those living in border areas. Secondly, the Illegal Migrations (Prevention) Act must be repealed.
- Steps must be taken to control the activities of ULFA who are involved in terrorizing the voters and extorting money from the innocent citizens.
- The refugees driven out from Mizoram must be rehabilitated.
- The present conspiracy of the ISI and the ULFA to create social rift and to drive out the locals must be sabotaged.

The BJP will assemble its workers to fight against the violence of militants and secessionist forces. We will provide assistance in any initiatives taken by the government in this regard. But the National Executive wants to reiterate its demand that such situation may not be allowed to prevail any longer because India can't remain indifferent to the efforts of building the nation.

The Motion Regarding Situation Prevailing in North East States

Today, the nation's attention is fixed on the prevailing situation in many parts of the North East States. The large number of infiltration from the neighbouring countries has badly affected the social, political and electoral balance besides changing the demographic situation of the areas. The activities of the extremists, religion fundamentalists along with the ISI are on the constant rise. The terrorists underground are often

showing their presence and the activities of the secessionists are also going on which have disturbed normal life and the smooth implementation of various development programmes have also endangered. This area is suffering from the virus of corruption as well and as a result of this economic energy is losing its strength. The difficulties of the common man are not being looked into because of non-utilization of natural resources which are in abundance there. Unfortunately the entire North East region is in the grip of these common evils but today Manipur is more disturbed. The agreement with NSCN (I-M) regarding extension of cease fire to some other states including Manipur has created a sort of misunderstanding due to which an apprehension is being expressed that integrity of these states will be affected thereby. The assurances given by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and the steps taken to end the extension of cease fire beyond the boundaries of Nagaland will help in restoring normalcy in Manipur. The National Executive also welcomes the approval of imposing President's rule in Manipur and hopes that political stability will be restored soon in Manipur.

The National Executive keeping the all round development of the entire North East regions in view puts forth following suggestion for serious perusal and necessary action of the central government:

1. The hydroelectric projects must be devised in all political possibility.
2. Connecting the regions with roads and development of basic infrastructures like communication and telecommunication facilities.
3. Increase in TV and Radio coverage.
4. Special emphasis and promotion to enhance small-scale industries.
5. The development of the potential of Human Resource Development in this region.
6. The measures to increase employment and to improve the service conditions of the labourers working in tea gardens and mines.
7. The effective measures to be taken by the centre for controlling floods.

8. Streamlining the security and administrative system.
9. The efforts to expedite the cases subjudice in the court so that IMDT Act may be repealed.



National Executive

Amritsar

2-3 November, 2001

The Motion on Terrorism

Terrorism has acquired a new dimension with demolishing the two towers of the World Trade Centre in New York by dashing out the building with kidnapped aeroplanes killing over 6000 persons and injuring several thousand persons belonging to 60 different countries. Such cowardly attack on the innocent persons has perhaps affected the future efforts to be made by the human beings.

Ultimately the world has become conscious of the reality of terrorism. India has been facing the brunt of terrorism for over a decade. Thousands of the people have been killed on account of planned and conspiratorial activities of cross-border terrorism being inflicted constantly from time to time. Concrete evidence of the involvement of the agencies working either from or at the behest of Pakistan were handed over to many countries but they had been a little bit hesitant for initiating a joint action against terrorism. It is a known fact that the Intelligence Agency of Pakistan ISI has been behind the series of bomb-explosions occurred in India for the last many years. This agency had even helped those who masterminded the series of bomb-explosion at Bombay in 1993, which had claimed more than 600 human lives. Hijack of the Flight No. 814 of the Indian Airlines is another example which was conducted from across the border. So, for India struggling against terrorism is not a new thing. We have been fighting terrorism for more than a decade but the crime committed so ghastly in New York has compelled the whole world to share our concern. Now it is being widely accepted that to crush terrorism for ever punishing only Osama-bin-Laden and his organization Al-Qaida will not suffice but the terrorist outfits like Jaish-e-Mohammad, Lashkar-e-Toiba, Hizbul-Muzhaidin etc. are required to be finished.

The Bharatiya Janta Party supports the government's policy to cooperate with all the countries willing to make an

alliance to fight terrorism. We are of the view this problem is to be tackled with collective action only. We must be ready to provide all possible assistance to America and the alliance of the other countries to act against terrorism. It is needless to say that any assistance given by India in this direction is in our national interest and it is as per the established policy. The BJP appeals to all political parties not to think on party lines and support the government on this issue. Now we should keep it in our mind that now the other countries are also in support of the issue that we had been fighting alone.

We know it well that Pakistan is the main source for spreading terrorism in our country and it has also contributed to the origin of Taliban. It is really ironical that Pakistan has now proposed to join the move to combat terrorism. There is nothing wrong if we are suspicious of the proposal made by Pakistan for its cooperation but this time it has to prove that it is also ready to fight terrorism. We will be very happy if our apprehension proves wrong yet we will suggest to our government to prepare with full might to fight against terrorism. The Prime Minister after the attack made on Vidhan Sabha of Jammu and Kashmir on 1st October has stated in his letter written to America that Pakistan should now realize that there is a limit to patience for the people of India.

In Agra Summit President Musharraf declined to accept the fact regarding Across border terrorism. He called it freedom struggle instead. After the attack on Jammu and Kashmir on 1st October he has admitted that it was a terroristic attack and he has prepared to cooperate in fight against terrorism. The international community at least should take full precaution on the proposal made by Pakistan to fight against terrorism if not feel suspicious about it in view of its track record of involvement in terroristic activities.

The Prime Minister has rightly cautioned the people not to mix terrorism with Islam though many of the persons and organizations have expressed their commitment to the terroristic activities in the name of Islam. Yet we consider that such elements are few in number and they too don't represent the true spirit of Islam. No religion justifies terroristic activities. We hope that the Muslim leaders of India and of the world will appeal to their followers to dissociate themselves from such fundamentalists who are small in number and who conduct terroristic activities in the name of religion.

It is our experience of one decade that the terrorists get encouraged from this fact that our legal framework and judicial and legal procedures are not so effective to inflict proper punishment on the terrorists. The large number of such elements go unpunished or get minor punishment. Hence an effective and comprehensive legislation is immediately required to be enacted to fight terrorism. The Bharatiya Janta Party therefore urges upon the government to bring a proper legislation to deal with the problem of terrorism. The ordinance of terrorism prevention is a right step in this context and everyone should support it.

The UN Security Council had passed a motion condemning all forms of terrorism after terroristic attack on New York. The Bharatiya Janta Party welcomes this motion and urges upon the government of India to take appropriate steps in this regard and to call the conference of UN on terrorism, which had been proposed by many countries two years ago. We are of the view that such a conference will prove very useful in finishing terroristic activities in the world.

The National Executive welcomes the definite steps taken by the central government to deal with the terrorism perpetrated by the terrorist outfits from across the border and at the behest and with aid from neighbouring country Pakistan. The central government by taking this step has adopted pro-active policy which includes destroying of camps of the terrorist outfits. The American government with the help of U.K. and other nations has adopted the policy of chasing terrorists to their homes after crossing many countries and continents to fight against the international terrorism and their action appears

almost correct.

It is right for the time being for India that it has decided not to strike beyond the border as it believes that it will achieve its objective with the present proactive policy itself. But if situation warrants and circumstances are as such nothing should come in the way to finish terrorism by striking it inside and outside provided we find it necessary in our national interest. The BJP appeals to each citizen of the country to extend his or her full support and cooperation to all the steps taken or proposed to be taken by the central government for fighting against terrorism in its effort to bring peace to our region.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

29 December, 2001

National Security – Major Plank of BJP's Agenda

National security, national integrity, a democratic polity and a free plural society are some of the major planks of the Bharatiya Janata Party's agenda which it has pursued ever since its inception. After it came to power at the head of a coalition, the Party has urged the Government to ensure that the people of India are always prepared to meet any challenge to these cherished concepts which flow from a long and rich Indian tradition.

The Pakistan sponsored terrorist assault on the citadel of our freedom and democracy – the Parliament of India – on 13 December was an attack on our sovereignty, on our basic values and on the

idea of India as a free society with multi-religious, and multilingual people joined together by an all-pervasive common culture.

The attack on Parliament was the most audacious and most serious terrorist attack so far as it intended to target the top political leadership of the country – the Prime Minister, Members of the Cabinet and Members of Parliament. Fortunately, the designs of the terrorists were foiled by the vigilant security personnel before they could enter the Parliament House.

As the Home Minister Shri LK Advani said in his statement in Parliament on 18 December, “It is now evident that the terrorist assault on the Parliament House was executed jointly by Pak-based and supported terrorist outfits, namely, Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad. These two organizations are known to derive their support and patronage from Pak ISI. The investigation so far carried out by the police shows that all the five terrorists who formed the suicide squad were Pakistani nationals. All of them were killed on the spot and their Indian associates have since been nabbed and arrested.”

The Bharatiya Janata Party would like to place on record its deep appreciation and gratitude towards the brave security personnel and sends its sincere condolences to the families of the martyrs who laid down their lives in the service of the nation.

The terrorist attack on Parliament has naturally resulted in a nationwide demand for an effective response. While some people have called for retaliatory attacks on the training camps in PoK, others have spoken of the need for an all out war against Pakistan. The Government of India has shown immense restraint in the face of grave provocation. However, as Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee said in his speech in Parliament, our restraint must not be taken as a sign of weakness. Our fight is not against the people of Pakistan but against the phenomenon of terrorism and against those

who support and encourage terrorism as a matter of state policy born out of hatred for India. We call upon the Government of Pakistan to take immediate and strict action against all the terrorists who have launched a campaign of terror and destruction across the borders of Pakistan. The people of India wish to live in peace and harmony with all their neighbours, but if Pakistan seeks the path of confrontation, the consequences will be disastrous for it.

The BJP welcomes the steps taken by the Government of India to put Pakistan on notice. The recall of the High Commissioner of India from Islamabad, a drastic reduction in the size of Pakistan's mission in New Delhi, confining of the Pak mission personnel within the limits of Delhi municipal area, banning over-flight facilities to Pakistan and the suspension of the operations of the Samjhauta Express and the Delhi-Lahore bus service, are some of the initial measures to warn Pakistan that the people of India are reaching the end of their tether and stronger action could follow if the course of terrorist activities is not reversed.

The Party commends the well-conceived and concerted diplomatic offensive launched by the Government to impress upon the international community about Pakistan's culpability in the terrorist attack on our Parliament. The Prime Minister has forcefully emphasized that there cannot be double standards in judging acts of terrorism. The Party notes that support for India among the governments and peoples in the West and elsewhere has been growing. At the same time, we believe that the United States and other western nations can, and must, do much more to put effective pressure on Pakistan to stop its sponsorship of terrorism against India.

The Party would like to urge the Government to do everything necessary to root out ISI units operating within our country. If it becomes essential to do so and if the Government of Pakistan does not put an end to acts of terrorism by terrorists and their groups from the soil of Pakistan, the Government of India should take all such steps as are necessary. It is believed that there are tens of thousands of Pakistanis staying on in India after the expiry of their visas and many of them are operating as ISI agents. These overstaying Pakistanis should be asked to leave the country forthwith and appropriate steps should be taken in this regard. We believe that these drastic measures are essential to root out cross-border terrorism.

Pakistan has carried on a clandestine war against India for many years. The front organisations engaged in this proxy war have enrolled religious fanatics in what is described as Jihad against India. We have made repeated efforts to resolve all our problems with Pakistan peacefully. Bus journey to Lahore and the invitation to Musharraf for the Agra Summit despite Kargil are an evidence of this desire. In response, we have received nothing but hostility and terrorist attacks. As the Prime Minister said on 25 December, "We do not want a war but war is being thrust upon us."

The Bharatiya Janata Party does not want a war with Pakistan. And if Pakistan chooses to impose a war on us, we should also be prepared to give them a befitting reply. As Shri LK Advani said on 25 December, "Neither the Government nor the people want a war... but we definitely want to put an end to Pak-sponsored terrorism in our country."

The people of this country have always risen as one man to defend the country whenever a serious challenge is posed to it. The nation's mood today is one of unity and determination. Once again, a very serious challenge has been thrown at us by terrorists and terrorist groups operating from Pakistan, aided and abetted by Pakistan's ISI. People have spontaneously rallied around the Government's firm resolve and determined action to eliminate terrorism. The nation cannot afford to forget that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

The new situation has practically made the nation's agenda a one point agenda. The country has now but one aim, i.e., to defeat and root out terrorism from our soil. And let us firmly resolve to achieve this.

The BJP appeals to one and all to solidly unite behind the efforts of the Government in our fight against terrorism and not to rest till the country gets rid of the last terrorist.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

15-17 April, 2000

Twenty Years of BJP

The Bharatiya Janata Party has completed twenty years of its existence. This is an important milestone in the Party's confident march towards becoming India's natural party of governance. The BJP has inherited the ideological heritage of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh. It is a legacy, which, though half a century old, is yet as relevant as ever in the changing socio-political situation of the first years of the new century.

The Party's journey has been arduous but rewarding, where reward has always meant the opportunity to serve the Motherland more effectively. Our growth graph has seen many downs, but many more ups. Every hardship that we have faced along the way has fortified our resolve and our dedication to the ideals that necessitated the birth of our Party. Every success has strengthened our faith in ourselves and has encouraged us to set even bolder goals and targets.

From an all-time low of only two seats in the Lok Sabha in 1984, we have been not only the largest single party in the Lok Sabha in three successive parliamentary elections, but are also the leader of the ruling coalition for the second time in a row. Every attempt by our adversaries to put us down has only resulted in the BJP growing from strength to strength. Those who sought to isolate us in Indian politics have themselves been isolated. The BJP, on the other hand, has broken the shackles of isolation to win new allies representing practically every region of the country, and every section of our diverse society. The National Democratic Alliance today represents the unity and diversity of India, both politically and socially. The NDA is a proud landmark in the unstoppable evolution of the BJP.

This growth of the BJP has been made possible by the visionary leadership of Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Shri Lal Krishna Advani. Under their guidance, tens of thousands of our Party's activists have been working with exemplary zeal and dedication, earning goodwill and support for the Party in an ever growing measure. On the occasion of its completing the twentieth anniversary, the National Executive of the BJP pledges to march

ahead on our chosen path with even greater devotion to our founding ideals.

In the everchanging arena of politics, where principles and morals are easily sacrificed at the altar of short-term and partisan gains, what has constituted the mainstay of our journey in the past two decades is our commitment to ideals, idealism, and ideology. We must never forget that it is only with this commitment that we can continue to both consolidate our gains and further expand our support base in the future.

Political opportunism as opposed to principle based politics is never a road to success. The present plight of the Congress Party, our main adversary, is a case in point. The Congress is in the wilderness today because it became completely rudderless and directionless after throwing its own principles and heritage to the winds. It is caught in a cruel trap. It thinks that there is no survival for it without succumbing to the cares of a dynasty; but the more the dynasty draws the Congress into its own fiefdom, the faster becomes the party's erosion. We are proud that our leadership has all along worked with a high degree of team spirit, discipline, collective responsibility, and internal democracy. The contrast today between the Congress and the BJP is the starkest in the quality of leadership.

In the past two decades, the Communists, who are our main ideological adversaries, have become increasingly irrelevant. In contrast, our ideological appeal is fast spreading among all sections of our society, including those who were earlier mesmerized by the Communist ideology. Their growing marginalization has made the Communists give up all the other planks in their programme and adopt the singlepoint agenda of anti-BJPism. Indeed, blind anti-BJPism has become the common slogan of survival for both the Congress and the Communists. Both have also seriously compromised their political and ethical base by becoming the torch-

bearers of two of India's most tainted politicians—Jayalalitha and Laloo Prasad Yadav. The two have conspired in many ways on many occasions in the past against the BJP. Although, we have foiled every such conspiracy so far, the National Executive notes that our party should not underrate their capacity to hatch new plots.

In the elections to four State Assemblies, the BJP has improved its strength. We improved our strength by many folds in Orissa. We have made significant inroads into the Manipur Assembly. However, in Haryana Assembly, our strength has gone down from 11 to 6. The BJP in Bihar Assembly has improved its strength from 41 to 67. Despite this improvement, the result in Bihar has not satisfied us. The lack of proper coordination amongst the NDA partners has resulted in frittering away the political advantage that we had in Bihar. Let the Bihar experience remind us of the cardinal importance of a harmonious relationship between the NDA partners. The Party is happy that it has made major gains in the local body elections in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh.

Our Republic completed fifty proud years on 26 January this year. The BJP joins all the democracy loving forces in the country in rejoicing in the achievements of our parliamentary democratic system. In accordance with the common manifesto of the NDA, the Government has set up a Constitutional Review Commission to comprehensively study the Constitution in the light of the experiences of the past five decades.

The BJP is confident that the outcome of the review will further strengthen democratic institutions within the framework of the Indian Constitution. We feel that parliamentary democracy, federal structure, fundamental rights, and judicial independence—which, among others, constitute the basic structure of India's Constitution—have served the nation well.

Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee explained the purpose of setting up the review panel persuasively in his speech in the Central Hall of Parliament on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Republic Day. "We should never forget that there is one great test for a constitution, for any system of governance. It must deliver and it must be durable. But even in the mightiest fort, one has to repair the parapet from time to time, one has to clean the moat and check the banisters. The same is true about our Constitution. Five decades after the adoption of the Constitution, the need for stability,

both at the Centre and in the states, has been felt acutely. The people are impatient for faster socio-economic development. The country is also faced with a pressing challenge to quickly remove regional and social imbalances by reorienting the development process to benefit the poorest and the weakest. That is the purpose for which a commission to review the Constitution is proposed to be set up. The basic structure and the core ideals of our Constitution, however, will remain inviolate.”

The BJP, however, notes with deep dismay and concern the vicious and motivated campaign launched against the Constitutional Review Commission by the Congress and some other opposition parties. We have no doubt that the democratic people of India will see through the game of the Congress Party for what it is. Its ‘Save the Constitution’ campaign seems to be, actually, a ‘Save Sonia’ campaign. The National Executive urges every member of the party to exert himself fully to foil this campaign of lies especially the canard that our Government’s decision to set up the review panel is an insult to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. In this effort, the fact-sheet – Constitutional Study and Review: Let Facts Speak for Themselves – which was released by the Party on Ambedkar Jayanti, is a useful guide. In our effort to educate the people on this matter, we should especially highlight how the Congress sought to throttle democracy during the Emergency, whose twenty-fifth anniversary the nation will be observing in June this year.

The BJP appeals to the opposition parties to realize that India is not prepared to accept political negativism. There is a large space in a democracy for the opposition to criticize the Government. But for a strong and developed India, let there be a space for the politics of consensus.

The BJP notes with a sense of satisfaction that in a period of six months, the NDA Government has put the country on a path of stability, progress, and development. The era of instability is over. Having faced three general elections in forty months, the country is today assured of a stable Government for the next five years. The Government has therefore embarked upon bold initiatives to put the economy on the fast track. The challenge for development requires tough measures. The BJP expresses its determination to create an environment in the country for development and growth as the agenda for this decade. The Government has set upon a path

of making India riot-free, tension-free and corruption-free. The whole nation knows of our achievement in significantly reducing the communal and caste tensions during the past two years.

The BJP dedicates itself to cleansing the public life in India. We are proud of our achievements in this direction. The BJP's national leaders have been role models in personal ethics. Even their critics have to concede this. Our leaders in the Government have presented a Government which is scam-free. However, there is an erosion of popular confidence in the quality of politics. There is a need to take adequate steps to cleanse public life in India. The proposed Central Vigilance Commission Bill, the Lokpal Bill and the Electoral Reforms Bill are a step in the right direction. It is time for the Indian society to seriously consider reforms in the electoral system where the role of money and muscle power could be eliminated.

The Bharatiya Janata Party is conscious of the serious threats to India's internal and external security. The evil designs of our neighbour are now noticed and recognized by almost the entire world. Encouragement to cross-border terrorism, and repeated attempts at violating the Line of Control have totally isolated Pakistan in the global community. Pakistan, a country unable to grapple with its own internal problems of development and governance, has continued with its futile but dangerous anti-India policy. It is a country that has proclaimed jihad as an aspect of its international policy. The Party compliments the Government for having taken resolute steps to make India safer and secure – among other things – by its successful conduct of diplomacy at various international fora. The Party compliments our Armed Forces for the gallant role they have played in guarding the nation's security.

Pakistan was told clearly that a dialogue between the two nations was difficult till such time Pakistan created a climate for such a dialogue. The international isolation of Pakistan has now led to the Foreign Ministers of NAM to recommend the exclusion of military dictatorships from its membership. This is a historic success of our foreign policy.

Pakistan's attempts to internationalize Kashmir have failed. What has been internationalized is Pakistan's character as a state sponsor of terrorism. This was most recently evidenced during the recent visit of the US President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to the Indian sub-continent. The visit has ushered in a new era of Indo-US relations

based on mutual understanding and cooperation. This is a major triumph for India's foreign policy, because, for the first time after Independence, the US has begun to recognise and respect India's true potential.

As the nation marches forward, the BJP expresses its determination to usher in an era of prosperity, growth, social justice and security. We are confident that we will discharge the popular faith reposed in us in this regard.

□

National Council

Nagpur

27-28 August, 2000

NDA Government

The National Council notes with a sense of satisfaction and pride that the NDA Government for the past two and a half years presents a successful example of running a coalition Government. The leadership and direction provided by the Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee to the nation is leading India towards becoming an important world power.

The National Council is meeting at a crucial time. Terrorist and disruptive activities of the last few months, highlighted by the brutal massacre of Amarnath pilgrims and scores of innocent people in Jammu & Kashmir, the series of blasts at places of worship and the seizure of large quantities of explosives and small arms bring out the gravity of the challenge posed to India's security by forces openly hostile to our national unity and integrity.

Although it suffered a crushing military and humiliating diplomatic defeat in Kargil last year, Pakistan, under the present military regime, continues to promote cross-border terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir and other parts of India. Indeed, the military regime in Islamabad has displayed increasing belligerence and made no effort to hide the fact that Pakistan has adopted cross-border terrorism as an instrument of state policy. On several occasions in recent times, the military regime in Islamabad has declared support for the terrorists (jihadis) trained, armed and funded by Pakistan, and sought to justify their murderous crimes in India.

There has been increasing international condemnation of Pakistan-sponsored cross-border terrorism, fuelled by mounting religious extremism in that country. This cross-border terrorism threatens peace and stability in the region and beyond and, therefore, calls for concerted international action also. In this context, we urge the early adoption of the Comprehensive Convention Against Terrorism and call upon the Government to pursue it vigorously at the coming UN General Assembly session.

The BJP supports the Government on its unequivocal stand and

continuing battle against terrorism. We call upon the people to close ranks and back the Government's initiatives on this front.

In this regard, we urge all political parties to take a balanced and considered view of the proposed anti-terrorism law, rather than reject it on the basis of unfounded apprehensions and partisan politics. India is the only country in the world that is plagued by terrorism but lacks the legal wherewithal to fight this crime against humanity. Ironically, even Pakistan, the progenitor of cross-border terrorism, has an anti-terrorism law. The USA and the UK have anti-terrorism laws much stiffer than the one proposed by the NDA Government.

We urge the people to realise that what is at stake is the fundamental requirement for economic development and social progress, India's national security. We are confident of the Government, under the able leadership of Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, overcoming this challenge. None should doubt the resolve of either the National Democratic Alliance Government or the people of India to defeat forces inimical to our unity and integrity.

The National Council calls upon the Government to take all possible steps to ensure the security of life and property of every citizen of India, especially who have been braving terrorism in Jammu & Kashmir and some other states. A clear message needs to be sent to terrorists and their masters across the border that every Indian's life is precious and will be defended and that indulging in cross-border terrorism cannot continue to remain a cost-free option. The rejection of the Autonomy Resolution by the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly is a step in the right direction.

At the same time, the Government should not hesitate to talk to those Indians who are willing to give up violence and sit across the table. This is no doubt an uphill task, given the fact that Pakistan will spare no effort to undermine all peace efforts. This was evident in the manner the nascent

talks with Hizbul Mujahideen were torpedoed. We resolve to strengthen the Government's hands in both its campaign against terrorism, and in its peace initiatives. The international isolation of Pakistan and the alienation of the militants from the Kashmiri people are already two positive signals in the direction. The BJP is fully committed to Jammu and Kashmir being an integral part of India and to the defence of national sovereignty.

To check the problem of infiltration and illegal immigration, the Government must seriously pursue several options. The Passport Act is being amended. This is a step in the right direction. We urge the Government to take up a time-bound programme of issuing multipurpose photo identity cards to all citizens and create a centralised database that can ultimately serve as a National Register of Citizens.

Despite a concerted effort by Pakistan's ISI working through anti-national agencies like Deendar Anjuman that masterminded the series of blasts at churches in southern states, communal peace has remained largely undisturbed. Indeed, with the Deendar Anjuman being exposed for what it is, the pseudo-secularists, who have been conducting a campaign of calumny about 'Christians being under attack from Hindu fundamentalists' also stand exposed. While committed to the protection of all sections of the people, the National Council urges the people to beware of divisive forces that are trying to disrupt communal harmony to malign the BJP and the NDA Government.

The Congress continues to play a negative role, both inside and outside Parliament. As the party continues to flounder like a rudderless boat, its leadership continues to take refuge behind non-issues or by raising issues that can only harm the national interest.

We deplore the Congress' demand for a judicial inquiry into the massacre by terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir. By raising a question over the identity of the killers, an identity of which the whole world is aware, the Congress has strengthened the hands of those behind the killings even while demoralising India's security forces. This demand of the Congress is a piece of its highly deplorable utterances during the Kargil conflict

when Congress leaders were busy rubbishing India's gains even while our soldiers were winning back peak after peak.

No less deplorable is the Congress turnaround on economic issues. After pursuing economic reforms and market economics while in power, the Congress now wants India to go back in time to the days of Licence-Permit-Quota Raj. After following a policy of disinvestment in public sector units and supporting the UF Government on this issue, the party now wants to reverse the reform process. The BJP is fully committed to unshackling the energies of the Indian people and utilising their potential for the utmost advantage of India.

In this dubious enterprise, the Left parties that continue to remain unmindful of their increasing irrelevance and marginalisation, doggedly back the Congress. The National Council draws the people's attention to Congress continuing to remain a partner of the RJD in Bihar even while the Laloo-Rabri duo continue with their total misrule and misappropriation of public monies. The blood of Bihar is as much on the hands of the Congress as on those of the RJD.

We laud the Government's various initiatives to hasten social development as well as ensure political stability. The adoption of National Population Policy, 2000 and the setting of the National Commission on Population as well as a National Population Stabilisation Fund are steps in the right direction to tackle the problem of the runaway population growth. We call upon all sections of society and all political parties to join this national effort so that social development goals can be achieved in a more equitable manner.

We also congratulate the Government on keeping its promise of creating three new states - Jharkhand, Uttaranchal and Chhattisgarh. We thank all political parties for their support in ensuring the smooth passage of the Statehood Bills in this regard. We call upon the Government to expedite the follow-up action so that the popular expectations of the people of these three regions can be met and their rapid socio-economic development ensured.

In the past, several political parties had raised the issue of social justice. But, for them it was nothing more than sloganeering. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

never got the full benefit of reservation in jobs because no clearance of backlog could be done beyond the 50 per cent ceiling imposed by the Supreme Court. The benefits of reservation were also denied because of certain stiff eligibility conditions. The Constitution has now been amended to provide for waiving of these restrictions and for reservations in promotions.

Many political parties had promised to eliminate these obstacles. But it is the NDA Government that has kept its promise by introducing relevant constitutional amendments. The National Council calls upon the Union and state Governments to take time-bound steps to clear the backlog to fulfil the objectives of the constitutional amendments.

The Government has taken a bold decision to introduce necessary legislation to fulfil the people's right to information. This reflects the NDA's commitment to ensuring transparency in the functioning of the Government and taking the people into confidence.

We express deep concern over the increasing political violence in Bihar, Kerala and West Bengal and naxalite menace in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh etc. The manner in which the Left Front Governments of West Bengal and Kerala have been misusing the states' administrative machinery and the muscle-power of its hoodlum brigade to suppress legitimate Opposition activities and influence electoral results, shows their desperation as well as disregard for democratic norms. The attacks by the Left parties and their state machinery are no longer confined to the Trinamool Congress and BJP workers, and are now extended to the media.

We demand that necessary steps be taken to ensure that democracy prevails in West Bengal. We call upon all party workers in that state to resolutely stand firm in the face of the Left's assault and work towards the victory of the BJP-Trinamool Congress alliance in the coming State Assembly elections.

The National Council congratulates the Government on its continuing efforts to improve Centre-State relations and pursuing policies that are aimed at devolution of greater fiscal and administrative powers to state governments. The

key to strengthening the Union of India lies in making the states stronger without weakening the Centre.

Two important legislations that have been pending for some time do not merit further delay. We urge the Government to expedite the Lokpal Bill and call upon all political parties to arrive at a consensus on the Women's Reservation Bill. Both are crucial to shaping India's polity and society in the coming decades. Simultaneously, comprehensive electoral reforms and constituency delimitation, without affecting the number of constituencies, need to be expedited.

We call upon the Government to explore, with the cooperation of state Governments, the possibility of setting up Backward Areas Commission in each state to identify the least developed areas and recommend comprehensive measures for their development. The reconstitution and expansion of the North-East Development Council has been pending for some time. The Council is crucial for the wholesome socio-economic development of the North-Eastern states. The restoration of normalcy in Mizoram and the willingness of Bodo militants to hold talks with Govt. is encouraging. The large scale surrender of ULFA activists in Assam is positive. This direction is relevant for some of the other North-East states also. There is an urgent need to repeal IMDT Act in Assam. But notwithstanding these developments, there should be absolutely no lowering of guard in respect of militancy.

We also urge the Government to consider a time-bound programme to link Ganga and Cauvery rivers. The Sethu Samudram canal project also needs to be considered for early action. The BJP has been championing these projects and we owe it to the people to fulfil our commitments to them.

The National Executive and the National Council recall in his birth centenary year the leadership and sacrifice of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee. We resolve to be guided by his vision and values. The BJP shall celebrate this year as the birth centenary year of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and hold several programmes.

Next year, many states will be going to the polls to elect new Assemblies. The National Council calls upon party workers, supporters and sympathisers to begin preparations

for these polls in right earnest. Let us resolve to ensure that the BJP continues to remain the leading Party.

On the occasion of this National Council meeting, which is yet another milestone in our Party's history, we resolve to strengthen our organization, reach out to all sections of society, enlarge our electoral base, strengthen the National Democratic Alliance, and, rededicate our Party and our services to the people of India.

□

National Executive

Bangalore

2-3 January, 1999

Political Situation and The Tasks Ahead

Eventful Year for BJP

Nineteen Ninety-Eight was an eventful year for the Bharatiya Janata Party. The year commenced with the BJP, as an Opposition party, launching its election campaign with the twin slogan of 'Stable Government, Able Leadership' and succeeding in forming a Government at the Centre along with its allies. Ten months in power, the BJP-led Government has undertaken several steps, both legislative and executive.

Government's Commendable Performance

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive congratulates the BJP-led Government on conducting the May 1998 nuclear tests, resolving the Cauvery dispute, standing up to sanctions, allocating 60% funds to the farm sector and restoring peace in Jammu and Kashmir.

We applaud the BJP-led Government for providing a riot-free and corruption-free administration.

We also applaud the recent tabling of Bills to create separate States of Uttaranchal, Vananchal and Chhattisgarh. The Government has kept its commitment to the people of these three regions. We urge that the modalities for granting statehood to Delhi be worked out in right earnest.

Threats to Security

The National Executive, while welcoming the Government's initiatives on the external and internal security front, takes note of the continuing anti-India activities of Pakistan's ISI and some insurgent groups backed by hostile interests. Insurgency in Assam has begun to take a terrible toll of human lives and property. The problem of illegal immigration, recently highlighted by the Governor of Assam in his report to the President of India, needs to be tackled with greater urgency. The IMDT Act must be scrapped and an effective

mechanism put in place to detect and deport illegal immigrants without further delay.

Consolidation of Gains in Jammu & Kashmir

The tenuous peace that has been established in Jammu and Kashmir by the BJP-led Government has to be converted into lasting peace and prosperity for the people of this beleaguered state. We express full confidence in this Government's ability to achieve this difficult objective and succeed where both Congress and others have so singularly failed. The National Executive calls upon the Government to ensure the return of the displaced Pandits to their ancestral homes with full dignity and security.

Guilty in Corruption Cases to Be Punished

The BJP-led Government has set new standards in probity and introduced the much-awaited Lokpal Bill that covers the Prime Minister's office. After long decades, India has a corruption-free Government. The National Executive urges the Government to pursue pending cases of corruption, like the Bofors bribery case, energetically and punish the guilty. We urge the Government to seek an early transfer of Swiss documents relating to the sixth account in which the Bofors bribe money was deposited.

Crimes Against Women – A Grave Concern of BJP

The increasing incidence of crimes against women is a matter of grave concern. Crimes against women, we believe, should not be politicised. We fully endorse the Home Minister's suggestion of amending the existing law to provide for capital punishment to rapists and call upon the Government to act in this regard. The National Executive welcomes the tabling of the Women's Bill. While the previous regimes failed to summon the political courage to

introduce this Bill, our Government has shown that it is not lacking in political conviction.

Results of Assembly Elections – No Reflection on Central Government

The National Executive takes note of the results of the recent Assembly elections in Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Mizoram. We are of the view that the Congress gain was on account of a negative vote, spurt in prices of some essential commodities and vegetables, especially onions, inadequate communication of our Governments' achievements and certain organisational deficiencies. The outcome of the elections is not a reflection on the performance of the BJP-led Government.

False Propaganda by Congress

We charge the Congress with conducting a negative campaign of falsehoods and half-truths on the issue of price rise. The spurt in prices was caused partly by shortfall in production due to adverse weather conditions. Also, there was a shortfall in oilseeds production on account of the policies of previous regimes. There is reason to believe that our opponents had a hand in encouraging the scare-mongering and profiteering that fuelled the crisis. This became evident with the busting of the so-called 'salt crisis'.

Need for the Misinformation Campaign to be Countered

The National Executive calls upon party workers to draw lessons from the recent electoral defeat and expresses its determination to strengthen the party. We urge the Government to take adequate steps to inform the people of its achievements that far outweigh those of any other Government in less than a year of assuming office. The party could not entirely succeed in creating the correct perception about the Government's performance on account of its being bogged down by initial hiccups of coalition politics. We resolve to actively educate the masses of the Government's actions and initiatives by highlighting its positive achievements and vigorously counter the misinformation campaign of our opponents who have been trying to paint a distorted perception of our Government's

performance.

Designs to Destabilise the Government

With the re-emergence of the Congress, the threat of dynasty-over-democracy has once again surfaced. The Left is waiting in the wings to join hands with the Congress to destabilise the Union Government at the first opportunity. The two have so far failed in their efforts, but can be expected to persist with their opportunistic search for an 'alternative' Government at the Centre.

Vande Mataram

The *fatwa* issued by the Muslim Personal Law Board against the singing of *Vande Mataram* and the silence of pseudo-secular parties on this issue is in keeping with the practice of denigrating sacred symbols of national unity by the practitioners of vote-bank politics. The issue is not one of compulsion, but dedication to the motherland.

Negligible Communal Violence during Past Year

The BJP and its Governments at the Centre and in the states are committed to social harmony and security for all sections of society. The very fact that the incidence of communal violence this year is negligible as compared to that of the last 10 years is a tribute to our commitment. Those who encourage the mindset of insecurity among minority communities under the garb of being their well-wishers and in the guise of "secularism", cause them the most damage and harm the national interest.

All Citizens to Receive Equal Protection

We deplore our opponents' attempt to indulge in communal politics to consolidate their 'vote-banks'. The National Executive assures everybody, especially the minority communities, that their rights as fellow citizens shall be protected by our Governments. We are committed to our principle of 'Justice for All, Appeasement of None'.

Conspiracy to Malign Gujarat Government

The BJP regards the recent happenings in the tribal regions of south Gujarat as extremely unfortunate. Any attack on a place of

worship, whether a church or a temple, is deplorable and cannot be condoned. We compliment the State Government on taking prompt action against the wrong-doers. We would, however, like to caution the people to beware of certain interests that have been systematically trying to blow stray incidents out of all proportion. The manner in which a sustained campaign has been launched to project these incidents as a plot against minorities itself smacks of a conspiracy.

People's Expectations to be Fulfilled

We call upon the Government to urgently take up the burning issues of population control, legal reforms, judicial reforms and wide-ranging changes in electoral laws. The people's expectations from this Government are awesome and, as we have promised in the NAG, we are committed to bridge the gap between the people's expectations and our Government's performance. This tryst with the masses is our sacred task. The Government must be seen to be actively promoting a pro-people, pro-poor agenda. The immediate needs of the people and their pressing problems must find top priority in all that this Government does.

Defeat of the Forces of Political Opportunism a Must

The National Executive calls upon the people to strengthen the hands of the BJP-led Government so that our national problems can be tackled without any obstacles or hindrance and our nation's security interests taken care of. India needs a stable Centre, and to ensure this, we call upon the people to defeat the forces of political opportunism who want power at any cost. We call upon all party workers to actively counter the negative campaign of our opponents. The party and all its workers must now take upon themselves the challenge of projecting the positive achievements of the Government.

□

National Executive

Panaji

02-04 April, 1999

Political Situation and The Tasks Ahead

Commendable Performance of the Vajpayee Government

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive congratulates Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and the Government he heads on the completion of the first year of what can truly be described as a Government with a difference. Despite an obstructionist and disruptionist Opposition bent upon preventing it from functioning, even at the cost of causing grievous damage to democratic institutions like Parliament, the BJP-led Government has scored notable all-round successes in its first year in office. We thank our allies for the successful first year in office.

The BJP-led Government had promised a strong and prosperous India. By conducting the May 1998 nuclear tests, it has established India's parity with the till now exclusive club of nuclear powers known as P-5. India's security concerns, both external and internal, neglected for decades, have been conclusively addressed by this Government. The Government has not only protected the national economy from the deadly Asian flu that saw the collapse of once-powerful economies, but has also ensured a healthy economic growth compared to the stagnation of previous years, thus disproving critics at home and abroad. The priority given to the rural sector and the social sector, along with the stabilisation of the national currency, are some of the fine achievements of this Government.

Foreign Policy Initiatives

Indeed, it is India's re-emergence as a strong nation that has facilitated major, path-breaking foreign policy initiatives. Governments across the world have hailed Shri Vajpayee's successful visit to Lahore as a unique gesture of friendship as well as for its substantive contribution to regional peace. Indeed, Shri Vajpayee's visit to Lahore is the logical conclusion of the journey that began with Pokharan-II.

The National Executive welcomes the historic Lahore Declaration and the confidence-building measures adopted during

Shri Vajpayee's visit to Pakistan. Following the visit, several steps have been taken, like the release of prisoners and easing of visa restrictions, which have been welcomed by the people of both the countries.

We earnestly hope that Pakistan will respond in equal measure to India's gesture of goodwill and demonstrate its intentions through positive steps, including cessation of all activities, such as ISI-sponsored acts of terrorism, inimical to India's unity and integrity. We also welcome the Prime Minister's visit to Trinidad and Tobago which has a large community of people of Indian origin. The visit has re-established cultural and social links between the people of that country and India. The introduction of the PIO card will help bring persons of Indian origin settled abroad closer to Mother India.

Resolution of Domestic Issues

The Government has also taken several initiatives on the domestic front. Starting with the resolution of the Cauvery dispute, the BJP-led Government has sought to pursue its declared policy of good governance through consensus. The Union Government has been able to curb terrorism to a large extent in Jammu & Kashmir with the cooperation of the people and the Government of that state. A lot more, however, remains to be done, especially in regard to the displaced Hindus and others who have been forced to flee their homes after massacres.

Dubious Role of the Opposition

Unfortunately, the Opposition parties, specially the Congress, have chosen to raise obstacles rather than cooperate with the BJP-led Government, thus holding to ransom issues of national importance. The Congress and the Left parties have played a dubious and duplicitous role, both inside and

outside Parliament, displaying nothing but contempt for good governance.

Women's Reservation Bill

The Congress and the Left had both promised in their election manifestoes to reserve 33 per cent seats for women in all elected bodies. But, when the BJP-led Government introduced the relevant Bill for this purpose, they backed out. Since then, the Congress and the Left have shamelessly connived to stall almost every legislation, including the crucial Bill to give statutory status to the Central Vigilance Commission and the Lokpal Bill, introduced by the Government.

Statutory Status for CVC

The suggestion to give statutory status to the CVC emanated from the Supreme Court to ensure the autonomy and independence of investigating agencies. The BJP-led Government wants to ensure probity in public life. Hence it introduced the Bill. On the other hand, the Congress, which is tainted by its history of scams and scandals, is naturally uncomfortable with the move. This explains why it has stalled the Bill.

Holding Parliament to Ransom

In fact, alarmed by the mounting popularity of the Prime Minister and the Government because of the four 'B's - Bomb, Bus, Budget and Bihar - they have reacted by holding Parliament to ransom, refusing to let it function, as was witnessed during the first half of the Budget session. The behaviour of the Congress, the Left, the Samajwadi Party and the RJD inside Parliament has violated both the letter and spirit of the all-party resolution adopted during the Golden Jubilee Parliamentary Session. The resolution lays down that nobody shall enter the well of the House or disrupt Question Hour.

Opposition Parties Required to Maintain Decorum

The National Executive reaffirms the BJP's commitment to adhering by the code of conduct for smooth functioning of

Parliament that forms a part of the resolution. To promote and preserve parliamentary democracy, we call upon Opposition parties to maintain decorum in the House in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Golden Jubilee resolution.

We charge the Congress and the Left parties with disrupting governance and destroying the foundations of parliamentary democracy. Through this dual approach, they want to somehow or the other destabilise the BJP-led Government.

Propaganda of Lies and Untruths

The frivolous grounds on which parliamentary proceedings have been disrupted deserve to be condemned. Wild allegations levelled against us have been demolished with facts and figures. But unable to stomach the truth, the Congress and others continue with their propaganda of lies and untruths, exposing their true colours.

But their efforts, in the end, will turn out to be futile as the BJP-led alliance stands firm as a rock. More importantly, unlike previous non-Congress Governments, this Government's survival is not dependent on Congress support. During the vote in the Lok Sabha on the Presidential proclamation on Bihar, we have demonstrated that we have more support today than we had during the confidence vote a year ago.

Attempts to Derail Parliamentary Proceedings

Yet, the Congress is not reconciled to staying out of power. Having been conclusively rejected in the 1998 general election, the Congress, with a mere 140-odd seats in the Lok Sabha, continues with its destabilisation game. Let the Congress and its destabilisation managers realise that incoherent numbers never add up to a mandate.

The Congress' attempt to derail parliamentary proceedings by politicising the sacking of the naval chief displays utter political irresponsibility. In a democracy, the primacy of the civilian authority is undisputed. No nation can tolerate indiscipline from any officer of the defence forces. To maintain discipline and dignity of the armed forces, giving a political dimension to issues related to defence personnel ought to be avoided. The allegations made by the Bofors-tainted Congress and others cannot be made to stick on the BJP-led Government

simply because this has been the cleanest Government India has had in decades.

Congress Party's Flip-flop on Bihar

The Congress' flip-flop on Bihar defies both political ethics and logic. Bihar today is a picture of anarchy, loot and atrocities on Dalits. The Congress pays lip-service to the plight of the victims of this anarchy but when it comes to action, it ensures the survival of the casteist, criminal and corrupt Laloo-Rabri regime that presides over the jungle raj in Bihar. Within a month of sacking her party's Chief Minister in Orissa for the unfortunate killing of a Christian missionary and his two sons, the Congress president ensured the restoration of a regime responsible for the massacre of, and unspeakable atrocities against, Dalits in Bihar.

Congress Exposed on the Use of Article 356

In the past, Article 356 has been misused by the Congress 97 times to impose President's rule in states ruled by non-Congress parties. On each of these occasions, the Congress was propelled by partisan interests, not the interest of the people. During the two years of non-governance under United Front regimes, the Congress backed the imposition of President's rule in Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat on the most frivolous and untenable grounds.

Today, the same Congress, pretending righteous indignation, has opposed the imposition of President's rule in Bihar, although in sharp contrast to previous use of Article 356, the BJP-led Government had taken recourse to it in the interest of the people, especially the Dalits. Through its action, the Congress has shown that its leadership is unmindful of the fact that allowing the Laloo-Rabri Government to remain in power is as good as throwing the people of Bihar to the wolves. As a result, the Congress stands exposed as an anti-people, anti-Dalit party.

Political Somersaults of the Left

Equally exposed are the so-called 'friends of the poor', the Leftists. The Left parties are known for their political somersaults since the days of the Quit India Movement in 1942. They have constantly acted against the interests of the people of India, be it

during the Chinese aggression of 1962 or the Emergency that was imposed in 1975. The Left has now started finding virtues in the Bofors-tainted, dynasty-determined leadership of the Congress.

Therefore, it is not surprising that instead of standing by the hapless people of Bihar, the Left parties have chosen to stand by the discredited anti-people, anti-democratic Laloo-Rabri regime. The National Executive calls upon the people to rise to the occasion and join our struggle against the Laloo-Rabri regime so that the rule of law can replace the Congress and Left-backed jungle raj in Bihar.

Communal Politics

We also call upon the people to guard against attempts by the Congress and its Marxist friends to indulge in communal politics with an eye on minority vote banks. The manner in which the Congress and its friends have tried to make political capital out of what has turned out to be an externally-aided orchestrated campaign to falsely portray that Christians are under attack shows that they are trying to exploit communal sentiments for electoral gains. Those who are falsely claiming that Christians are under attack are doing so being fully aware of the fact that they are tarnishing India's image and prestige abroad.

BJP's Commitment for True Secularism

The National Executive condemns the killing of a missionary and his two sons in Orissa and welcomes the setting up of a judicial commission of inquiry to get to the bottom of the crime. We wish to reiterate that preachers of all religions have the right to propagate their faith. However, the Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court has clearly laid down that conversions cannot be treated as a fundamental right. We welcome the Prime Minister's call for a dialogue on conversions. That is the best way to sort out contentious issues in a democratic society.

India is a secular nation where the state guarantees equal protection to followers of all faiths and religions. We stand by the concept of true secularism - *sarva pantha samabhav*. It is because of our Government's commitment to true secularism that 1998 was a riot-free year with the least number of communal incidents in the past decade. We had promised a riot-free society and we are proud

to have kept our promise.

Goal of Samajik Samarasata

After decades of social turmoil, the nation needs the healing touch of *samajik samarasata* (social harmony). The nation's social fabric has been brutalised by the opportunistic, casteist and communal politics of the Congress, the Left and others. The BJP dedicates this year to *samajik samarasata*. Starting 14 April, Ambedkar Jayanti, the Party will mobilise its workers and well-wishers to participate in programmes for achieving social harmony and empowering the weakest sections of society.

National Agenda to be Implemented

The National Executive resolves to rebuff the challenges posed by the BJP's opponents and convert them into opportunities. We resolve to ensure that the BJP-led Government, undeterred by the obstructionist and destructive politics of the Congress, the Left and casteist parties, is able to continue with its task of implementing the National Agenda for Governance.

We are confident of fulfilling this task with the help of our allies. All of us in Government must follow the tenets of the *dharma* of coalition politics, as that alone will provide us with strength and sustain us in our noble endeavour. This Government is vested with the trust and mandate of the people. None of us in the alliance should do anything that would betray either the trust or the mandate, or provide a handle to our opponents.

Let us resolve to ensure that the BJP and the BJP-led Government will continue to reflect the will of the people and continue to serve the people.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

01-02 May, 1999

Political Situation and The Tasks Ahead

India's Emergence as a Stronger Nation During Vajpayee Regime

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive warmly congratulates the Government headed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee on its pathbreaking, exemplary performance in the past 14 months. The BJP-led Government has provided India with a riot-free year, scam-free governance and terrorism-free border states. It has made our country secure. It has brought our people together. It has taken major steps to equip our country to face the future.

The nuclear and missile initiatives have ensured that India is stronger than what it was a year ago. The various diplomatic initiatives, culminating in the Prime Minister's historic bus journey to Lahore, have set the pattern for better relations with all our neighbours, including Pakistan. The initiatives on the economic front have put our national economy back on the road to recovery—and this in spite of the economic sanctions and the East Asian economic crisis. The powerful initiatives it has taken in science and technology—in atomic energy, in space programmes, in information technology, and in bio-technology—have set the stage for India becoming one among the world's leaders in these fields. In a brief period of 14 months, the Vajpayee Government has worked relentlessly for a strong, united, prosperous and more secure India.

Nation's Interest Above All Else

The National Executive thanks all allies and friendly parties for standing by our common Government, to the DMK for joining hands with all of us. The National Executive applauds all of them for placing the nation's interests above everything else. Our common commitment to democracy, good governance and national security will, no doubt, win us more friends. Together, we will win the coming electoral battle and fulfil the unfinished tasks of the present

Government.

In its own words, the Congress views regional parties as lacking in 'national perspective' and working to the 'detriment of India'. We believe that the interests of India can be served best by involving regional parties in the process of governance. The coalition Government led by Shri Vajpayee has proved itself as an effective instrument for addressing the problems of every region of the nation.

Historic Initiatives

Of the several initiatives taken in these past 14 months, two in particular are milestones. The first pertains to Pokharan-II, followed up by Agni-II. India has been firmly placed as an equal among the world's nuclear powers, a fact that boosts the morale of our jawans and makes every son and daughter of Mother India proud of being an Indian. The second historic initiative is Shri Vajpayee's bus journey to Lahore. A new chapter of peace and cooperation has been opened in our sub-continental history.

New Environment of Friendship with Neighbours

The Congress and other parties denounced the Government after Pokharan-II the Government has isolated India diplomatically, they said. The contrary has proved to be the case. Countries the world over have come to recognise that India shall take steps necessary for its security. All countries are engaged with us in strengthening our mutual ties. Relations with all our neighbours have registered quantum improvement. A free-trade agreement with Sri Lanka, the extension of the Transit Treaty with Nepal for indefinite future, and the inauguration of the Calcutta-Dhaka bus-service are symbols of the new environment of friendship the Government has helped usher in.

Normalcy in Kashmir

Simultaneously, Kashmir is well on the way to normalcy. After a decade, for the first time, the sound of bells and cymbals is again being heard in temples, tourists have returned to the Valley in lakhs, films are being shot once again after 12 years, our National Flag is flying once again in tehsil and zila headquarters throughout the Valley. Similarly, even as it has taken the strongest measures to defeat violence and terrorism in the North-East, the Government has initiated talks with a wide-range of groups in the region.

Resolving Problems through Consensus

The National Agenda for Governance had promised that the Government would seek solutions to India's problems through consensus. The resolution of the century-old Cauvery dispute is an example of our commitment to that promise. Special steps were taken to promote the interests of women and the girl child and meet the basic needs—health, housing and education—of all Indians.

Progress on the Economic Front

On the economic front, we faced three challenges: (a) continuing deceleration on the industrial front; (b) worsening global economic crisis; and (c) economic sanctions imposed in the wake of the nuclear tests. The darkest forecasts were made about the future of the Indian economy. All these were proved absolutely wrong. The GDP has registered a growth of around 6 per cent in 1998-99, compared to 5 per cent in 1997-98. There has been record foodgrains production as a result of our strong pro-farmer and pro-rural policies. New infrastructure projects were framed bearing in mind generation of employment opportunities. Inflation was kept under control and the price line held. The national economy was fully protected from the factors that have destabilised economies stronger than ours this past year. This year's Budget infused new hope in industry and other sectors of the economy. That hope had been destroyed by the undemocratic manoeuvres of the Congress, the Left and some others.

Decline in Communal Incidents

In sharp contrast to the social turmoil and conflict and inter-community hostility of the wasted Congress decades, the 14 months of our rule have been riot-free and tension-free. Compared to an average of five communal incidents per day in 1991, there was only, on an average, one such incident per day in 1998. Most of these incidents occurred in Congress-ruled states, just like nearly all incidents of atrocities against Dalits took place in Bihar, a state ruled by a friend of the Congress and the Samajwadi Party, the RJD.

Commitment to Probity and Honesty

Above all, in these 14 months, India got a respite from cash-and-carry politicians of the Congress variety. After witnessing scams followed by scams during the Congress rule, India saw a Government unflinching in its commitment to probity and honesty. In spite of pressures, in spite of the consequences which it was told would follow, the Government refused to interfere in the process of law and courts; it refused to slow or deflect investigations.

Therefore, we had a situation where Indian society and economy were stabilising; the nation was emerging strong and powerful; ethics had been restored to governance; and, the people had been made the first priority of the national development programme. It was in this situation that the Government was brought down. The Opposition had no issue to attack the Government. There was no reason to destabilise the polity and force a costly mid-term general election on the people.

Congress Conspiracy Causing the Fall of the Government

Three obvious factors colluded, leading to the Government's defeat – interests, at home and abroad, that were keen to halt India's march to strength and prosperity; interests that were keen to get power to rule the people without securing the people's mandate; and, leaders and groups that were mortified by the progress that corruption cases against them were making, whose pressure to stall these cases and dismiss the duly elected governments, our Government resisted. The Congress is the one which has directed the conspiracy and manoeuvres to bring down the Government. The Left parties provided the Congress destabilisation gameplan with an ideological cover. The casteist and criminal forces, as symbolised

by Laloo Prasad Yadav and Mulayam Singh Yadav, provided the numbers. The AIADMK, by betraying the Government of which it had throughout been a part, also betrayed the people of Tamil Nadu. Indeed, the entire exercise – from pulling down the Government to failing to provide an alternative Government – is nothing short of rank betrayal of the people’s mandate.

Left Once Again Betraying the Nation

The National Executive draws the attention of the people to the Congress’ history of destabilising the polity and creating instability. Whenever the Congress has been rejected by the people, whenever the Congress leadership has been denied the perks of office, it has exerted to subvert the mandate of the people. In this past month, it has once again displayed both its greed for power, and its anxiety to grab office without obtaining a mandate from the people. The high-falutin idealism of Pachmarhi was abandoned at the first temptation. Similarly, the Left has constantly betrayed the interests of India – be it in 1942, 1962, 1975 or now in 1999. Confined to the margins of national politics, the Left aspires for power without accountability, to influence without responsibility. It is now reduced to being the palanquin-bearer of, and joining hands with, the most corrupt, casteist and criminal malcontents of Indian politics.

The recent developments have exposed the hollowness and hypocrisy of dividing India’s polity along ‘secular’ and ‘anti-secular’ lines. ‘Secularism’ has been for them a ploy, a device – not principle. It did not enable them to vault over their personal ambitions. The mutual recriminations which they flung at each other in the wake of the failure of their conspiracy revealed what they know of each other’s commitment to secularism.

Defeat of Destabilizers by Nationalist Forces – Absolutely Necessary

The National Executive resolves to expose the Congress and Left for their dangerous role in destabilizing India and forcing a crisis of leadership just as the nation was preparing to meet the challenges of the next century. The coming election will be more than a battle for votes; it will be a battle between nationalist forces and a collection of self-seekers led by a morally decrepit Congress. On the one side, a rag-tag, squabbling combination that will be cobbled together after

the elections, and on the other –

- One Leader
- One Alliance
- One Programme

– all agreed upon before going to the people.

Clear Choice of the Voters

The choice is clear. On one side is the BJP and its allies, united by their common commitment to good governance and an India-first approach on defence and economic matters; an alliance that believes in a forward-looking India, an India surging ahead. On the other side is the Congress, the Left, the RJD and other parties united by a destructive agenda. It is exemplified by their bringing down a Government without an alternative, without an issue; it is exemplified by their paralysing Parliament and preventing legislation which the nation urgently needs, for example, the Lokpal Bill, the Central Vigilance Commission Bill, the Women’s Reservation Bill. They have been constant in cavilling at and putting obstacles to all steps to realise the dream of a resurgent India. They have no idea, ideal and ideology in common. They do have one objective in common, though – how to escape the Prevention of Corruption Act.

An Appeal to the People

- We appeal to the people: Defeat those who want to defeat a resurgent India.
- We appeal to the people: Vote to punish those who have thwarted your mandate.
- We appeal to the people: Restore the Vajpayee Government with a decisive majority.
- We urge the people: Vote with only one consideration in your mind – the interest of India.

We have one message:

For A Proud And Resurgent India,

Vote Vajpayee!



National Executive

New Delhi

03-04 November, 1999

Political Situation

Clear mandate in favour of Vajpayee

The National Executive of the Bhartiya Janta Party expresses its hearty gratitude for the people of India for giving clear mandate to the BJP and our alliance partners of the National Democratic Alliance.

Our victory in the recent general elections in fact is a positive mandate for political stability. This is a mandate in favour of matured leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The people have rectified that the good performance of the government and they have expressed their faith in the joint manifesto of the NDA. This manifesto is an agenda respected and prosperous India. The liking expressed by the people shows the federal character of our national polity. The people through their liking are for expressed their support for NDA with huge majority which itself represents the spirit of federalism.

The mandate of 1999 is a memorable moment in the political history of India. After 1984 for the first time any responsible government has come back in power again. In four general election conducted after 1984 no political party or an alliance has been able to attain clear majority. With the result of all the elections showing a hung Lok Sabha after 15 years the pre election alliance the NDA has got clear majority.

The constant lead of the BJP in various parts of the Country

The result of this election is very satisfactory for BJP. We have proved is that our party leading constantly, its influence is increasing among the people everywhere from the one corner to other of India. This time the BJP representative from every state has reached the Lok Sabha. The flag of the party is being gloriously hoisted from Kanyakumari to Kashmir and even in Andman and Nicobar.

Regional Party “important partner”

There is no doubt that our decision to make an alliance with the non Congress regional parties has contributed to our success. In the meanwhile it has strengthened the federal character of our national polity to the regional party is our important partner of the government at national level. Due to all these things the union government would be able to fulfil the regional aspirations more effectively and thus India will be prepared to except the challenges of the new century.

Congress “Rejected Outrightly”

An important result of this election is such that the people have rejected the Congress outrightly. The congress which ruled India for 45 years has become the Congress which has acquired lowest seats in Parliament today. The mandate of 1999 has expressed faith in leadership the of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. There this mandate denounced negative politics of the Congress and inexperienced leadership.

The Positive Forum of the BJP

The National executive feels glorified over this fact that the BJP contested the general election for a positive platform and sought positive minded voters. On the other hand the Congress campaigned very negatively and took the recourse to falsehood of daily happenings and it has made personal and dirty remarks against our senior leaders including the Prime Minister but the people did not get swayed with the publicity of the Congress. They maturity of the Indian voters is praiseworthy and they rejected the regretful negativity and accepted the positive attitude of the government

The Leftists Fully Exposed

The leftist parties are among the parties which have got badly defeated in this election. The leftists who have been demonstrating their morality and presenting themselves as the gods of justice have been fully exposed now before the people of India. The leftists never got adjusted with the national aspirations and they have always looked down upon the democratic processes. These leftists helped the Congress in destabilising the previous Vajpayee government and again tried to install the Congress government through backdoor. They did not succeed in their dubious design yet they didn't hesitate to join the people who have remained a symbol of corruption. The leftists contested their election with Congress, AIDMK, and RJD and thus they discarded the remains of the third front and ignored their ideology whatever they had acquired during the last decade. The leftists could not fulfil their favourite objective despite getting attached to the Congress. The Trinamul Congress BJP alliance has registered adequate increase in their vote percentage in West Bengal. The lead of the leftists in comparison to the votes cast in favour of the Trinamul BJP alliance is confined to slight increase. This difference can be easily mitigated during the next election.

The set back to the BJP in some states

The election result in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka has remained dismal for the BJP. We will introspect the reasons of our defeat in these three states and learn lesson from our mistakes.

Now when the election has come to an end and the government has resumed its work we make a call of all opposition parties for playing creative role. The Prime Minister has already called for creating consensus on the main national issues. We fully support that the call made by him and hope that the opposition parties will adopt positive attitude towards this. This is the need of the hour that we should extend our full force in the task of nation building.

Main Achievements of the Vajpayee Government

The previous Vajpayee Government made many major achievements despite not having full majority. The performance shown by the government made the way for adequate improvement in economic conditions. His commitment towards purity ensured

corruption free governance. The security of India got strengthened due to bold steps taken by him. India has emerged as a proud nation during the last 18 months and it has gained confidence for acquiring prestigious place among the comity of nations.

Befitting Reply to Pakistan Invasion

Government retaliated decisively against the Pakistani invasion in Kargil. Our valiant *jawans* badly defeated the Pakistani army. Our government also defeated Pakistan diplomatically. Since then Pakistan intensified terrorism across the border. The recent incident occurring in Pakistan is a matter of great concern and our government has reacted properly over the army taking over the rule in Pakistan. We fully support this approach of the government that Pakistan should stop terrorism across the border immediately and prevent inimical propaganda against India

The national executive welcomes the stand of the present government which has initiated the work of accelerating the execution of the agenda of making India a proud pride and prosperous country. Shri Vajpayee himself has fixed the priorities of his government and determined the pace of fulfilling the same well in time.

Welcome to the Government's Achievement Regarding Socio-Economic Development

We welcome the government's decision to concentrate over rapid social-economic development as per the agenda of the NDA. The government has taken right stand by determining the priorities for rapid economic reforms, the development of basic structures, generation of employment opportunities, agriculture, rural development, financial and exchequer reforms, more foreign direct investment in high tech and capital intensive areas, especially the decision for making all efforts to provide for primary education, drinking water, basic health, rural roads and shelters to the homeless.

The Support to the Electoral Reforms

The national executive welcomes the steps taken by the government to give rights to such people of the society who are bereft of social, political and economic facilities. The separate

Ministry for Tribal Affairs has already been created for making rapid development in the tribal areas. We make a call to the government to approve the Lokpal Bill at the earliest so that a strong war may be waged against corruption prevailing in public life. Like wise we urge the government to act expeditiously for creation of the new states of Uttaranchal, Vananchal and Chattisgarh and giving full statehood to Delhi. The Prime Minister has already announced the government's intention to bring a comprehensive Electoral Reforms Bill and we welcome this step.

The Implementation of the NDA Agenda

The BJP is fully committed to the honour given to it by the people by expressing their faith in it. We pledge to establish the highest level of purity in public life. We promise to fulfill the commitments made in the NDA agenda. We resolve to fully support to the efforts the government to eradicate poverty, hunger illiteracy from this great nation.

Come, Make a Proud and Prosperous India

The national executive resolves to make the dream of making India a proud and prosperous country in the early years of the century knocking at our gate. We solicit everybody's participation in this noble work. We make a call to them to derive benefits from the opportunity so that we make a history by making the future of India bright during early years of the new year and justice, equality and wisdom may flourish here in our country. Government needs full support from the people to face these challenges successfully. The national executive gives a call to all the party workers to form public opinion and inspire the nation so that the people and government may participate in building a new India.

□

National Council

Agra

8-10 April, 1988

Political Situation

The country heading towards destruction under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi

The Bharatiya Janta Party expresses its deep concern over the country heading towards destruction under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

The government has failed in restoring law and order situation in Punjab despite having ample powers. There is, in fact, no government existing as such in Punjab. It appears that this government is not possessed with will power nor is capable to restore law and order and normalcy there.

Even then the government got 59th Amendment of the constitution passed in a hurried manner in the name of situation in Punjab. This amendment will result in acquiring emergency powers by the government in all states through the back-door in the name of Punjab crisis.

Ill consequence of wrong policy in Sri Lanka

The country is bearing the ill consequence of wrong handling of the Sri Lanka policy by the government. We are paying heavy price by losing both our *jawns* and money on one hand and we have lost good will of both the groups—Singhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka on the other. In the meanwhile the incidents of Battikaloo which took place in the very presence of Indian Peace Keeping Force have created new and dangerous communal turn in politics of Sri Lanka. As a result of this, Sri Lanka may become a Lebanon for us.

Rajiv Government's Failure to Defend the Country's Boundaries

Rajiv Gandhi government has failed to defend the boundaries of the country. The government is maintaining silence over Chinese infiltration in North East and it has completely failed in driving out the Chinese Army from Arunachal Pradesh. Disruptive activities have got accelerated in the country.

The activities of the disruptive elements are on the rise in the country. The government is not being able to protect the lives, property and the honour of the citizens, leave alone the matter of preventing these activities. The recent heinous Padaria incident has shaken the country badly. It is unfortunate and sorrowful that the Congress government. In instead of punishing the guilty and criminal minded police personnel, is engaged in suppressing this shameful incident. The BJP is of the view that stern punishment should be given to the offenders of the Padaria incident and adequate compensation should be immediately given to the victims' families.

Threat to the Constitution

The Prime Minister has threatened to dismiss the non-Congress Chief Ministers on the charge of being 'antinationa1'. He has directly addressed the District Magistrates in the states by ignoring the Chief Ministers. He has imposed governors of his choice in the non-Congress ruled states without consulting the concerned state governments. These states have been shocked by the acts of some of these governors who have behaved as genuine agents of the Congress party and this issue has disturbed even Parliament. The Prime Minister has got changed arbitrarily the Chief Minister of the Congress ruled states without having any preconceived thought. He has thus, through these acts, violated the literal directive and the spirit of our federal governance system. The constitution of India is not safe in irresponsible hands.

The Prime Minister has weakened Parliament, Judiciary and Press

Parliament, judiciary and press - these are three watch dogs of the people. The prime minister has weakened all these three institutions. He by absenting himself neglected Parliament. He and his colleagues by their conduct forced the

Vice President to weep in Rajya Sabha and he was compelled to propose to resign from his post. He threatened judiciary to this extent that the lawyer community up to Supreme Court level went on unprecedented strike. The press was harassed very badly. The case related to 'Indian Express' is the burning example of this about which even the press council of India had to condemn the government.

The Country on the Verge of Destruction

The country has reached the verge of destruction due to these blunders and deeds of the government. The government ignored the mob killings of November 1984 so that apprehension may be created in the minds of the people about the unity and integrity of the country so that they may vote for it. It encourages communalism and secessionism with a view to diverting the attention of the people from the corruption existing at higher levels to the communalism existing at lower one. This country is restlessly waiting to see as to what perverted move this government will adopt to change the result of ensuing elections in its favour. We will not feel surprised at all if this government allows breaking out of disturbances on a large scale first and suppresses the same ruthlessly afterwards just to show the people its bravery or it may create such a crisis to exploit patriotic feeling of the people forgetting improper benefits of winning next election.

'Mr. Clean' has Turned to Mr. Destruction

We are sorry to say that the prime minister who was presented as Mr. Clean by his intelligent Public Relations Officers has now appeared in his true colour of 'Mr. Destruction'. He is presenting a new scam everyday to the country. Present government is being run by such people, behind the curtain who have mysterious relations with the foreigners. The country has lost its faith in its Prime Minister. The people of India are in search of an opportunity to show their mysterious relations against their government at the earliest.

The Move of the Communist's to Divide the Opposition

The country is eager to make a practical, national and democratic alternative to replace this corrupt Congress rule and at

the same time the communist parties are not willing to allow any such coalition. The Bharatiya Janta Party on this occasion wants to remind of the approach adopted by the Communist parties during the election of the President and the obstinate move on the demand of the opposition for the resignation of Rajiv government. As a matter of fact the communist parties want to divide the opposition by creating illusion of the leftist unity and help Rajiv Gandhi to continue in power. The BJP will never allow their intention to succeed.

Appeal to the National and Democratic Parties to Get United

The Bharatiya Janta Party is resolved to make constant campaign against increasing sins of the government in such a way to as ensure that the people in the given situation may react through their ballots in the same way as the people of Haryana have reacted. The Bharatiya Janta Party will continue to cooperate with the other national and democratic forces to fulfill this objective.

□

National Council

Gandhinagar

03-04 May, 1998

Political Situation

Historic Transfer of Power

The National Council of the Bharatiya Janata Party hails the historic transfer of power at the Centre to India's first truly non-Congress Government under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The recent General Election has changed the course of Indian politics and steered the nation's destiny in the right direction by giving the BJP and its alliance partners the mandate to form a stable and dynamic Government under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

Fundamental Change in Indian Politics

On the eve of the general election, we had appealed to the people to repose their faith in us. We thank them for responding to our appeal. We resolve to honour their mandate and fulfil their aspirations. The Government in New Delhi today reflects the people's desire for a fundamental change in the nature of Indian politics – from negativism and confrontationism to cooperation and consensus.

The challenges before the nation are many and the path ahead is strewn with obstacles. The polity has suffered enormously at the hands of the Congress and its clones, many of which are members of the United Front.

Security Concerns

India's internal and external security scenario is worrisome. Our borders have become vulnerable because predecessor Governments have been indifferent to India's security concerns. Terrorists and fundamentalists pose a serious threat to human lives and property.

Good Governance – The Primary Task

Our economy has been in the doldrums with industry in recession and agriculture starved of funds. Millions of our brothers and sisters in villages and cities live below the poverty line, many

of whom have no shelter from sun and rain. Even necessities like drinking water, education and health care are out of reach for millions of people, especially in rural areas.

Fifty years after Independence, while other nations have marched ahead, we have lagged behind. The fault does not lie with the people whose limitless potential remains untapped. The fault lies with those who have ruled this country all these decades but failed to provide governance. The National Council sees this as the primary task of the new regime – to provide good governance and able leadership.

A Challenge and An Opportunity

We see ahead of us both a challenge and an opportunity. The challenge lies in meeting the multiple crises facing the nation resolutely and with determination. The opportunity lies in initiating policies and programmes that will make this regime an epoch-making Government. We are now seen as a national alternative; let us prove that this alternative is far better than the one that has brought the country to its present perilous situation, the Congress.

The Congress, which was once the dominant political force in this country, is now second to us. The Janata Dal, that had at once aspired to occupy the non-Congress space, is now a spent force, relegated to being no more than a footnote in India's post-independence political history. The CPI(M) and the CPI find themselves trapped in a time-warp; their tattered banner of revolution and slogan of class struggle no longer inspire the masses.

Consolidation of Alliance

The BJP today is the principal and stable pole of Indian politics. The Congress is the other pole, though unstable and shaky due to intense inner-party conflict and problems. In the new Indian political

order, alignments can only take place around these two poles. As of today, most of the regional parties are with us as our allies in Government or as supporters. We resolve to further expand and consolidate this alliance under our leadership as partners in the noble task of building a new India that will stride and not shuffle into the next century.

The Congress, failing to reverse its declining electoral fortune despite once again tying itself to the apron-strings of the 'dynasty', can be expected to try every trick to promote its agenda. The Left has realised that it is unable to fight the BJP politically and declared its preference for 'dynasty' over democracy. It will be only too happy to align with the Congress in trying to subvert the people's mandate. Let us not let our guard down for even a moment.

Change in Every Sphere of National Life

This is no doubt a moment of triumph and a moment to rejoice. But it is also a moment for contemplation and a moment for action. Victory in the polls does not mean resting on our laurels; it means preparing ourselves for the party's new role and rededicating ourselves to our noble mission. It means working harder than ever before to consolidate our gains and expand our base. It means making the party a bridge between the people and the Government in order to bring about *parivartan* (change) in every sphere of national life – economic, social, political and cultural.

Need to Build a Strong and Self-Confident Nation

Now that the BJP has made the historic transition from being India's main Opposition party to the leading Ruling party, the National Council calls upon all party workers to understand their role responsibilities. Our collective role now on will be that of a ruling party determined to change the face of India through good governance by changing the character and culture of governance. This alone will help India free herself of *bhookh* (hunger), *bhay* (insecurity) and *bhrashtachar* (corruption), and emerge as a strong, prosperous and self-confident nation.

Mobilisation Mass Support for National Agenda

The National Council views the primary responsibility of the Party as that of giving a good account of itself as a governing party—both inside and outside Government. In office, the BJP-led Government will be guided by the National Agenda for Governance whose cornerstone is governance by consensus. Outside Government, the party should actively create awareness and mobilise mass support for the National Agenda. The party should also constantly guide the Government in formulating its programmes and implementing them.

Swadeshi and Swavalamban: Twin-Keys to Economic Revival

The New Economic Policy initiated by the Rao Government and actively pursued by the UF has no doubt benefited a handful of people who comprise India's 'haves'. But the vast multitudes of 'have-nots' have been left to fend for themselves. We urge the Government to reach out to the have-nots so that prosperity does not elude any section of our society. In this context, we hail the Government's commitment to *Berozgari Hatao* and urge the introduction of self-employment schemes. We call upon the Government to make *Swadeshi* and *Swavalamban* the twin-key to India's economic revival and reiterate our conviction that India can, and shall, be built by Indians. The interests of indigenous industry, especially small scale units, should be protected. The Government must take all steps against the patenting of basmati rice by a foreign company.

Larger Funds for Agriculture and Rural Development

The National Council urges the Government to allocate 60 per cent of Plan funds for agriculture and rural development. The plight of the farmers merits special attention, especially in view of the widespread failure of crops due to nature's vagary. We urge the speedy implementation of comprehensive crop insurance schemes and removal of restrictions on movement of foodgrains. Farmers should be paid adequate remunerative prices which should be linked to the price index. Proper representation should be given to farmers on bodies taking decisions pertaining to agriculture. All steps should be taken to ensure the protection of India's cattle wealth.

The poorest of the poor should be our special concern. We call upon the Government to evolve effective schemes for their welfare and uplift based on the principle of *Antyodaya*. Providing food,

security to each Indian is a promise we cannot lose sight of. We also urge the Government to evolve a National Housing Policy to deliver on the promise to facilitate construction of 20 lakh new housing units each year, with priority for the weaker sections of society.

Regional Imbalances to be Corrected

The National Council views with concern the growing regional imbalances and the resultant lack of development in certain areas of the country. We urge the Government to implement a special plan for development in the north-eastern states which have been the worse sufferers of regional imbalances. We also call upon the Government to expedite the creation of the separate states of Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh.

Goal of Equality and Fraternity

The litmus test of any civil society is whether it is free of discrimination in any form. India has so far failed to pass this litmus test. But we can take our society closer to the cherished goal of equality and fraternity; we can help end discriminations that still exist – be it caste discrimination, gender discrimination or class discrimination. The National Council urges the Government to move rapidly in this direction both through legislation and by encouraging a radical shift in our society's attitudes and approaches.

We appreciate the Government's decision to rename the Welfare Ministry as Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. We now look forward to specific policies and programmes to provide it with content. Empowerment of the deprived and weaker sections of society, especially the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, other backward classes and women, is one of the goals we have set for ourselves. The National Council reiterates the Party's commitment to social justice and social equity as laid down in the policy adopted at Agra and the Social Charter adopted at Bangalore, as well as our promise to reserve 33 per cent seats for women in all elected bodies.

Empowerment of Women

The Party has promised free education for women up to graduation and this promise must be fulfilled. The Government must take all possible steps to prevent crimes against women and prohibit

the negative portrayal of women in media. We resolve to translate our Social Charter into action so that the weaker and voiceless sections of our society become partners in the decision-making process and are empowered socially, politically and economically. Special steps are called for to empower the disabled and provide them with welfare measures. We urge the adoption of a National Youth Policy.

Success of BJP's Positive Secularism

The very fact that a large number of Indians belonging to the minority communities have voted for us in the recent election indicates our success in convincing them of what we believe in is positive secularism. It also marks the defeat of pseudo-secularists whose fear campaign has begun to yield diminishing returns. The electorate has decisively rejected our adversaries' calumnious campaign against the BJP based on a spurious concern for secularism. We urge the Government to lay greater stress on development programmes that focus on education and employment for minority communities. The National Council appeals to the minority communities to take a decisive step and break free of the clutches of peddlers of vote-bank politics and join hands with the BJP. Their future lies in the new India we all aspire for, not in the morass of minority-majority politics or appeasement that may benefit regressive elements but deprive them of progress and justice.

Need for a National Population Policy

We call upon our party workers, sympathisers and supporters to create public awareness about the problem of India's population explosion. This is a national issue that has been left unattended by previous governments. We shall mobilise a popular people's campaign on this vital issue. The National Council calls upon the Government to adopt a National Population Policy.

Immediate Action Against the Corrupt

Corruption has bedevilled India's public life for far too long. It has eaten into the core of our institutions and greatly eroded public faith in government and bureaucracy. The National Council appeals to the Government to expeditiously inquire into those cases of corruption that have shaken the collective conscience of the nation

and punish the guilty without any further delay. If we are to check the popular view that is increasingly gaining ground – that the high and the mighty can get away with pilfering from the national till – then we must act now.

Probity in Public Life

The National Council calls upon all BJP Ministers to declare their assets and liabilities, keeping in view the Party's commitment to *shuchita* (probity in public life). We also urge the expeditious enactment of the Lok Pal Bill so that public servants can be made accountable. The Government must undertake suitable legislative changes to expeditiously dispose of prosecution against public servants in corruption cases. Urgent steps are also called for to prevent the accumulation of black money.

New Work Culture to be Adopted

Ours is a party with a difference; let our Government also be a Government with a difference. Let us together set new standards in public life through our actions. The National Council calls upon the people of the country to adopt a new work culture marked by honesty, dedication and discipline in every sphere of public life. We urge our workers to show the way to the people. For greater people's participation in administration, we urge the Government to use Indian languages for official purposes.

Strengthening of Institutions

We resolve to restore the dignity of institutions and re-establish their efficacy. To achieve this objective, we urge substantive judicial, administrative and electoral reforms. A comprehensive review of certain sections of the Constitution, without in any way altering its basic structure, is overdue. We reiterate the party's commitment to greater devolution of powers from the Centre to the states and from the states to local self-governing bodies. Provisions pertaining to Centre-State relations and enactment of National Judicial Commission require to be dealt with at the earliest.

Strong Measures Needed to Protect National Unity and Integrity

The National Council alerts the Government to the threats to India's external security. The Government must take all steps in order

to be prepared to meet the present as well as future challenges to the nation's unity and integrity. We note with concern the continuing terrorist killings in Jammu and Kashmir and the resultant migration. We urge the Government to come up with a special package for the rehabilitation of the migrants. There should be tighter security to prevent trans-border infiltration into India by Pakistan-trained terrorists and foreign mercenaries. We call for urgent measures to combat terrorism, separatism and ISI activities. The Government must provide greater facilities to our valiant soldiers and their families.

Need to Strive to Strengthen Nationalist Spirit

This National Council session, being held at a historic moment in the life of our Party and our nation, is an important milestone in our journey that began in 1951. But it is by no means the end of our journey. Our slogan should be: "*Vijay to sahi, vishram nahin*".

Starting from the very first day of our entry into politics, ours has been a mission to re-establish nationalism as the guiding beacon for every activity in public life, a quest for transformation and change, a search for higher values rooted in ethics, a struggle against injustice, discrimination and denial. That quest continues as does the search. We resolve to continue our struggle till such time every Indian finds his and her rightful place in an egalitarian society and India finds her rightful place in the comity of nations. The Government shall be one of our means to achieve this goal.



National Executive

Jaipur **21-23 August, 1998**

Political Situation And the Tasks Ahead

Emerging Polarisation in Indian Polity

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive notes the emerging polarisation in Indian polity. On the one hand, the nationalist forces have aligned with the BJP. On the other, the newly formed casteist and communal Rashtriya Loktantrik Morcha, the remains of the United Front and the Left Front, have dropped all pretensions of commitment to democratic and progressive politics and are rallying behind dynastic rule.

Attempts to Subvert the People's Mandate

Unable to resist the temptation of power at any cost and having failed to engage themselves in constructive criticism of the BJP-led Government as any responsible Opposition party should, these parties are now ganging up to try to subvert the people's mandate. What we are witnessing is yet another forging of an unholy alliance of unscrupulous and corrupt politicians and their near non-existent parties. What is of particular concern is their agenda to mobilise support from a rank communal and casteist platform.

Disruptive Forces Required to be Rebuffed

The National Executive appeals to the people to rebuff these disruptive forces and ensure that the polity is not destabilised. The nation cannot afford a fresh phase of political instability; the need of the hour is to concentrate on the national development programme and ward off the challenges to our nation's unity and integrity.

Regrettably, the Congress has chosen to go along with these disruptive forces of negativism. Given the fact that the Congress, apart from the BJP, is the country's only other national party and is the second largest party in the Lok Sabha, it was expected that it would play the role of a responsible Opposition. That would have been in keeping with the Mandate of 1998 – the people desired that

the Congress should sit on the Opposition benches and the party should honour the people's verdict. The Congress would do well to recall that for more than four decades when we were in opposition, we always placed the nation's interest above that of our party.

Congress Showing Signs of Impatience

Instead, the Congress is increasingly showing signs of impatience with its voter-ordained role and has not hesitated to throw in its lot with the other losers and wreckers of 1998. What is particularly amusing is that the Congress has had no compunction about seeking a common cause with the Left, especially the CPI(M), despite the fact that, till recently, the latter lost no opportunity to berate and denounce the former.

Congress' Indulgence in Crass Opportunism

The National Executive deplors the double-speak, double-standards, double-think and crass opportunism of the Congress. The Congress on its own offered to support the Women's Reservation Bill, but, at the final moment, went with those opposed to this progressive legislation. The Congress Election Manifesto had promised to raise the retirement age of Government employees. But when the BJP-led Government went ahead and raised the retirement age to 60, the Congress staged protest demonstrations. As many as 363 farmers were forced to commit suicide because of the anti-farmer policies of the two United Front regimes that were propped up by the Congress. Today the Congress holds the BJP-led Government responsible for the deaths! When the Congress was in power in Maharashtra, more than 3,000 Bangladeshi illegal immigrants were detected and deported. But now the same Congress describes similar deportation in communal and linguistic terms.

Such duplicity does not behove a national party, least of all

the main Opposition party. But the Congress leadership, suffering from political myopia, has decided to pursue a self-defeating and obstructionist course in an attempt to overcome its shortcomings. The party would do well to remember that there are no shortcuts in politics.

CPI(M)'s Opportunistic Revisionism

The National Executive finds it equally amusing that the CPI(M) should cease to see the Congress as the 'main enemy' and replace it with the BJP. This opportunistic revisionism is obviously prompted by the erosion of the CPI(M)'s base in its only strongholds in the face of increasing support for the BJP. Desperate to halt the BJP's onward march, especially in states like West Bengal, the CPI(M) is willing to sup with a party that till yesterday was its sworn 'main enemy'.

BJP-led Government's Achievements

The National Executive lauds the BJP-led Government's achievements in the last five months despite the obstructionism and negativism of the Opposition. Coalition politics has its limitations, but under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the BJP and its allies have been able to bring in several radical changes in the thrust of governance with top priority being given to agriculture and the rural sector. Steps have been taken towards welfare of the weaker sections of society, empowerment of women, increasing literacy levels, generating employment opportunities, crushing terrorism, fighting corruption, reforming electoral laws, fighting corruption by introducing a Lok Pal Bill that covers the Prime Minister, and preparing the nation to meet the technological challenges of the next century. All this has been done by seeking consensus and cooperation, which is in sharp contrast to the conflict and division of the past.

Cauvery Water Accord

Nothing illustrates this better than the historic resolution of the dispute over the sharing of Cauvery water. For 30 years, this river has been the subject of intense discord. With all previous attempts to arrive at an amicable solution having failed, the dispute had taken a particularly ugly turn. The Congress, when it was in power at the Centre, had failed to forge a consensus. The United Front had failed

miserably in getting the four states to agree to an accord although they were ruled by UF partners. The BJP-led Government, on the other hand, has achieved what was considered impossible by getting all the states to agree on a mechanism and notifying the accord.

Development Schemes

The National Executive hails the several development initiatives announced by the Prime Minister on Independence Day. The initiatives, especially the expansion of the crop insurance scheme, the provision of free text-books to girls up to primary level and the introduction of special insurance schemes for women and girls, reassert our commitment to create an egalitarian, forward-looking and forward-moving society. The National Executive calls upon the Government to implement these schemes on schedule and thus lay the foundation for an enlightened India, a resurgent India.

Curbing Pak-Sponsored Terrorism

The Government has taken firm steps towards curbing Pakistan-sponsored terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir. These steps have begun to pay dividends. Compared to last year or the turbulent years before that, the scale of violence has decreased. The Home Minister, Shri LK Advani, has shown grit and determination in tackling terrorism. His innovative four-pronged approach that seeks to strengthen the democratic process, isolate the terrorists, neutralise their hostile plans and galvanise development programmes, adopted in consultation with the state Government, has started yielding results. We urge the Government to take suitable steps for the welfare of the displaced Pandits who were forced to flee their homes in the Kashmir Valley.

We also take note of the initiative to put an end to Naxalite violence by involving the state Governments and call upon the Government to curb ISI-sponsored subversive activities and terrorism in the southern states. Urgent steps are also called for to contain insurgency-related violence in the North-East.

Political Developments in Goa

The National Executive takes note of the political developments in Goa where the Congress Government headed by Shri Pratap Singh Rane lost its majority after 10 MLAs broke away from the Congress Legislature Party. This group has formed the new Government after aligning with the BJP and the MGP. The subsequent action of the

Speaker, who has disqualified the breakaway group, although it constitutes more than a third of the CLP, only underscores the need for a fresh look at the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution. We call for a review of the provisions of the anti-defection law.

Anarchy in Bihar

The situation in Bihar continues to slip from bad to worse with each passing day. The de jure Rabri Devi Government has become a mere rubber stamp to approve the questionable actions and decisions of the de facto Laloo Prasad Yadav Government. As a result, anarchy has come to prevail in Bihar. We view the developments in Bihar with concern and appeal to the Union Government to take appropriate action to save this state before it slips over the edge.

Creation of New States

The BJP-led Government has taken up in right earnest the issue of granting statehood to the people of Chhattisgarh, Uttaranchal, Vananchal and Delhi. The BJP has been in the forefront of the demand for separate statehood for these regions and the National Agenda for Governance lists it as one of the priorities of the BJP-led Government. Unfortunately, the issue has got bogged in perceptual differences. We urge the Government to expedite the granting of statehood to Chhattisgarh, Uttaranchal, Vananchal and Delhi.

Need for Greater Cooperation Among Coalition Partners

No doubt, the BJP-led Government has miles to go before we can claim success in bridging the gap between people's expectations and Government's performance. But we must remember that the damage done to our polity, society and economy over the last 50 years cannot be undone in five months. We must also remember that this Government's work is greatly hampered by an obstructionist and belligerent Opposition which would rather let the nation suffer than allow us to forge ahead. Our opponents are clearly scared that our success will show up their failure in the starkest of colours.

This Government, as we have already noted, has to work within the limitations of coalition politics. In the light of the experiences of the last five months, the National Executive calls for better coordination and greater cooperation among the coalition partners. This is imperative for enhanced and better performance.

Struggle Against Destabilisation Attempts

The National Executive alerts the people against the forces of destabilisation and negativism who are trying to gang up once again. We resolve to expose the ugly face of political opportunists, many of whom cannot even boast of a sizeable presence in Parliament, who crave for power at any cost. We will mobilise public opinion in favour of the BJP-led Government's attempts to provide good governance and against the obstacles being raised by the so-called 'secular' parties and their unscrupulous leaders.

This Government reflects popular aspirations and hopes. It represents the Mandate of 1998. We resolve to protect these aspirations and hopes from being sacrificed at the altar of political opportunism and hypocrisy. The National Executive resolves not to allow the Mandate of 1998 to be subverted as it was in 1996.

□

National Council

Ahemdabad

7-9 October, 1988

Political Situation

Rajiv Gandhi Government Towards Down Fall

Rajiv Gandhi government is going to complete this very month its four years of dismal performance. It has seen downfall in all the spheres, Earlier the pace of going down was slow but it has gained momentum during the last two years. The Bharatiya Janta Party prepared a charge-sheet against this government two years ago and had told the country that this government was going to be proved worst of all the governments that took office after Independence. Thereafter our apprehensions have proved hundred percent true. This government is not only corrupt and careless but also wholly incompetent and useless.

Rajiv Government Surrendered Before Violence

This government has given a wrong turn to all the problems or has spoilt every situation. Several much hyped agreements have proved suspicious from the point of its value. The situation of Punjab is as serious as it was earlier. The violence perpetrated by the terrorists is going on whereas the government is falsely claiming contrary to this. Sri Lanka Accord being praised everywhere is giving us nothing except taking the precious lives of our brave soldiers and officers who are sacrificing their lives on an alien land without attaining anything. Infiltration in Assam is going on uninterrupted and President's rule has been imposed after dismissing the governments in two states of North East. The agreement signed first in Mizoram and then with the extremists in Tripura will not yield anything but the disruptive forces particularly those of Punjab will firmly believe that Rajiv Gandhi government immediately surrenders to the language of violence.

Violence is Prevalent Everywhere in the Country

Violence has become almost a cult of life in the country. The rich perpetrate violence against the poor, so do the mighty ones against the weak and above all the state commits an act of violence against everyone. Dalits are massacred these are not the sparse incidents; rather in most of the cases the armed gangs make organized attack on them and the administration remains inactive by ignoring all such incidents. The minorities in Kashmir hide out of fear when the mob burns national flag and chant anti-national slogans. The MLAs including women are misbehaved and assaulted at the place which is few furlongs away from the Prime Minister's house. Pride of power has elated or rather degenerated the Prime Minister to this extent that he during his sojourns in the country tries his best to humiliate the Chief Ministers of the opposition parties before the government controlled Doordarshan or other medium of communication.

Government couldn't Refute the Charges of Corruption

Not content with all these, the government couldn't have refute the most serious charges of corruption leveled against it in the newspapers and on the floor of Parliament. These charges have been even levelled against the Prime Minister personally. The way the Prime Minister's men, commission brokers and other defamed persons have been obliged with the rebate in Income-tax and the other concessions has completely tarnished the image of Rajiv Gandhi. Contrary to all these, the critics including the newspaper organizations are being apprehended and harassed. A corrupt government is worse than a bad one and this government is both bad and corrupt. Rajiv Gandhi has not contributed personally less than anyone in political and normal degeneration.

Rajiv Gandhi has Made the Country a Beggar

The government has been hiding so many things from the people. The quantum of foreign loan which was within tolerable limits till now has assumed alarming shape as a result of allowing multinational companies even in the areas of economic activities of low priority after the so-called liberalization. The interest on loan increasing at the rate of 17 to 30 percent during the last four years has become almost double and it likely to increase upto 35 percent this year. In these last four years Rajiv Gandhi has made this country the greatest beggar in the world.

The Government can Stoop to any Level

This government can stoop to any level to serve the skin of self and its political dependents. The contempt bill, considered as the most notorious one after Emergency is a living example of this. The government tried to get it passed stealthily in Parliament and could have succeeded but for the alertness of the press and the opposition. The Bharatiya Janta Party has all its praise for the journalist community, which stood as rock against this bill and forced the government to drop the same. The freedom of press is still in peril as the statement given by a central minister Shri K.K. Tiwari about the press is equivalent to the threat of nationalizing it.

Rajiv Gandhi Lost Mandate

The Bharatiya Janta Party is of the view that all these failures and the peak of which was failure of getting the contempt bill passed have made one thing clear that Shri Rajiv Gandhi has lost the mandate of December 1984. His party is continuing in power technically because it had acquired heavy majority due to an historic accident. He has lost this mandate due to the act of omission and commission of the caucus comprising the haughty and proud men who have very narrow and vested vision for the nation and the world. He has lost all the good will he had earned due to his incompetence and careless behaviour. He doesn't have capacity to govern this vast and diverse country. The very existence of India as an independent nation will remain in danger till he resigns or he is removed.

The Prime Minister should Resign

It is an appeal to the Prime Minister to resign himself and declare elections without waiting for the next 15 months as because his unsolved riddle has become very lengthy one and the country has to solve the uncertainty in any manner. The Rajiv Gandhi government is absconding from the issue itself, therefore it is not capable to run this country in the proper way. The public by using their mandate in this hour of crisis should decide as to how this deadlock may come to an end. The Political parties should approach the people and seek their support. The people are the ultimate masters in a democratic republic and we demand that parliament which now doesn't represent the will of the people must be dissolved immediately and the people must be given an opportunity to constitute a new Lok Sabha. There are several serious problems before the country and many of them are the legacy of the present careless leadership. All these muddles can be cleared by a new government only, which has a fresh mandate.

The Appeal to the People and the Press to get United

The Bharatiya Janta Party gives a call to the people of India especially the Press, which stood united boldly and patiently against the recent assault made by the government against their freedom to force the government to attain fresh mandate. Any delay in this regard will prove dangerous as this government is making a desperate attempt to solve its difficulties and it can do anything to stick to power and it even may declare emergency as was done in 1975. This government is preparing ground for it through 59th Constitution Amendment and a New Industrial Disputes Bill and other semi-legal measures.

Change the Corrupt and Useless Government

The people's first task is to throw this corrupt and useless government out and they should accord the same the highest priority. The Bharatiya Janta Party is ready to cooperate with all democratic and nationalist parties on this issue.

The BJP is Resolved to Wage Struggle against the Government

We have participated immediately in joint action and the other parties have cooperated with this effort. Wherever they adopted such attitude which we believe may strengthen the hands of Rajiv Gandhi government as was done during the Presidential election last year under the pressure of the communist parties, we i.e. the BJP have not hesitated in adopting an independent way. The BJP is resolved to continue its struggle against it till it gets removed and a more responsible government takes its place.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

26-27 July, 1997

Political Situation

Government's Shocking Inaction on Corruption Deplorable

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party deplores the shocking inaction of the United Front Government headed by Shri Inder Kumar Gujral in fighting corruption. The Prime Minister has conclusively demonstrated that he is incapable of taking a principled stand although he has been voluble in pointing out how the entire country is 'sinking in corruption', how corruption has seeped into the veins of the nation, and how many of 'those who are in ministerial position are corrupt.' A vast gulf separates what the Prime Minister claims to be his belief – that 'drastic action' is called for to fight corruption – and his masterly inaction in putting into practice this belief. Indeed, Shri Gujral has excelled in the art of practising passivity even while preaching action.

Prime Minister's Softness Towards Corrupt Elements

The Prime Minister has pleaded helplessness, saying that he does not have a 'magic wand'. But this is a mere ruse to hide the fact that he is in no position to wield the powers that are vested in the State. Shri Gujral owes his present parliamentary career to Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav. He knows that as soon as he takes the first step towards combatting corruption, he will lose the office which he owes to the direct and indirect support of precisely those very individuals and parties who are responsible for injecting the poison of corruption into 'the veins of the nation'. Hence, he has chosen to seek accommodation with the corrupt and the venal, even while waxing eloquent on the floor of Parliament that there 'can be no accommodation' with corruption!

Seeking Accommodation with Corruption

It is this willingness to seek accommodation with, rather than fight, corruption which explains why Shri Gujral sacked the CBI Chief for pursuing the fodder scam and the Bofors scandal; why he

has refused to get rid of three of his ministerial colleagues who, by backing Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav, have endorsed his corrupt ways; why he has refused to sanction prosecution of public servants in the Bofors bribery case; why pressure is being brought about on the Enforcement Directorate to go easy on powerful individuals charged with economic malfeasance; why all investigations into previous economic offences, ranging from the urea import scam to the Indian Bank scam, have been put on hold.

Refusal to Act Against LP Yadav

The most glaring instance of the Gujral Government's willing passivity, of course, is its refusal to act against Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav even after he was charge-sheeted by the CBI in the Rs 950-crore fodder scandal and named as one of the prime accused along with senior Congress leaders. In his by now typical manner, the Prime Minister on more than one occasion promised that his Government would not be 'found wanting' in dealing with the situation in Bihar, but in reality, it has been found wanting in initiating even the most basic steps to stop Bihar from sliding further into political anarchy and social despair.

Here was a fit case for the Centre to assert its authority and restore the people's faith in the state by sacking the corrupt Laloo Yadav regime, packing off Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav and his accomplices to jail, imposing President's rule, restoring law and order and ordering fresh elections so that the people could exercise their democratic right to entrust their faith in a new Government. Instead, the United Front Government watched in encouraging silence as Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav pompously proclaimed that he would rule Bihar from jail, cocked a snook at the CBI, unleashed a reign of terror and intimidation on the investigators and the Opposition (senior CBI officers have pleaded

in open court that their lives are in danger), set his men upon BJP legislators within the Bihar Assembly precincts, bull-dozed his way through a confidence vote which saw the JMM once again selling its soul, and openly blackmailed the United Front by daring it to act against him.

Ruling and Looting by Proxy

The end result of this passivity, this encouraging silence and inaction, is that Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav has handed over his office to his wife, who is a member of neither the Bihar Assembly nor the Council. He can now be expected to continue to rule and loot the state by proxy. The United Front Government will claim that it has scored a big success by getting Shri Yadav to demit office. It is of little consequence to anybody in the United Front that Shri Yadav's resignation is as much a sham as the installation of his wife as the Chief Minister. As the de-facto Chief Minister of Bihar, he will continue with his reign of terror and intimidation. If his regime did not enjoy any credibility, the new arrangement lacks legitimacy.

Mockery of Constitutional Propriety

The National Executive holds the Gujral Government entirely responsible for the mockery of constitutional propriety in Bihar and guilty of handing over this state to a totally unscrupulous politician who is willing to go to any length and stoop to any level to retain the straps of power. Now even if Shri Yadav is arrested and put behind bars, he will continue to rule Bihar from jail.

BJP's Resolve to Fight Against the Laloo Regime

The National Executive resolves to continue the BJP's struggle against this de facto Laloo Yadav regime. The National Executive commends the Bihar unit of the BJP for relentlessly crusading against the corrupt Laloo Yadav regime and exposing the self-appointed 'champion' of the Backward classes for what he is—a crook. His charade of 'Social justice' was nothing but an elaborate cover to loot the state and the people. Our crusade in Bihar will be taken to its logical conclusion by removing this illegitimate regime in Patna from power.

Janata Dal Not known for Principles or Scruples

In a sense, it would be futile to expect this Prime Minister to act, to take a principled stand. He heads a Government whose parentage can be traced to unscrupulous politics and desperate, sordid power play. The party he represents, the Janata Dal, has never been known for standing by principles or scruples. It has split more times than can be recalled, not over principles but precisely the opposite – the greed of individuals. It is ironical that the Prime Minister of this nation cannot claim with any degree of confidence that he commands the direct support of more than 5 per cent of the total strength of the Lok Sabha. Yet, he remains in office because it serves the interests of those who stand to gain from his inaction and passivity.

Left Parties Having No Principles

Leading this pack is the Left which has excelled in Orwellian doublespeak. The CPI(M) has been tirelessly advertising the fact that it has not shied away from opposing Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav on his home turf, Bihar, that the entire Left under its leadership has launched a campaign against him, that it is pressing for the exclusion of the so-called Rashtriya Janata Dal, packed with Laloo Yadav coteries, from the sanctified portals of the United Front. But on the issue of sacking the Laloo Yadav regime, the Left has constantly shied away from forcing the Government's hands.

Much was evident from the manner in which the CPI(M) ranks tried to stall the BJP's adjournment motion against the Union Government's passive inaction in intervening in the affairs of Bihar. The ostensible reason for this is the Left's 'principled objection' to the use of Article 356. But what happened to this 'principled objection' when the Left, led by the CPI(M), passionately supported the abuse of Article 356 to dislodge the BJP Government in Gujarat and prevent the BJP from forming a Government in Uttar Pradesh? So much for leftist principles and political conviction.

Marxists Involved in Scandal

In any event, the CPI(M), at least, should not talk about either rectitude or principles. The Marxists have shown no compunction in collaborating with the Congress which is the fountainhead of all corruption in this country. In more recent times, the Marxists have shown a desperate eagerness to hush up the 'Personal Ledger scandal'

in West Bengal which has left CPI(M) leaders and apparatchiks richer by Rs 2,500 crore. Little wonder that the Marxists should consider themselves the 'natural allies' of those parties that are responsible for the present sorry state of affairs.

The Corrupt Allowed by the Congress to Flourish

As for that other pillar of the 'secular forces', the Congress, it has distinguished itself by plumbing further depths of crass opportunism and striking bargains to protect its leaders from being brought to justice for their sins of omission and commission. Fifty years ago, at the dawn of independence, the Congress dazzled the people with its stellar role in the freedom struggle. Fifty years later, it evokes nothing but contempt from the same people; the party's image has been sullied beyond repair by individuals whose sole contribution to the country during more than four decades of Congress monopoly at the Centre has been sowing the seeds, as well as reaping the harvest, of corruption at all levels of Government. The singular achievement of the Congress has been to show the way to misuse and abuse of office and power, to pave the way to rampant corruption. If the UF will go down in history for allowing the corrupt to go free, the Congress has gone down in history for allowing the corrupt to flourish.

Crocodile Tears of Congress for Dalits

Yet, the Congress has the audacity to talk about the need to curb corruption! And feels no shame in pretending to be the protector of the downtrodden sections of society, those very sections whom it has denied the fruits of development for decades by cheating them of what was their due. Like the proverbial cat which went on a pilgrimage after killing a hundred rats, the Congress is demanding the sacking of the BJP-Shiv Sena Government in Maharashtra for the 11 July police firing in which 10 Dalits were killed. Those leading the chorus have conveniently forgotten the fact that 130 Gowaris died a brutal death at the gates of the Maharashtra Assembly house in Nagpur, while hundreds were killed and many more maimed in vicious rioting and the serial bomb blasts, all during Congress rule. The incidents occurred only three years ago. On that occasion, no tears were shed, nor was the demand that the Chief Minister should resign countenanced.

The National Executive mourns the deaths in the Mumbai

police firing. It records its appreciation for the prompt action taken by the BJP-Shiv Sena Government in ordering a judicial inquiry by a sitting judge and suspending the policemen and officers accused of dereliction of duty. No other state Government has acted with such speed and restraint in the face of grave provocation by Congress agents, provocateurs bent upon disturbing the peace that has been restored after decades of violence under Congress rule.

Congress Desperate to Regain Power in Maharashtra

The National Executive condemns the hostile campaign launched by the Congress and notes with concern that this is the fourth time a statue of Dr BR Ambedkar has been desecrated on the eve, of or during, an Assembly session which, we believe, is not entirely coincidental but a part of the Congress' desperate bid to regain power in a state which has rejected the party in the last several elections, both local and national.

BJP's Warning to the UF Govt. Against Use of Article 356 in Maharashtra

The Congress' demand that the Centre should take recourse to Article 356 and dismiss the Maharashtra Government shows that this totally bankrupt party sees no other way to manoeuvre itself back in power. For the discredited Congress leaders of Maharashtra, Article 356 is the only means of hijacking power, first by proxy and then by manipulation. The National Executive warns the United Front Government that it shall be responsible for the consequences if it seeks to buy a fresh lease of life pandering to this demand of the Congress. The National Executive asserts that there has been no collapse of the constitutional machinery in Maharashtra and the BJP-Shiv Sena Government is fully in command of the situation.

UF Government's Drift and Misgovernance

The National Executive resolves to marshall all the forces at the BJP's command to put an end to the present drift and misgovernance that have together become the hallmark of the United Front Government. The country deserves far better than a bunch of squabbling politicians, more keen on furthering their own material and political prospects than in governing the country. The past one year has seen no fresh policy initiative other than the bartering away

of the nation's interests. The national economy is in the doldrums and vicious centrifugal forces, greatly encouraged by the United Front's pandering to regional parochialism in the guise of pseudo-federalism as well as its shocking lack of concern for the country's unity and integrity, are tearing the nation's socio-political fabric.

Government on Daily Wages

The United Front is burdened by increasing inner contradictions and cracks are fast turning into wide chasms. The absolute lack of unanimity on matters of governance is holding up major decisions that have been kept hanging fire. Sheer ad-hocism has replaced considered policy making. This is a Government on daily wages, surviving from one day to the next by striking political deals and bargains. This is a Government so busy with its own survival that it has no time to look after the interests of the people or the country. This is a farce of a Government, a blot on the country's democratic structure.

The UF Government's Ouster a Must

The only way to remove this blot is to remove this Government. If the United Front has any residual political morality and respect for public opinion, then it will not continue to cling on to power at any cost but call a fresh election. That alone is the way out of the present mess. The Republic cannot be allowed to be held hostage in the hands of utterly debased parties and their equally debased politicians. The United Front Government must go.

□

National Executive

Bhubaneswar **19-21 December, 1997**

Political Situation

BJP Alone Capable of Providing a Stable Government

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party views the coming mid-term general election as a unique opportunity for the people to elect a Government' that is purposive, believes in implementing people-oriented policies and is confident of providing the nation with able leadership. The BJP is the only party which has the capacity to form such a Government headed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

Let the 'Mandate of 1998' be a mandate for a stable Government and an able Prime Minister, both of which the BJP alone can ensure. In sharp contrast, our adversaries are neither in a position to ensure stability nor can they offer an able prime ministerial candidate. Indeed, both the Congress and the UF have desisted from naming anybody as their choice for the Prime Minister's office. Although they have many a claimant, none of them is equal to the job.

Irresponsible Behaviour of UF and Congress

The political instability of this past year-and-a-half, the politics of manipulation, opportunism and blackmail indulged in by the United Front and the Congress, the Government's total abdication of all responsibility to the people, the pursuit of an economic agenda that has caused widespread distress and the callous disregard for the aspirations of the masses, has no doubt resulted in cynicism. This cynicism has been compounded by the grossly irresponsible manner in which the UF and the Congress behaved in the last days of the Gujral Government, forcing the dissolution of the 11th Lok Sabha, and saddling the country with a mid-term general election, as had been predicted by the BJP. The common man, already burdened by runaway back-breaking prices, is now being made to foot the bill for the political misadventure of the UF and the Congress that began in June 1996 and the over-vaulting ambition of small men lusting

for the loaves and fishes of high office.

Wreckers of Democracy to be Punished

The BJP National Executive appeals to the people not to allow cynicism to overshadow the need to protect democracy from further damage. The correct response to the destabilising politics of the Congress and the UF would be for the people to vote overwhelmingly against both of them and thus punish these wreckers of democracy.

After wilfully forcing the dissolution of the Lok Sabha in less than two years of its being elected, the Congress and the UF are now busy blaming each other. After displaying utter contempt for the need to provide stable governance, each is now claiming to be the sole repository of stability. After losing all moral ground with their self-serving compact collapsing like a house of cards, they are still trying to strike moral postures of self-righteous indignation.

Unholy Alliance Against BJP

All this could have been avoided and India could have had a stable Government if only the UF and the Congress had not forged their post-election unholy farce of an alliance to stop the BJP from assuming power. The mandate of 1996, though fractured, was a clear verdict against the Congress and the Janata Dal, the main constituents of the UF. At the same time, the mandate was an endorsement of the BJP which had secured the largest number of seats. But the defeated chose to position themselves as rulers under the garb of protecting 'secularism' and 'federalism'—two political concepts that have suffered the greatest abuse at the hands of their self-appointed champions.

Diabolical Role of the Left

The Left has played the most diabolical role in this past year-and-a-half. The Marxists, like proverbial snakes in the grass, were neither friends of their allies in the UF nor foes of the Congress, even while pretending to be both. Notwithstanding its hollow sloganeering and slander campaign against the BJP, the CPI(M) has proved that the Marxist habits of doublespeak and duplicitous politics die hard. In their pursuit of power without accountability, for which they were willing to collaborate with anybody and compromise on anything, the Marxists have demonstrated their true character as political charlatans.

Congress Party's Desperate Gambit

The political crisis that has forced this mid-term poll is not without implications. The Jain Commission's interim report, which was the ostensible reason for the Congress withdrawing its support to the UF (in reality, it was a desperate gambit by the Congress to manoeuvre itself into power) is cause for concern. The assassination of a former Prime Minister is a very serious matter and any inquiry committee should treat it with an equal degree of seriousness. Justice MC Jain has made a series of observations, innuendos and charges against individuals and organizations. Unfortunately, some of his observations have been in the nature of sweeping generalisations. It is singularly unfortunate that he has indicted the entire Tamil community and cast aspersions on the Sikhs. His unfounded remarks against friendly neighbours were uncalled for. It should be the endeavour of any future Government to assess Justice Jain's findings as a piece of criminal investigation and not for settling political scores as was done by the Congress with the interim report.

Economy in Shambles

The disastrous after effects of the doomed-from-the-beginning experiment called the United Front, in which the Congress was an active participant, are there for all to see. The economy is in shambles and P Chidambaram's 'dream budget' is giving everybody, including big industry which had hailed it, frightening nightmares. The nation is in the grip of an economic crisis. Industrial growth is down from 12 per cent to 5 per cent. The small scale industry has been the worst sufferer. Similarly, growth of agriculture is down by more than 4

per cent from the previous year's nearly 7 per cent. The lot of the farmers has gone from bad to worse. The Rupee has crashed to an all-time low and there is a near collapse of the capital markets. Political uncertainty has made investors at home and abroad nervous about the Indian market and there is complete lack of confidence in regard to future investments.

Dalits and Tribals the Worst Sufferers

Rule of law has suffered enormously with the Constitution being treated contemptuously by the UF Government. The poor and the vulnerable, especially the Dalits and the tribals, have suffered the most under a dispensation that lacked both direction and purpose. The latest carnage in Bihar, in which 61 poor villagers, most of them Dalits, died is symptomatic of the unaddressed plight of the vulnerable sections of society. That the UF, including the sanctimonious Left, has chosen to turn a blind eye to the jungle raj in Laloo's Bihar, speaks volumes. The Congress, of course, is eagerly awaiting an alliance with the RJD whose leading lights are also the leading accused in the fodder scam. To the UF goes the credit of successfully stalling inquiries into many a financial scandal in order to appease its Congress masters as well as try to save Laloo Prasad Yadav from certain conviction in the fodder scam. Crucial files connected with these crimes never moved out of Shri Inder Kumar Gujral's office.

Threats to National Integrity Continuous

National security continues to be compromised. The ISI's vicious activities have spread to new geographical areas and are posing a threat to national integrity. By seeking to pamper separatists in Jammu and Kashmir, the Gujral Government has emboldened those who have been waging war against the Indian state and given a fillip to their murderous activities. While official kindness was extended to terrorists in Kashmir, the displaced Pandits are yet to be restored their home and hearth in the Valley. In the east, infiltration continues unabated, further destabilising the region's demography. Separatism in the North-East has shown no sign of decline; on the contrary, insurgency has increased, claiming a terrible toll of human lives. Both Shri Deve Gowda and Shri Gujral announced a special economic package of Rs 6,100 crore for the North-East. But like all

other promises, this too has remained a pipedream.

The BJP expresses concern over pay disparities which have affected morale in the forces. The service and the sacrifice of our soldiers who have retired continue to be ignored. Both these issues need to be addressed immediately and effectively.

Collapse of Congress and UF

Ironically, the collapse of the Congress-UF compact has coincided with the collapse of the Congress and the Janata Dal in state after state. In Manipur, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Karnataka, the Congress has broken into pieces or is on the verge of coming apart. In Orissa, virtually the entire State Janata Dal has broken free of the parent unit while in Bihar Laloo Prasad Yadav has converted what was once the State Janata Dal into his own family fiefdom.

BJP in an Invincible Position

On the other hand, thanks to the incremental support from our new allies in Tamil Nadu and Orissa, in addition to that of our existing friends, the BJP and its allies are the main contenders in almost all constituencies. No other formation comes anywhere near our invincible position.

People Looking Up to the BJP

This remarkable collapse of our principal adversaries, even while opening up immense possibilities and opportunities for the BJP, also adds to our responsibility. The National Executive realises that an ever-increasing number of people are looking up to the BJP with great expectations of stable governance, good governance and able leadership. The National Executive is confident that the BJP is the only Party which will occupy the political space that is being rapidly vacated by the other parties.

Expecting a Resounding Verdict for BJP

The 17 months of UF rule have been no different from the preceding half decade of Congress rule. The name of the Government changed, but its character remained the same. The National Executive calls upon the people of India to vote against the misgovernance of the UF and the political chicanery of the Congress. Let the coming mid-term general election be a verdict against the Congress and its

clone, the UF; let it be a resounding verdict for the BJP.

We believe that every political party has a role in history. The moment has arrived for the BJP to play its destined role – to provide leadership to a nation betrayed by pretenders; to provide good governance that will set India on the track of prosperity for all; to once again revive the spirit of optimism, opportunity and oneness in this 50th year of our independence.

Turning Point in India's History

This is the turning point in post-independence India's history, a point from where India will embark upon its journey into the next millennium. Standing at this point, we pledge to build, with the people's support, a society free of fear and hunger and a nation confident of facing internal and external security challenges. We pledge to usher in an era of social harmony where the weaker sections shall be able to live in peace and dignity, where the honour of women shall be protected, where the youth shall be active participants in the sacred task of nation-building, and where the genuine social and economic problems of the minority communities shall be taken care of by a responsive and responsible state.

□

National Executive

New Delhi **22-23 February, 1996**

Political Situation

Dismal Record of Rao Government

As the tenure of Shri PV Narasimha Rao's Congress Government draws to a close, the dismal record of this regime becomes increasingly pronounced. It has been five years of governance steeped in corruption, criminalisation and political chicanery. Coming on top of the Bofors case suppression, St. Kitts forgery case, the securities scam, the suitcase affair, the Goldstar fraud, the Rs. 5,000 crore Sugar Super-Scandal, the Disinvestment scandal and the telecom imbroglio, the Hawala fall-out shows up the Rao Government as the most corrupt Government ever in Delhi.

The BJP has always waged an unrelenting war against corruption all these years. It has repeatedly urged state funding of elections, to take money power out of politics. But the Congress has always acted deaf, dumb and blind on this crucial issue.

Method in Rao's Madness

In this context, we heartily welcome the Supreme Court's directive to the CBI to probe the Hawala case in all its ramifications. But the court and the country will note that the Hawala diary is full five years old. Had the PM meant business, he would have directed the CBI, which is directly under him, to make the necessary investigations and launch prosecutions where the same were warranted by evidence—within a maximum of one year. But the PM did no such thing. On the other hand the CBI, under the PM's guidance, has levelled trumped-up charges against our Party President at a time when the Lok Sabha elections are only some hundred days away. There is a method in this madness. The PM as CBI boss is playing electoral politics with crime and corruption. Obviously, his aim is to soil reputations indiscriminately, and not seek justice. As a sensitive person with a high sense of honour, Shri Advani immediately quit the Parliament and vowed not to contest a seat until his name was cleared. We demand that the

CBI come out with evidence, if it has any, against Shri Advani and other BJP leaders at the earliest so that the cases can be conducted on a day-to-day basis. That alone can clear up this matter in time for the National Elections.

CBI Prosecution of the Prime Minister Demanded

Meanwhile, Shri Advani's resignation has forced the resignation of several ministers. However, the country will not be content with the resignation of ministers. The BJP demands that the CBI prosecute the PM himself on the basis of SK Jain's revealing statement of the March, 1995, that he met him nine times and paid him a total of three and a half crore.

The attempted cover-up exercise by the CBI against the Prime Minister is clear. This has given rise to a serious constitutional crisis in as much as the Prime Minister, as prime suspect in the Jain Hawala case, is also taking crucial decisions relating to the CBI. The accused cannot be permitted to act as jury and judge, nor can the CBI be allowed to go soft on the PM's friend, Mr. Chandraswamy. We have no doubt that the Supreme Court will take note of all these facts and issue necessary directions.

Allahabad High Court Judgement: A Welcome Step

The BJP also welcomes the Allahabad High Court judgement which has severely indicted Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav's administration for committing horrifying atrocities on peaceful activists demanding a separate Hill State of Uttaranchal. The BJP demands that Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav be prosecuted for ordering this criminal crackdown. In this connection the BJP would like to point out that BSP leader Ms. Mayawati has also denied atrocities and declined permission to prosecute the concerned officers. The PM's culpability is no less, in neither condemning those enormities

nor dismissing the Mulayam Government for the same.

Fodder Scandal in Bihar

In Bihar, Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav's Janata Dal Government's plunder of the treasury to the tune of Rs. 1,200 crore has been exposed by the BJP. In violation of all norms and regulations, thousands of crores of rupees have been misappropriated in what has come to be known as the 'fodder scandal'. In keeping with its resolve to fight corruption, the BJP has taken the lead in Bihar to take the exposure to its logical conclusion. It is significant that during this period of massive fraud, Mr. Laloo Prasad was not only Chief Minister, he was also Finance Minister.

Marxist Connections to Calcutta Blast

In West Bengal, the CPI(M)-dominated Left Front Government is desperately seeking to suppress the diary of Rashid Khan, main accused in the Calcutta blast, as it contains evidence of his contacts with senior and influential Marxist leaders.

The BJP remains firmly committed to fighting this evil and rooting out corruption from every sphere of our nation's life. It resolves to restore probity in all spheres and at all levels and make accountability an integral part of governance.

Gaping Holes in National Security

Nor are Mr. Rao's and his friends' sins confined to corruption. The infiltration of two crore Bangladeshis amounts to a demographic and economic invasion of India. Even three years after the Mumbai serial blasts, there are many abscondings and many more bail-outs but there is not even a single conviction. The mysterious massive air-dropping of lethal arms in Purulia, West Bengal, not only shows up gaping holes in national security, it places the state and Central Governments squarely in the dock.

Failure of Economic Policies

The continuing decline of the Rupee is a reflection on the entire range of economic policies of this Government. At this rate, the Indian Rupee will soon become an irrelevant piece of paper. In less than five years, prices have gone up by 100%. The Union Finance Minister's remark that it is not the Government's job to protect the

Rupee, would suggest that it is not the job of this Government to do anything except mess up things.

The Congress will leave behind an enormous external debt burden of Rs. 3,00,000 crores and a combined internal debt of Rs. 6,00,000 crore or more. The much publicised foreign exchange reserves are fast disappearing in thin air.

About the Kashmir and NEFA situation, the less said the better.

BJP's Demand for Immediate Elections

By all these sins of omission and commission, this Government has defamed the country, bewildered the people, bankrupted the economy, destabilized the polity and brought our democratic Constitution itself contempt. This air of uncertainty and illegitimacy has created a psychological vacuum with dangerous possibilities. This situation calls for immediate resignation of this Government and quick Lok Sabha elections.

What is at stake is the security of our country and our people. India's unity and integrity are in peril: and all of us must defend it with all our might. In this hour of crisis we appeal to all thinking people to join hands with us to save the country and give ourselves a Government that can govern and take the country forward.

□

National Executive

Jaipur **15-17 November, 1996**

Current Political Situation

BJP Enjoying the Support of the People

In less than six months after assuming power by forging a platform of rank political opportunism with the sole purpose of denying the Bharatiya Janata Party the mandate it had secured in this year's general election, the 13-party United Front Government led by Shri HD Deve Gowda has plunged to new depths in misgovernance and subverted the Constitution in a reckless display of total disregard for political morality. On the other hand, the BJP, by emerging as the single largest party in Uttar Pradesh—where it has further consolidated its base by winning 33.8 per cent of the popular vote, and securing the second largest bloc of seats in Jammu & Kashmir, where the Party gained from a 2 per cent swing in its favour—has once again demonstrated that it enjoys the support of the people on account of its distinct ideological commitment. In both the states, the Congress has been all but wiped out while in Uttar Pradesh the United Front is a poor second.

Trend Towards Lumpen Authoritarianism

The destabilization of the BJP Government in Gujarat, followed by the installation of a puppet regime of defectors and turncoats, and the imposition of President's rule in Uttar Pradesh so as not to allow the BJP to form the Government despite the Party emerging head and shoulders above the others, are examples of the United Front's political immorality and indicate the emerging trend towards lumpen authoritarianism. Meanwhile, Shri Deve Gowda has lived up to his statement in Parliament—that fighting corruption does not figure high on his agenda—as has been proved by the United Front Government's blatant attempts to either suppress the truth behind scandals like the fodder scam or save individuals like the former Prime Minister, Shri PV Narasimha Rao, from getting their just desserts. In this endeavour, new standards have been set in using the CBI as the Government's dirty tricks department. Regrettably,

governance has suffered as never before. Indeed, the crucial areas of economy, agriculture, defence, foreign affairs and social welfare continue to suffer in neglect as a rudderless, directionless 14-party coalition of parties with conflicting ideologies, blunders from one disaster to another, propelled by the lust for power at any cost.

Machiavellian Politics at its Worst

The BJP considers the United Front's subversion of the Constitution and abuse of power in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh as nothing short of Machiavellian politics at its worst. The Suresh Mehta Ministry was made to pay a heavy price for insisting on upholding constitutional norms and practices. The BJP is proud that its Government in Gujarat chose to prove its majority on the floor of the Assembly despite several obstacles raised by the Governor whose partisan role in the entire episode can only be described as shameful and despicable. Rather than discharge his gubernatorial responsibilities in a fair manner, as was expected of him, he has heaped disrepute on his office by becoming the linchpin of the conspiracy to first destabilise and then dislodge the BJP Government. The installation of the Shanker Singh Vaghela Government is the culmination of this butchery of democracy. The new regime in Gandhinagar is as much lacking in legitimacy as the regime headed by Shri Deve Gowda.

BJP's Claim to Have Been Invited to Form Government in UP

Similarly, in Uttar Pradesh, the BJP should have been invited to form the Government after emerging as the single largest party with 176 seats, way ahead of the United Front and the BSP-Congress combine. Not only political morality but the established norms and precedents of constitutional democracy demand that by now a BJP Government should have been in place in Lucknow. The last

three general elections have resulted in a hung Parliament with no party enjoying a clear or proximate majority. On each occasion, the President has unhesitatingly called upon the single largest party to form the Government. This should have been the yardstick followed by the Governor of Uttar Pradesh. Yet, he has proved to be no more than a lackey of the United Front Government, stooping low to do his political masters' bidding.

A Fraud on the Constitution

The BJP holds that the reimposition of President's rule through a fresh Presidential Ordinance on the strength of the fiction that the Governor has 'explored' all avenues of Government formation but failed in his endeavour, is a glaring example of an unscrupulous Government committing a fraud on the Constitution. Even Parliament is not empowered to extend President's rule beyond a year. The very fact that the United Front now plans to further extend President's rule bears testimony to its dual purpose of keeping the BJP out of power (thus frustrating the mandate of the people as it did when it usurped power at the Centre) as well as buying time to cobble together an unholy alliance through horse-trading and coercion (whose character would not be dissimilar to the one headed by Shri Deve Gowda). The BJP commits itself to stand firm by its rightful demand that it should be asked to form the Government in Uttar Pradesh without further delay and resolves to take this political battle to its logical conclusion. The BJP shall not allow the casteist outfit known as Samajwadi Party, which draws sustenance from criminal, venal politics and the support of morally bankrupt allies like the Janata Dal and the Left, to hijack the mandate of Uttar Pradesh.

Gross Abuse of Article 356

The BJP condemns the gross abuse of Article 356 in Uttar Pradesh by the United Front Government with the cooperation of pliant Governors eager to please their political masters. For years now, we have been demanding that this particular Article, which has been abused innumerable times by the Centre to get rid of politically inconvenient regimes in the states and is now being abused to prevent us from coming to power, should be amended so as to make it mandatory for the Union Government to secure Parliament's approval by a two-thirds majority before taking recourse to

President's rule. Ironically, the Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, West Bengal and Jammu & Kashmir, who belong to parties that constitute the United Front, have demanded the scrapping of Article 356 at the recent Inter-State Council meeting. No less ironical is the United Front's pledge to put an end to the abuse of Article 356 by amending the Constitution, as articulated in its Common Minimum Programme. The irony is underscored by the fact that in less than six months the United Front has had no qualms about abusing this Article twice and using it as a politically expedient means to achieve its petty ends. The BJP demands that immediate steps be taken to amend Article 356 so as to prevent its abuse by a regime as driven by political immorality as that headed by Shri Deve Gowda.

Relevant Sarkaria Commission's Recommendations in Need of being put into Practice

The BJP reiterates its demand that the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations on the appointment and role of Governors be immediately put into practice so as to avoid the manipulation of politics from the precincts of Bhavans as witnessed in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh in recent times. The Governor is the only constitutional authority not accountable to Parliament for his actions, and this distinctive character of the office has been misused behind the garb of gubernatorial discretion. The BJP feels that an Instrument of Instructions for Governors, as suggested by Dr BR Ambedkar during the Constituent Assembly debates, will serve as a corrective. We hold that irreparable damage will be caused to the federal character of the Union if the arrogation and abuse of powers by unscrupulous Governors, as witnessed in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh, is allowed to go unchecked.

UF Government Covering up Congress Corruption

The collaborative role of two political organizations in the anti-people and anti-democratic actions of the United Front Government cannot be overemphasized. The Congress, which entered into a compact with the United Front as a strategy to stop the law from catching up with the misdeeds of its leaders, has lived up to its reputation of exhibiting depthless cowardice before power and limitless insolence before justice. The party, reduced to the

humiliating spectacle of its entire leadership being indicted for a variety of offences ranging from forgery to bribery to plain theft, can only afford to pathetically whimper that its support should not be taken for granted by the United Front. No less pathetic is its cringing appeal to yesterday's rebels to return to the party-fold, irrespective of the intensity of the abuse they have showered on the Congress in the recent past.

In reality, the Congress has no other option but to continue to support the Deve Gowda regime—as is evident from available indications that it will vote in favour of the proclamation reimposing President's rule on Uttar Pradesh—which has responded by coming to the aid of beleaguered individuals like Shri PV Narasimha Rao. Supporting a regime that is not committed to fighting corruption is any day preferable to the Congress than a BJP regime committed to destroying the evil of corruption root and branch. It remains to be seen how the Government responds to the Delhi High Court's directive to the CBI, asking it to file by 2 December a full report on allegations of corruption against the present Congress President, Shri Sitaram Kesari. Going by the overzealousness of the CBI and the Government to protect the former Congress President, it is more than likely that all attempts will be made to suppress the truth. But, despite the best efforts of the Deve Gowda Government to fudge facts, the courts have come up with one devastating order after another, proving that the BJP was absolutely right when it said that Shri Narasimha Rao's was the most corrupt Government since Independence. However, notwithstanding the string of judicial exposures that have shown up Congressmen for what they really are, the United Front and the Congress, like the proverbial birds of a feather, continue to flock together.

Conspiracy to Suppress the Truth

The BJP regrets this debasement of polity by the inaction and worse of the United Front. The Deve Gowda Government, of course, has its reasons for not including fighting corruption on its agenda. Had it done so, it would have had to prosecute the Janata Dal President and Bihar Chief Minister, Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav, for his leading role in the fodder scam which has left the scamsters richer by more than Rs. 2,000 crore. That, in turn, would have jeopardised Shri Deve Gowda's Prime Ministership as a substantial number of

Janata Dal MPs owe their allegiance to Shri Yadav. Similarly, it is not surprising that little or no effort should have been made till now to get to the bottom of the Indian Bank scandal. As for the Congress, going easy against the crimes of its leaders is the best way to ensure its support. In a sense, this Government's survival depends not on fighting corruption but turning a blind eye to it. The BJP resolves to wage a relentless war against this conspiracy to suppress the truth and will tirelessly strive to bring to book those guilty of looting the nation.

BJP's Resolve to Expose Left's True Colour

The collaborative role of the Left in propping up the morally bankrupt United Front has been no less despicable than that of the Congress. Burdened by the dogma born of an ideology that has been rejected the world over and given to striking moral postures, the Left parties are seeking to give shape to their totalitarian temptation through the United Front. The same CPI(M), which till yesterday was in the vanguard of the protest against Article 356 and whose Governments in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura have been at the receiving end of the Centre's interventionism, today unhesitatingly justifies the abuse of this constitutional provision. It is the same CPI(M) whose Chief Ministers in West Bengal and Kerala have demanded the scrapping of the office of Governor in order to avoid gubernatorial mischief, which has stood by the abuse of office by the Governors of Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. Indeed, it is the same CPI(M) which till yesterday was in the forefront of the movement against lumpenisation of politics but today rejoices in making common cause with the hoodlum brigade of the Janata Dal and the Samajwadi Party. The murderous assault the CPI(M) has launched on workers of the BJP and ABVP in Kerala shows how indistinguishable it has become from its yesterday's enemies. There have been 100 such incidents, indicating the Left's proclivity to misuse power to eliminate its opponents, as also exposing its fascist intolerance. As for the CPI, it is not new to the collaborative politics of crass opportunism, having mastered the art during the Emergency years. A party that faces the imminent danger of losing its status as a national party along with its election symbol, enjoys by virtue of becoming an unprincipled collaborator, the privilege of holding the key ministries of Home and Agriculture. It is another matter that the

Home minister, who also happens to be the senior-most CPI leader, is not consulted by the Prime Minister even on routine matters – such humiliation is perfectly acceptable to the so-called ‘principled’ Left. Over the past six months, the Left has shown its true colours and the BJP shall expose it further.

Trans-Border Terrorism Not Yet Defeated

The BJP shares the nation’s relief over the installation of an elected Government in Jammu and Kashmir after six years and congratulates the people and the security forces for enabling elections to the State Assembly despite attempts by the terrorist organisations and their mentors in Pakistan to stall the electoral process. The BJP honours the courage and patriotism of those party workers who have unflinchingly braved terrorist atrocities during the past decade to protect Jammu and Kashmir from enemies, both at home and abroad – scores of them have made the supreme sacrifice in this sacred task and we resolve that their martyrdom will continue to inspire us in our mission to create a strong and united India. The BJP, however, warns the nation that trans-border terrorism has been far from defeated in this state and it would be suicidal for the Farooq Abdullah Government to let up pressure on the practitioners of the Kalashnikov culture. In fact, the terrorists have launched a fresh offensive and stepped up their killing spree. We demand that the security forces should continue to be deployed and allowed a free hand to deal with terrorism without any interference either by the Centre or the State Government. We also demand that the defence committees should not be disbanded. The BJP is concerned over Dr Abdullah’s recent utterances about restoring Jammu and Kashmir’s pre-1952 status and the scrapping of article 249, as well as the United Front Government’s eagerness to give in to these demands. There can be no bilateral deal between the United Front and the National Conference, which is a constituent of the former, on the issue of autonomy, and the BJP pledges to protect the nation’s interests from being sacrificed at the altar of political expediency. The BJP cautions Dr Abdullah against indulging in political irredentism which lies at the core of separatism in Kashmir. Instead, he should concentrate on the stupendous task on hand of ridding the civil administration of malcontents and

rehabilitating the displaced Pandits, Hindus and Sikhs. The Chief Minister must also ensure regional autonomy for Jammu and Ladakh and ensure that the people of these two regions are not discriminated against as in the past.

Deve Gowda Obligated to Fulfill his Promise for Creation of Uttarakhand

While heartily thanking the people of Uttaranchal for their unprecedented, massive support in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly elections, the BJP reminds the Prime Minister that he had not only declared on 15 August, 1996, that a separate State of Uttarakhand would be created, but also repeatedly and categorically made the same promise during the poll campaign. The Uttar Pradesh Assembly has already passed two resolutions to this effect – the first resolution being passed by the BJP Government in August 1991. The BJP, which has been spearheading the struggle for a separate State of Uttaranchal, demands that Shri Deve Gowda fulfill his promise without any further delay.

UF Government Not Paying Attention to Problems in North-East

The BJP also demands immediate scrapping of the Illegal Migrants Determination Act which has proved to be a hindrance in identifying illegal immigrants in Assam rather than solving the problem. This Act needs to be replaced with a law that is more effective and puts the onus on the state to detect and deport aliens. In Tripura, the Left Front Government is deeply involved with insurgents who have stepped up their activities ever since the present Government has taken charge. These crucial issues are in danger of being swept aside by the United Front Government, obsessed as it is with furthering its own petty interests and selling the nation cheap instead of nursing the nation's interests.

BJP all Set to Lead the Nation into the 21st Century

The purpose that cements together these practitioners of opportunist politics is to somehow keep the BJP away from power and thus ensure their survival. In a sense, they are fighting for their very survival; it is the survival instinct which has brought them together on a common platform. To hide this truth, they have raised the bogey of 'communalism' and now they stand for 'secularism' – a stand reflected in the recent Government submission before the

Supreme Court that it has no intention of fulfilling the constitutional mandate and legal responsibility of introducing a Uniform Civil Code, and the shameless attempt to secure minority votes during the Uttar Pradesh elections by recruiting the services of Imams. The BJP's unwavering commitment to uncompromising nationalism, be it *Hindutva* or *Swadeshi*, and its relentless crusade against minorityism have contributed in no small measure to bringing the debate on secularism into sharp focus, thus exposing the pseudo-secularists and their fake ideology. The increasing acceptance of our ideology from Kanyakumari to Kashmir is directly proportionate to the marginalisation of the pseudo-secularists who, faced with the reality of more and more people rejecting the politics of appeasement, are compelled to make a last stand against the powerful and overwhelming forces of nationalism which the BJP has unleashed. Indeed, in many ways the United Front represents the last obstacle in the path of the BJP which has to be overcome to fulfil the Party's destined task of leading the nation into the 21st century. The BJP resolves to overcome this obstacle, for, the tide of history is working for the BJP in the long run.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

15-16 July, 1995

A. Bomb-Culture in Tamil Nadu

Islamic Fundamentalism Spreading in the South

The BJP is seriously concerned over the twin dangers of fundamentalism and separatism enveloping Tamil Nadu which has traditionally been a bastion of our culture and nationalism.

The National Executive of the BJP expresses deep distress over the spread of the 'Bomb-Culture' in Tamil Nadu. The series of bomb blasts that Tamil Nadu has been experiencing during the past two years, apart from the earlier sporadic blasts, have established the fact that these are calculated attempts, not by just anti-social elements, but by trained and determined groups of anti-national elements, aided and abetted by the ISI of Pakistan as part of their plan to destabilise our country from the South also. The bomb blast at the RSS Karyalaya and Hindu Munnani office and the murder of Rajagopalan, a Hindu Munnani leader, and the parcel bombs sent to some nationalist leaders, are all pointers that the main targets are nationalist organisations. The recent bomb attack on Shri Maniratnam, well-known film director, who has produced a film condemned by the fundamentalists, also seems the handiwork of these very elements.

State and Central Governments Proving Ineffective

This Executive is of the view that these various activities of these groups could have been nipped in the bud, if the state and Central Governments had been vigilant and taken effective steps. The ineffectiveness of the Government is borne out by the fact that till today, not one of the key conspirators behind these dastardly deeds has been apprehended. Lately, the perpetrators behind these crimes have resorted to postal bombs. Mrs. Thangam, wife of Mr. Muthukrishnan, Hindu Munnani District President in Nagore, was recently killed by a postal bomb. A similar attempt was made on the life of BJP District President, Jagaveera Pandian, in Tanjore district.

The state and Central Governments cannot afford to shut their

eyes to these developments and should come forward to discharge their elementary duty of protecting the lives and properties of citizens and to root out the anti-national groups and foreign agencies behind these.

Unity and Integrity of the Country to be Protected

The BJP calls upon both the Tamil Nadu and the Central Governments to coordinate their efforts in this task so that the unity and integrity of the country is protected and promoted. The BJP further suggests that a Joint Special Task Force of the state and the Centre be set up to tackle this growing menace in Tamil Nadu.

Along with this, divisive forces are once again surfacing in Tamil Nadu, trying their best to sow seeds of separation under the garb of sympathising with the suffering Tamils in Sri Lanka. The recent speeches at a seminar held in Madras on 6 June and at the MDMK Conference held in Trichy are pointers to this. The country cannot afford to relax its vigil over the activities of these divisive elements.

B. The Doordarshan-CNN Deal

Government Reversing Established Media Policy

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses deep dismay over the arrangement entered into by Government of India's Doordarshan with the CNN. The whole thing was sprung as a surprise on the country on 30 June, 1995 without any discussion in Parliament.

The Government of India is congratulating itself on the fact that it will have 4 hours a day on CNN. It forgets that it is our satellite and our channel and we have gifted it to CNN for the remaining twenty hours of the day.

Foreign Agencies Not to Promote India's Interests

The Government of India is also congratulating itself that, by entering into this arrangement with CNN, it has put BBC in its place. The fact, however, is that both BBC and CNN are foreign agencies projecting foreign viewpoints and promoting their respective national interests. Whether it is Kashmir or Khalistan or NPT, both these agencies are naturally unconcerned about Indian interest and may be inclined to take a subtly hostile stand.

The Doordarshan-CNN arrangement is a reversal of Indian media policy since Independence. Sardar Patel, as Information and Broadcasting Minister, discontinued the 9.30 PM BBC news bulletin on All India Radio. In 1956, the Government of India formally enunciated its media policy, ruling out any arrangements with foreign media. *The New York Times* was refused permission to publish an edition from Delhi. In a moment of weakness following the Chinese attack in 1962, the Government of India did enter into an arrangement with the Voice of America, but there was so much public protest that it promptly cancelled that deal. But the present Government has been increasingly eroding India's independent media policy. It allowed Reuter to sell its financial services directly to Indian newspapers, completely cutting out the PTI. And, but for the strong resistance of the Indian Press and public, it would have allowed foreign print media to inundate the land.

Cultural Imperialism that's Electronic Media

Now, however, comes an even more sinister incursion – in the realm of electronic media. By not implementing the Prasar Bharati Act – duly passed by the Parliament and signed by the President – the Government of India has emasculated our own Radio and TV. In this situation, the foreign electronic media has been encouraged to invade the Indian market and the Indian mind. Some of this media not only projects vice and violence – in other words, cultural imperialism and cultural terrorism – on issue after issues it gives a foreign view of the world. Whether the issue is Iran or Iraq, Chechenya or Bosnia, India will be fed a view of the world which might be very much contrary to the Indian perception and often opposed to Indian public interest. This is wholly unacceptable.

The Agreement Undesirable

The framers of the Indian Constitution confined the freedom of expression only to Indian citizens. The Supreme Court also, while holding Air Waves to be public property to be made available to Indian citizens, directed the setting up of a Regulatory Authority for enabling Indian citizens to use the same. But the Government of India, instead of taking steps in the direction of liberalizing electronic media in favour of Indian citizens, has suddenly made its transponder available to a foreign agency like CNN. It is paradoxical that Indian citizens cannot transmit from India – and they have to go to Hong Kong or Moscow for the purpose. Indian companies producing current affairs programmes are subject to censorship. But a foreign TV channel will have unrestricted access to Indian viewers from Indian soil. The indiscriminate opening up of the Indian economy has enabled the multinationals to control our purses. The foreign TV companies will now be fully free to control the Indian minds.

For all these reasons, the BJP views the DD-CNN arrangement as wholly unnecessary and undesirable. We, therefore, call upon the Government to reconsider the matter and revise its decision.

C. Uniform Civil Code

BJP Happy with the Supreme Court Judgement

The Bharatiya Janata Party welcomes the judgement of the Supreme Court emphasising the desirability of enacting a Uniform Civil Code in India. As expected, the pseudo-secularists have joined judgement calls for a nation-wide debate on the real content and meaning of secularism in the Indian context.

It was the collective wisdom of the Constituent Assembly that Article 44 was enacted. Article 44 mandates that the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a Uniform Civil Code throughout the territory of India. We have today a paradoxical situation in the country where almost all laws are applicable uniformly to all citizens. We have a common criminal law. We have common laws in relation to property, rent, commercial transactions and gift. However, we are permitting personal laws to be applicable to members of various

religious denominations.

Judgement a Stricture on Pseudo-Secularists

The recent judgement of the Supreme Court is a stricture on the pseudo-secularists who have prevented the legislation of a Uniform Civil Code. The Court has held —

“It appears that even 45 years thereafter, the rulers of the day are not in mood to retrieve Article 44 from the cold storage where it is lying since 1949. The Governments ... which have come and gone ... have so far failed to make any effort towards unified personal law for all Indians. The reasons are too obvious to be stated.”

These obvious reasons are directly relatable to vote bank politics which has in recent years proved destructive of the rationalist fabric of Indian polity.

Personal Laws in Conflict with Fundamental Rights

When the people of India through the Constituent Assembly adopted the Indian Constitution, we gave ourselves fundamental rights. Articles 14 and 15 mandate equality for all citizens. They prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex. Article 21 guarantees the right to life and liberty which includes the right to live with dignity. Gender equality and the right of every Indian — man and woman — to live with dignity is a part of the basic feature of the Indian Constitution. No citizen can be denied the same. When we look at the different personal laws in India, they present a pathetic spectacle. A Muslim woman can be turned out of her matrimonial house on the three oral utterances of ‘Talaq’ without an adequate provision for her maintenance. She can be driven to destitution without remedy. She can be compelled to live with three other wives under the same roof. Polygamy has no place in any modern society. A Christian woman is not entitled to the same rights and grounds of divorce as her male spouse is. A Hindu woman may be a co-sharer of residential house but has no right to claim its partition. A flagrant violation of gender equality and the right to live with dignity is visible in different personal laws.

All Indian Citizens to have the Same Rights

The Bharatiya Janata Party feels that successive Governments and Legislatures have failed to implement the mandate of the Constituent Assembly, failed to restore equality and dignity to a

large section of our citizenry only because the pseudo-secularists have succumbed to the pressures of fundamentalist groups. The Bharatiya Janata Party feels that 'rituals' in relation to marriage and death can be guided by religious practices, but 'rights' emanating from them must be regulated by law. This law should be reasonable, non-discriminatory, based on gender equality and respect – dignity to all citizens – men and women. The existence of different personal laws has been used by the pseudo-secularists to create a separate identity for certain religious groups, thus placing their interest ahead of the nation. The integrated personality of the Indian Nation is diluted when separate personal laws and Constitutional provisions like Article 370, which create a separate psyche, are allowed to exist on the Statute Book. The Supreme Court, while disapproving this separate identity argument, has observed:

“Those who preferred to remain in India after partition fully knew that Indian leaders did not believe in two nations or three nations theory and that in the Indian Republic, there was to be only one nation and no community could claim to remain a separate entity on the basis of religion.”

Uniform Civil Law – an Imperative Need

Anachronistic practices, such as Sati, existence of caste system, dowry etc. have been campaigned against by reformers and even through legislation. Separate Personal Laws on the basis of religion are neither permitted in advanced countries of the West, nor in the Islamic countries. Enactment of a Uniform Civil Code in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution, the direction of the Supreme Court, and the requirements of a modern and nationalistic polity of today, is an imperative need. The BJP calls upon the Government to immediately legislate a Uniform Civil Code in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution.

□

Plenary Session

Mumbai

10-12 November, 1995

Political Situation

Colossal Failure of the Rao Government

This *Mahaadhiveshan* of the BJP, representing the heart-throb of the country, expresses grave concern on the colossal failure of the Rao Government on all fronts and at all levels. And it resolves to give the country a strong and clean government for national security, political stability, social unity, cultural integrity and rapid economic development with a fair deal for all sections of society.

New Low in Political Immorality

Never in the history of independent India did its respect plummet so low, nor ever was its voice ignored without consideration as during the past five years. Today, its sovereignty can be questioned without hesitation and security can be threatened without trepidation. The hydra-headed demon of divisive forces has spread its tentacles throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Rao Government has miserably failed to pull the country out of this agonizing condition. The failures of this last Congress regime are truly breath-taking. Its record of crime and corruption, its neglect of national interest and its subservience to foreign interest constitute a new low in political immorality.

Expanding Empire of Corruption

In the expanding empire of corruption, the Bofors Gun Scandal and the St. Kitts affair of the Ninth Lok Sabha are headed for the Eleventh Lok Sabha, with no convictions in sight. To these have been added the Sugar and Disinvestment scandals. Next to no action has been taken on the unanimous report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in the Securities Scam. While every other Ministry is involved in dubious deals, the Oil Ministry's sell-out to foreign oil companies and the Mines Ministry's privatisation of Bailadila Iron Ore Mines, can only rob the country of our rich but non-

renewable natural resources. The Government compromised the Parliament and the Judiciary alike by saving a corrupt judge from impeachment with votes bought in the Lok Sabha. The PMO which does not so much as find a mention in the Constitution, has become the super-cabinet, presiding over much of the hanky-panky in this Government.

Increasing Criminalisation of Politics

Under the pressure of terrorists and their friends, the Government has allowed TADA to lapse, removing the element of fear from subversive elements. This has already resulted in the fatal weakening of the Mumbai Serial Bombing Case and the murder of Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh.

An over-all lack of personal security and law and order prevails all over the country. In Mumbai, BJP leaders Ramdas Naik and Prem Sharma were brutally murdered in broad daylight. Inhuman crimes against women have multiplied manifold, with not even one per cent of them ending in conviction. And the whole country was stunned by the Tandoor Murder Case in Congress ranks.

Under pressure of public opinion, the Government has been compelled to publish the conclusions of the Vohra Committee Report on Criminal-Politician links, but it has kept back the very fact on which these conclusions are based. Obviously, the Government has much to hide and it is not interested in exposing and punishing either political criminals or criminal politicians. With highly undesirable characters masquerading as 'God-men' and keeping VVIP Company, the country has been having the Government of the corrupt by the corrupt and for the corrupt.

Subservience to Foreign Interests

Perhaps nowhere is the Government's failure more shameful than in its subservience to foreign interests. Not content with letting foreign banks milk the Indian economy, it is preparing to let foreign insurance companies come and do the same. While foreign exchange has been utilised to prop up the Dollar, little has been done to stop the continuing erosion of the Rupee. And this Government has not only let in junk foods, it has let in junk culture, culminating in the running down even of Mahatma Gandhi.

Cultural Imperialism

Under this same foreign pressure, Government has entered into an unequal agreement with CNN and allowed a variety of foreign media to misrepresent India from Indian soil itself. The whole thing amounts to informatic imperialism and cultural terrorism. At the same time, the Government has frozen to death the Prasar Bharati Act, providing for Indian electronic media autonomy, duly passed by Parliament and signed by the President, full five years ago.

The Government has even carried this subservience to alarming lengths in respect of National Security.

National Security Undermined

It has hamstrung the country's missile programme. And it has helplessly watched the publication of inspired false reports, downgrading the capability of the Arjun Tank, the suitability of the Kaveri Engine for our Light Combat Aircraft, and the quality of our Advanced Light Helicopter. Meanwhile, foreign 'security advisers' have been inducted into Kashmir, to the shocked surprise of our Armed Forces. Moreover, under the foreign pressure of so-called Human-Rights-Wallahs, the Government has allowed the defamation of our gallant Jawans doing onerous duty in Kashmir.

Bungling on Kashmir Issue

The Congress bungled the Kashmir issue from day one. It has only complicated it further by its announcements for holding elections in Jammu and Kashmir. The BJP has always emphasised that situation in J & K was not conducive for holding elections. But the Governor, the Union Home Minister and the Prime Minister himself were insisting on holding elections in J & K. The announcement from

the Election Commission that elections cannot be held in J & K has upheld the BJP standpoint. The PM's promise of 'anything short of Azadi' has only encouraged extremists to internationalise the issue. The whole thing goes counter to the Parliament's unanimous resolution of 1994 on the subject. And all this time, the PM has had time enough for trip after foreign trip, but he has had no time or decency to visit the lacs of Kashmiris who have lost their all and become refugees in their own country.

Growing Threats to India's Integrity

The Congress has failed to curb insurgency in the North-Eastern part of the country. No solution has been found for the Chakma refugee problem, resulting in complications in several North-Eastern states. From time to time, it has aided and abetted the murderous LTTE. It has taken no steps to stem the tide of infiltration from Bangladesh. This, together with the continuing demographic imbalance revealed by the latest census, constitutes grave threat to the unity and integrity of the Indian states. Indeed, all non-BJP parties are maintaining a guilty silence on this explosive issue.

No Cognizance of the Uttaranchal Recommendations

Four years ago, during the BJP rule in UP, the Legislative Assembly adopted a resolution for the formation of a separate state - Uttaranchal. The resolution was duly forwarded to the Centre for taking immediate steps. The UP Assembly, in 1994 again reiterated its resolve to carve out a separate hill state. The Rao Government not only refused to take any cognizance of these recommendations but also turned a blind eye to the inhuman atrocities perpetrated by the Mulayam Singh Government on the patriotic and peace loving people of the hill districts in UP.

Pandering to Mullah-Cracy

While the Congress has tried to book the Muslim Vote Bank with stunts like 'Friday holidays in some schools of Kerala', 'More Pilgrims for Haj', 'Salaries for Imams' etc., it has done nothing for the education and modernisation of the Muslim community, which alone can secure it economic advancement. And it has consistently disregarded the Constitution and the Supreme Court rulings and failed to give the country a Common Civil Law, which alone can

give equal rights to women. Five Central ministers recently attended a Jamat-ul-Ulema Conference in Mumbai which demanded repeal of Article 44 of the Constitution and communal representation in the services. In Kerala, singing of Vande Mataram is for practical purposes banned in schools. All this pandering to mullah-crazy has encouraged fundamentalism and made it easy for Pakistan's ISI to spread its wings and operate with impunity in our country.

Dismal Performance of Non-BJP State Governments

While such is the dismal record of the Congress, the performance of some non-Congress, non-BJP state Governments has been no better. The Janata Dal believes in caste war and the communists believe in class war. The attempted NF-LF gang-up against the BJP is not only negative and reactionary, it is a non-starter. The SP-BSP Government of UP not only practised corruption and patronised crime, it bribed the pliant sections of the Press and declared war on the independent Press with 'Halla Bol'. In Bihar, the JD Government has become a by-word for crime, corruption and plain tomfoolery. The JD Government in Karnataka has been rocked by corruption and riven by dissensions. Under the JD rule, the developmental activities in Karnataka have come to a grinding halt. The CPI(M) Government of West Bengal has been noted for a general running down of the administration and a full-stop to development.

Good Performance of BJP Ruled States

By contrast, the BJP has given a good account of itself. In state after state, it has given a clean and competent administration which has been as responsible as it has been responsive. In Maharashtra, the Shiv Sena-BJP Government has brought down Enronjo earth. In Gujarat, the BJP Government introduced several welfare schemes. It nipped the Sabarmati Jail Conspiracy in the bud and caught long-time killer Latif. Here the Centre aided and abetted a revolt, but our party succeeded in managing the crisis. The financial management of Rajasthan Government has received applause from all quarters. From Delhi to Mumbai, the BJP Governments are working on a uniform tax pattern for a Western India Economic Union. The Delhi Government, despite several handicaps, has done remarkable work in various fields. Its determination and success in making Delhi free from Polio

has received international appreciation. In UP the BJP as the principal Opposition party ended the corrupt, mafia rule of the SP-BSP combine and later saved the state from the misrule of the BSP Government. The Centre cheated the BJP of its right to form the Government, but people remember its performance in 1991-93 with nostalgia. Today, the Party is poised to sweep both Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha polls in India's largest state.

Even in states where the BJP is not in power but is the main Opposition, it has made valuable contribution to Governance. In Karnataka, the BJP exposed the over-pricing of Cogentrix Thermal Power Project and thus has saved the state some Rs. 1,000 crore. In Bihar, for the first time in decades, the Government has been forced on the defensive by the effective role played by the BJP as the main Opposition. The party has also challenged the Laloo-Shahi poll rigging in the High Court. In Madhya Pradesh, the party has exposed and thus stalled the sell-out of Diamond Mines to De Beers international diamond cartel. No wonder, friends and foes alike perceive the Bharatiya Janata Party to be 'Unstoppable' in the coming electoral contest.

Heavy Responsibility on BJP

All this places a very heavy responsibility on the BJP. As the party of Indian Nationalism, we are committed to upholding the sovereign interest of our Country, our People and our Culture at all times and at all levels. We must uphold national honour, ensure complete law and order, with absolute security of life, limb, property and honour for all children of Bharat Mata, and work for rapid economic development with full employment. Standing on this crossroads of history, the BJP resolves to take the country forward on the path of Peace and Progress. Our workers have traditionally given an excellent account of themselves. At this epochal point in our national history we particularly appeal to them to work heart and soul for a grand victory for the Party. The country expects us all to exemplify our ideals in thought, word and deed, in private and in public. Let *Sanyam* and *Anushasan* be our *Sankalp*. With Nationalism and Dedication – *Desh* and *Dharma* – we are bound to prevail over the forces of darkness and division.

The BJP *Mahaadhiveshan* invites patriotic elements to join

hands with us in this Great National *Yagna*, to take the country forward on all fronts and secure for Bharat Mata the pride of place in the comity of nations.



National Executive

New Delhi

23-24 December, 1995

Corruption

The Bharatiya Janata Party congratulates its Members of Parliament for exposing the Narasimha Rao Government's low multi-crore telecom privatisation scandal. The ruling party, steeped in corruption, shamelessly refused to face the charges while the Congress President and Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, could not summon the courage to make an appearance in either House of Parliament. His absence and the attitude of the Treasury benches are ample proof that this regime has lost all moral authority to stay in power.

The Narasimha Rao regime's tenure began with a senior member of the Union Council of Ministers and a close confidant of the Prime Minister, Shri Madhav Sinh Solanki, trying to scuttle the inquiry into the Bofors payoff scandal with a mystery note to the Swiss Foreign Minister. The St. Kitts forgery case and the HDW submarine deal inquiries are still hanging fire. It is significant that the common factor in all these dubious affairs was Shri Narasimha Rao. Since then, the singular achievement of this Government has been to descend to new depths of corruption.

Indeed, the past four-and-a-half years have been a long and sorry saga of corruption in high places, presided over by the Prime Minister's Office. Ministers have abused 'free market' policies to fill their coffers, regardless of the enormous damage caused to the public interest. In a sense, Congress has legitimised corruption, converting the so-called free market into a free-for-all loot and plunder which has the Prime Minister's endorsement. It is this massive corruption that has contributed to the unconscionable rise in prices.

The shameless effort of the Congress Government to help the recipients of the Bofors kickbacks was established when immediately upon being conclusively informed by the Swiss authorities that the close associate of the Nehru-Gandhi family, Shri Ottavio Quattrochi was an appellant (only a beneficiary can be an appellant) in the Geneva proceedings, it colluded in the quiet disappearance of this deal-maker from the country and from the reach of Indian law.

The liberalisation and the globalisation of the economy has thrown up super corporations in India. There is a visible rise of corporate delinquency amongst big business houses and companies. Some of these super corporations are behaving as though they have become bigger than the system and have succeeded in institutionalising corruption. Their breaking and bending of rules has become a daily occurrence. These big law-breaker's have become role models for new entrants in business. The stock exchange scam, the issuance of duplicate shares, the collusion of institutions like the UTI and the failure of the existing legal machinery to tackle these misdemeanours give rise to certain legitimate questions: Should not the responsibility and accountability of the large corporations which are repositories of public money be higher? Should not the freedom given to industry entail a large degree of fairness?

The BJP is of the opinion that the existing legal provisions and procedures are proving to be inadequate to check corporate frauds. The law should be amended to provide for an investigative machinery and ensure that the guilty are punished within months of committing the offence. The BJP believes that however big a business house may be, the law should be above them.

On the other hand, the Rao regime does not believe so and has thus turned itself into a 'cash-and-carry' Government. Starting from the public sector units disinvestment to the telecom scandal, the emphasis has been on shielding the guilty and whitewashing their crimes. The following black spots of the Narasimha Rao regime illustrate this point:

1. While disinvesting in public sector units, the Government sold blue-chip shares at ridiculously low prices in order to favour some brokers. Many of these shares have landed in foreign hands. Both the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament and the Comptroller and Auditor-General

have castigated the Government and estimated the loss to the exchequer at more than Rs. 3,500 crore. Till date, no mechanism has been evolved for a proper and rational evaluation of the price of PSU shares even while disinvestment continues.

2. The boom in the stock market within a year of Shri Narasimha Rao coming to power was initially flaunted as a certificate of success for its economic policies. By the time the market crashed, the certificate had turned into a censure. Worse, as investigations later revealed, the key players in the securities scandal were a group of fly-by-night racketeers, headed by one Harshad Mehta, with access to the right people in the financial and political establishment. Slush money in suitcases gifted to individuals in the Congress enabled them to pull off a scam that left banks and the exchequer poorer by more than Rs. 8,000 crore and the shareholders poorer by many times that figure. The Prime Minister promised action on the basis of the JPC report. The nation is still waiting for that action.
3. A foreign company was gifted a locomotive order worth \$ 190 million by the then Railway Minister, Shri Jaffer Sharief over-ruling a much lower offer made by our own BHEL. Recently, this former Minister has become the beneficiary of a mysterious individual from whom he has 'inherited' prime property in the Capital worth a hundred crores. The Prime Minister has not found it fit to inquire into the affairs of Shri Sharief.
4. Shri Kalpnath Rai, in his capacity as Minister for Civil Supplies, misled the country by projecting patently false and overrated estimates of sugar production. In the absence of measures to prevent profiteering, when the sugar shortfall hit the market, traders were allowed to procure supplies overseas at grossly over-invoiced rates. Sugar was also procured by the government machinery at rates higher than the international prices. There is reason to believe that the swindlers reaped at least Rs. 5,500 crore. Shri Rai publicly declared that he acted according to Mr Rao's instructions.

5. Shri Narasimha Rao's son, Shri P.V. Prabhakar Rao, is a promoter-director of the Hyderabad-based Gold Star Steel and Alloys Ltd. Shri Hiten Dalal, who was involved in the securities scandal, paid Rs. 2 crore to this company through Andhra Bank Financial Services Ltd in April 1992. The JPC wanted the affair's of Gold Star probed. No action has been taken on this recommendation. Nor has any inquiry been made into the sudden prosperity of Shri Prabhakar Rao whose companies now are believed to be worth thousands of crores of rupees.
6. The latest and about the worst scandal is the telecom privatisation scheme. The tender notice itself was so defective that over 600 clarifications had to be given. The last date for submitting tenders was repeatedly extended. Three writs on the subject are still pending before the Supreme Court. But the Government has been in an indecent haste to award contracts to certain parties. The biggest beneficiary of all this drama has been HFCL. The HFCL bid was the highest in nine major circles but the Government decided not to allot more than three circles to any one bidder. In keeping with this norm, HFCL should have been allotted New Delhi, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh to collect Rs. 45,000 crore. But it 'was allotted HFCL Delhi, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh for Rs. 20,000 crore less.

An even more serious objection to this transaction is the Government's insistence on foreign collaboration, though we could have easily purchased foreign technology and expertise. While even the USA does not permit more than 20 per cent foreign share in telecom equity, the Government of India has permitted 49 per cent foreign participation. This 'foreign hand' in our communications system endangers national security.

Also, it is a matter of shame that while our own PSUs in the telecom sector have not been allowed to bid, foreign companies with foreign Government participation have been allowed to walkaway with contracts.

In the case of awarding mobile cellular phone contracts, deliberate acts of omission and commission by the

Telecommunications Minister, Shri Sukh Ram, in not fixing minimum reserve prices and by not putting a cap in 'C' category circles, enabled Reliance to corner all the five circles at low bids, thereby creating a near monopoly.

7. The Petroleum Minister, Shri Satish Sharma, who was in the thick of several controversies during Rajiv Gandhi's prime ministership, has not only abused his office peltily to sanction a large number of petrol pumps and gas stations to some VVIP favourites, he is busy letting out, proven oil fields in Bombay High to some foreign oil corporations.
8. In the guise of mines privatisation, Bailadila was handed over to a company believed to be close to the ruling party for a song. In spite of evidence to prove that this was done to favour the company, no action has been taken against the Minister concerned, neither has the Government bothered to inquire into the handling of this sell-off. Simultaneously, diamond mines have been offered to a South African corporation.
9. The Minister for Urban Affairs, who has been recently removed from office but only after it was impossible to shield her any more, made out-of-turn allotments of Government houses into a fine art of minting money. No less an authority than the Supreme Court and the PAC have adversely commented upon and castigated the Minister for her dubious actions.
10. Over-invoicing of imports and under-invoicing of exports have assumed astronomical proportions. According to a group of US economists, this is costing India \$ 4 billion a year.

The BJP believes that a party of corrupt individuals and a Government that survives on corruption cannot be entrusted with the sacred task of governance. The time has come to cleanse the polity of such individuals and restore probity in public life. The Congress has converted politics into illicit commerce. The BJP resolves to restore the moral, the ethical and the missionary character of politics and save the nation from a debased Congress, the sole aim of whose leaders is self-aggrandisement. The BJP shall take the issue to the people and expose the true nature of the Congress.

The BJP would institute searching inquiries into all these super

scandals. It would make major economic offences non-bailable. And, it would make such offences punishable by confiscation of property. The BJP is convinced that only a clean economy can make for a clean polity and a strong and prosperous society.

The BJP demands that the Narasimha Rao Government, having lost the people's confidence, should call immediate elections. The longer the Congress stays in power, the greater shall be the damage to the nation.

□

National Executive

Hyderabad

20-22 March, 1994

A. Threats to National Security

Disruptive Forces Threatening the Country

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its grave concern that forces are at work to divide, disrupt and weaken the country. Elements hostile to India and opposed to its occupying its rightful place in the comity of nations, have always hoped that India would go to pieces. But we have disappointed these detractors of ours. India is too big, too good, and too conscious of its manifest destiny to go under.

Government's Failure to Check Pak's ISI

What, however, is extremely disturbing is the wholly condemnable inaction of the Union Government in the face of ISI's deliberate and continued acts of subversion. The reality about Pakistan is that its Governments may come and go, but its military Inter-Services Intelligence goes on; it is, therefore, the real super-Government of Pakistan. Today, the ISI and its local agents and foreign patrons are the principal subversives in India. Earlier, they set the Punjab on fire. But here the sturdy patriotism and robust commonsense of the people defeated their plans and today Punjab is fast returning to normal.

Sadly, however, this is not so in J & K. In this state, during the last five years, Pakistan's ISI has caused the loss of over 10,000 lives, including the loss of 777 Defence Personnel and property worth Rs. 10,000 crore. This low-intensity but high-tech proxy war has cost us more in life and treasure than the three wars with Pakistan in 1947, 1965 and 1971 put together.

Simultaneously, the ISI has spread its tentacles to the North-East. Here, the double menace of infiltration and subversion has pulverised many of the small states. The Army's 4 Corps Head Quarters has listed fifteen fundamentalist organizations operating with impunity in this sensitive area.

Infiltration of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis

Over fifteen million Bangladeshis have spread themselves far and wide in India. And lacs of Pakistanis, visiting India on tourist visas, never go back. It is established beyond doubt that Pakistan's ISI had a direct hand in the nefarious serial bomb blasts in Bombay in March, 1993. That heinous crime amounted to an act of war against the Indian people. Yet even one year after the event, the Congress Government has failed to punish even one conspirator in that mega-crime. In Delhi, they set off a murderous explosion within furlongs of Parliament House. No one has yet been punished. The men behind the Calcutta explosion continue to be protected by the West Bengal ruling party. In Madras, the office of the RSS was blown up, many died, but nobody was nabbed, thanks to Congress protection for the criminals. And now, they have helped install in UP a Government that is amenable to their nefarious designs.

Subversive Activity Extending to the South

Currently, the ISI's concentration for mischief appears to be in the South. Hyderabad and Bangalore, Cochin and Kozhikode, Bhatkal and Gulbarga have become major centres of subversive activity. In Coimbatore, a consignment of six tons of RDX was seized. At this rate, Pakistan could land a ton even of fissionable material, to let off a nuclear explosion on our soil.

In Andhra Pradesh, Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen and Hizb-ul-Mujahideen are thick as thieves in this subversive activity. The ISI-LTTE nerve-centre in Tamil Nadu is a small fishing village of Koyalpatinam, which reports mysterious STD calls of anything upto Rs. 1,00,000 in one day.

Six railway train bomb explosions took place simultaneously on 6 December, 1993. These bombs were found to have been made in Gulbarga in Karnataka. But nobody was nabbed.

Twenty-two persons including one Head Constable have been shot in Bhatkal in Karnataka with foreign fire-arms. Once again, nobody was arrested.

Explosive Situation in Hyderabad

The situation in Hyderabad is explosive. There are 20,000 Pakistanis living illegally in the city. Unemployed youth are being recruited for training in subversion and sabotage. Already three Sangh Parivar men have lost their lives at the hands of these anti-national elements. Apart from MIM, even the TDP is protecting these people for electoral reasons.

ISI Active in Kerala

In Kerala, the list of subversive acts is extremely worrying. Mysterious land deals amounting to crores of rupees even by indigent persons, have been reported from Kozhikode. The Kozhikode airport of Karipur, which falls in Mallapuram district, has become a hot bed of ISI activity. The Government has admitted sighting unidentified vessels off the Kerala coast near Tirur in Mallapuram. The Chekannur Moulvi, who raised his voice against communalism and fundamentalism, was abducted months ago and is presumed to be dead. But the Government did not hand over these to CBI inspite of the Moulvi's wife's piteous appeals. The Union Minister of Home affairs admitted in Thiruvananthapuram in the first week of February, 1994 that ISI was active in Kerala and the Union Government was aware of it. But Chief Minister Karunakaran, just to save his coalition with Muslim League, came out with a statement the very next day that the Union Home Minister was wrong. And the CPI(M), the main Opposition Party in the state, maintained a guilty silence in the matter, in the hope of capturing the communal vote bank.

Other Foreign Agencies also Involved

It is sad to note that certain other foreign agencies also seem to be privy to these activities. For example, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has reported that CIA and FBI of the USA knew of Pakistani agents' plans to blow up the 'Kanishka' on its Canada-India cruise, but they failed to inform either India or Canada. India expects the USA to clarify its position in the matter.

Congress Government's Inaction

However, more than the ISI's designs, it is the Congress Government's inaction that is the source of our worry. We would, therefore, urge upon the Government of India to shed its weakness of will, give up its defensive postures and take effective and deterrent action.

Specially, Pakistan is behaving as a terrorist state. We, therefore, should treat it as such, and not deal with it as if everything is normal.

Strong Action Needed in Border Areas

People in the border states should be given multi-purpose Identity Cards. Law abiding people in the disturbed areas should be encouraged to bear arms. Ex-servicemen should be settled in sensitive border areas. Infiltrators must be sent back home, according to time-bound programme. Borders should be sealed effectively, with a judicious mix of patrols, bunkers, barbed wire and land mines. Dubious elements in the Jammu and Kashmir Administration need to be screened and weeded out.

The menacing threats to national security cannot be met with kid gloves. At the political level, there needs to be better coordination within the Union Home Ministry, in the J & K Administration, and between the two authorities. Above all, what is needed is clarity of vision and demonstrable effectiveness of action.

Need to Mobilise Public Opinion

Even more important than administrative and political action is the need to mobilise public opinion and unite the people in their determination to checkmate and defeat all these sinister designs. For example, it was the firm and patriotic All-Party Resolution on Kashmir in the two Houses of Parliament that convinced much of the world of the justice of our cause and the strength of our resolve, and gave us an astounding victory in the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. The Government needs to act on that resolution in letter and in spirit, to clinch the Kashmir issue and solve it for good. That alone will convince all mischief-mongers that the unity, integrity and honour of India are an article of faith with us, and that we will uphold and enhance the same with all our might.

B. Kashmir

Wrong Policies Followed by Congress Governments

For years, the BJP has drawn attention to the gravity of the situation in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The wrong policies followed by successive Congress Governments right since 1947 have resulted in insurgency in the state. Narrow political considerations have operated to create an atmosphere in which the insurgents carry out their nefarious activities with support not only from across the borders but from within the Administrative apparatus of the state. The terrorists and militants are now supported by foreign mercenaries recruited by Pakistan. It is unfortunate that the statements of some pseudo-intellectuals have strengthened militancy in the state.

BJP's Resolution on Kashmir

The BJP feels gratified that the persistent efforts on the part of the Party have fructified in the adoption of a unanimous resolution on Kashmir by Parliament in February 1994. The resolution affirms the determination of the people of India to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of their motherland.

Pakistan's Defeat in Geneva

The recent defeat of Pakistan in the Human Rights Commission in Geneva was the result of a thorough exposure of the Pakistani designs behind the insurgency in the state. The BJP had all along been emphasising the need to have bold policy of taking diplomatic initiative to inform the international community about the true facts regarding Kashmir. When such a policy was adopted, positive results were obtained. Certainly, this provides an opportunity to the Government of India to set right the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. It should now be clear to the people of Kashmir valley that Pakistan cannot succeed in separating the state from the Indian Union. All that Pakistan can achieve is to put in jeopardy the lives and properties of the innocent civilian population.

The Government of India is now duty bound to take effective steps in the state to eradicate the insurgency. The BJP calls upon the

Government to

1. seal the border so as to stop the flow of money, men and arms from across the line of control;
2. weed out from the State Administration the pro-militancy staff;
3. utilise the services of over two hundred thousand ex-servicemen who live in the state and whose knowledge of local conditions is unparalleled;
4. effectively expose the false propaganda launched by Pakistan which beguiles not only the international community but also some elements within India who are prey to the belief that some sort of a compromise with Pakistan is the only solution to the problem in Kashmir;
5. put an end to the contradictory pronouncements of various ministers of the Central Government and J & K Administration;
6. make it clear that the first priority is to eradicate terrorism and militancy in the state and that a political process can only follow and not precede the establishment of peace and tranquility in the state.

BJP's Firm Resolve to Maintain India's Integrity

The people of India have through the unanimous resolution of Parliament shown their determination not to allow the separation of Kashmir from the rest of the country. The people of India will not pardon the Government for the absence of a firm policy or the implementation of wrong policies in relation to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The BJP reiterates its firm resolve to continue its relentless struggle for preserving the unity and integrity of the country with the state of Jammu and Kashmir as its integral part.

□

National Executive

Vadodra

10-12 June, 1994

Report on Doda

The Pak designed and fully aided insurgency in Kashmir is not only sustaining but also it has taken deep roots in Doda district and other adjoining areas of Jammu region. This is because of no policy of the Govt. of India to deal with this proxy war being launched by Pakistan and the dubious role being played by the leaders of Congress(I) and their associates in the erstwhile ruling party of the State – The National Conference.

So far over 15,000 persons have been killed, over 5,000 injured about four lakhs rendered homeless to live as migrants, the property worth about 1,000 crores have been set ablaze which include 5691 private houses, 1893 shops, 553 schools and 2167 Government buildings and 386 bridges. Apart from this, there is immense loss of hundreds of crores to trade and business. Militants have looted more than 3 crores from different banks. And timber worth 300 crores has been burnt in different depots. So far security forces have captured 15890 AK 47 rifles, 10.43 lakh ammunition rounds, 38460 grenade, 150 kilo explosions.

I. Doda District of Jammu Region

After successfully hounding out more than 3 lakhs Kashmiri Hindus from the valley, the militants have made Doda district of Jammu region a sanctuary for breeding of their plans of clearing these areas of Hindus. They have created hell like situation in this violent insurgency. Pak trained elements have converted this hilly district into a playground and created a situation more serious than that in the Kashmir Valley. Armed militants are conducting anti-India and anti-social activities so meticulously and so openly that the district administration appears to be a meaningless sham, with the people of the area having no faith whatsoever in the law and order authorities. The worst element in the situation is that the subversives are getting overt and covert support from persons holding key

positions in the district administration.

II. Location Area and Population

Doda district has been carved out from the erstwhile Hindu majority Udhampur district by the Kashmiri leadership to implement Sheikh Abdullah's 'greater Kashmir' formula. It lies in the outer hills of Jammu region, to its north lies Anantnag while its southern and south-western portion is bordered by Udhampur and Kathua districts. This portion also touches Himachal Pradesh. The eastern and southern portion is contiguous to Leh district, whereas to the west lies district Udhampur. In term of area, this district is about 11,691 sq. kms. It is also the third largest district after Leh and Kargil. The district is mountainous. There are of course, a few plains also.

As per the 1981 census, the total population of Doda district is 4,25,262; while the Muslims constitute majority in three of its seven Tehsils, the Hindus constitute majority in Ramban, Bholderwah and Thathri Tehsil. The Muslim majority Tehsils are Banihal, Kishtwar and Bhalesa. The proportion of Muslims and Hindus in Tehsil Doda district is 55 : 45.

III. Rise of Militants

Militancy in Doda district is not a new phenomenon. Being contiguous to the valley, it has all along been susceptible to spill over of terrorism from Kashmir. The most lamentable feature has been the failure of the State administration to take cognizance of the extreme vulnerability of the region in view of the militant activities in the Valley.

IV. Mode of Operation

From the loud-speakers fitted almost in all the mosques in every village in the district, provocative audio tapes have started playing. The recitals are that Jihad (holy war) has started and every Muslim should enter the fray and contribute in this holy and sacred war, our goal is Azadi, for this we have to start an armed struggle against India. Parents are asked to send their sons for arms training and those who are not in a position to send boys, should contribute huge donations in terms of cash and kind. The enrolment started and hundreds of youths disappeared, many amongst them were Government employees whose salaries were regularly drawn after being trained and equipped with arms, these subversive started showing their presence by making blasts. The first target were the Hindu temples and houses of prominent Hindus.

V. Killing and Tortures

- a. About three thousand foreign and local militants are carrying out the operation of kidnapping and killing of innocent persons in this district. It started with the inhuman murder of Shri Santosh Thakur, young, advocate, BJP District General Secretary and went on unchecked, resulting in death of more than 150 youngsters, prominent among them being Swami Raj Kattal, Vice President, Doda District BJP, Ruchir Kumar, President, Bhaderwah Mandal, Rajendra Kumar Sharma of Bhaderwah, Ex-Serviceman, Dewan Chand of Bhalla, Mr. Ashok Kumar, Surrender Lal, Mohan Singh of Bajarni, Rattan Lal, Rakesh and Satish Bhandari of Hindu Raksha Samiti, General Secretary, 16 passengers in a bus coming from Kishtwar on 14th August, 1993, and now in Ramban tehsil of Doda district, Shri Ram Lai, Shri Bal Krishen and Shri Sadhu Ram have been kidnapped, hanged and killed. Most of them are brutally tortured “their limbs cut, eyes taken out and finally dead bodies thrown on road forcing migration of Hindus”.
- b. Two months back at Ramban I met with about 700 (Seven hundred) families frightened due to the brutalities being

committed by the Pak sponsored terrorists, on them. They were from village Kunda, Kote, Kunchi, Alambas, Adall and Batru. They have deserted their villages under threats of terrorists who have made the life of Hindus living in these villages most miserable, villagers from village Junda were having injuries of brutal and horrible torture committed on their bodies. These people narrated that they were hounded from their houses, on the day of Diwali forced together in a school building, the doors of which were closed, kerosene oil was kept for burning them alive. They were put to severe tortures, beaten mercilessly and then released keeping two youths Sadhu Ram (27) and Nasib Singh Hind. Later Sadhu Ram was shot and hanged. Only a few days back in that very area Shri Vabishan was kidnapped, put to various types of tortures and eyes were taken out, hands cut, even private parts cut and ultimately hanged to death. On the night of 8-9 October about a dozen armed 'Mujahids' intruded in the house of an ex-serviceman, Shri Kunj Lal in the village of Cherji. They asked his wife to prepare food for them. After taking meals, they looted the ornaments, cash and, tried to molest the lady. In the scuffle both Sh. Kunj Lai (34) and his wife Prakasho Devi (28) were killed by the gun shots. On hearing the gun shots, some other villagers came out. Terrorists were successful in rounding up ten youths in this operation. After giving them thrashing the terrorists let off eight of them with the directions that they will ask all Hindus of the area to leave their place within a week.

Two youths named Shri Rakesh Kumar (24) and his brother Rattan Lai (22) were taken as hostages for raising the alarms. After four days their dead bodies were found near a nallah. They were brutally killed – the breast of Shri Rakesh was opened to take out his heart. After slaughtering Shri Rattan Lai, his skin was removed from the face, private parts of both the brothers were cut off.

- c. After a week of this horrible incident of gruesome killings the 'Mujahids' killed another youth of Kishtwar town. His name was also Rakesh Kumar. He was also

- kidnapped alongwith another youth Gambhir Chand, who managed his escape despite being hit by a bullet. The dead body of Shri Rakesh was found near Bhagana village 40 kms. from Kishtwar town. His eyes were removed and different parts cut before killing.
- d. On 25/26 March 1994, two Hindu youths from village Puneja (Bhaderwah) were kidnapped and tortured to death.
 - e. On 30.4.1994 ex-serviceman Shri Om Raj R/O Sinerra (Bhaderwah) was gunned down in his house and property looted.
 - f. On 29.4.1994, JKAP Guard of 25 men posted at the house of Ghulam Nabi Azad at village Soti (Gandoh) handed over arms and ammunitions to the militants.
 - g. On 2.5.1994 Rangil Singh, Gulab Singh and gujjar boy Abdul Gani were kidnapped and mercilessly tortured by Afghans at village Sumbar. Their parents were forced to eat the flesh of their children and some of villagers were forced to take beef.
 - h. On 27.5.1994 three Harijan boys killed mercilessly in Adall village of Kishtwar. They are Shri Kishore Lal, Jeevan Lai, and Ravinder.
 - i. Two militants killed by villagers at Kote village. Later the whole village was burnt and the inhabitants forced for migration to Himachal Pradesh. Thousands of terrorists including foreign mercenaries are camping at the higher reaches of Doda district.
 - j. Militants have looted all the police posts at Chatru, Marwa, Warban, Dacan, Paddar and Thathri and hence snatched 118 riffles (303), 14 Pistols, 16 wireless sets and a large quantity of ammunition from Jammu and Kashmir police without firing a single shot. Later on state Government withdrew these police posts, which have been recently restored after protests.
 - k. 14 Jawans of BSF were trapped and killed in Desa area because of the misguidance of local guide who had informed the militants before and, guide was SHO of the area. Militants laid ambush and killed all of them.
 - l. Militants have looted more than two crore rupees in

different incidents of extortions, looting of banks and shopkeepers, 20 lakh were looted from Jammu and Kashmir Bank, Bhaderwah, Kesar and other valuables of 10 lakh looted from the one shopkeeper Nand Lai of Kishtwar.

- m. Government buildings, schools, police stations, residential quarters at Chatru, Badpeth, Berwa and Shalimar have been set ablaze.
- n. Timber worth Rs. 300 crores has been set on fire at Neel Trath, Souighwad, Badpeth, Keshwan, Bagna, Pons and many other places. Government has not been able to take out timber from this district, because of the threat of militants.

Since 1990 huge quantity of timber is being burnt by militants. We have failed to save this national wealth.

- o. Prestigious Rs. 2500 crore Dul Hasti Project of the district has been virtually closed because of the threat of militants. One French engineer was kidnapped, who was taken to the valley but managed to escape after captivity for a month.

VI. Security Forces Demoralised

For want of cohesive, unified and decisive action of the district administration and the security forces against these terrorists and their sympathisers, these Pakistani agents are in a commanding position. Instead of demoralising and chasing the terrorists the security forces are themselves being chased by these insurgents. Daily ambushes, attacks and bomb blasts resulting in heavy casualties, serious injuries upon the security forces has become a daily routine. When security forces are not themselves secure the plight of the unarmed and innocent people living in isolated and far-off places can be easily imagined. They are being looted, raped, kidnapped, tortured and killed, hence the migration. How the forces particularly Kashmir Police is functioning in this area is evident from the Kishtwar tragedy.

Incident took place at 9 p.m. on 27th, 1994, but the police

reached there at 8 a.m. next day i.e. 11 hours after the incident. The callousness and the way the Government is functioning is well depicted by this incident. Similarly gruesome death of three innocent people took place on 30th of April, 1994, but till 28th of May 1994 nobody bothered to visit that village and provide them any kind of relief.

VII. Migration

About three thousand families from village Dul, Cherjee of Kishtwar, Bajarni Desa of Doda tehsil, Ukhral, Kunda, Kote Alambas, Kunchi, Adhal, Sambar of Ramban tehsil have migrated to Kishtwar, Doda and Ramban town. Recently about 1000 persons have shifted to Himachal Pradesh for fear of being killed from village Tipri Jugasa and Goa of Bhalesa area. If not checked immediate migration from Doda district can have serious repercussions in Jammu region and other parts of the country.

VIII. Need of the Hour

1. To curb the activities of terrorism and insurgency in the Doda district the area should be handed over to the Army which should be given a free hand to deal with the situation after declaring the district, a disturbed area.

Screening and weeding out the anti-national elements within the administration, and those found guilty be thrown out forthwith. Without this it is impossible to bring the law and order situation under control.

Sealing of all passes connecting District Doda with the valley.

Establishment of Cantonment at Bhaderwah at the earliest.

This will create confidence in the common people.

Those Hindus who have been forced to leave their hearth and homes be brought back and resettled in their homes and adequate security compensation be provided to them.

6. Ex-servicemen in the district be provided modern weapons.



National Executive

Vadodra

10-12 June, 1994

Jammu and Kashmir

BJP's Repeated Warnings Remained Unheeded

The Bharatiya Janata Party has consistently and repeatedly been cautioning the Narasimha Rao Government against lethargy and lack of firmness in dealing with the multi-national challenges thrown to the State of India by an extremely aided and abetted Insurgency in certain parts of Jammu and Kashmir. We have repeatedly warned the Government that failure to deal effectively with the worsening situation in the Valley will result in a deliberate export of it to other parts of the State. It is a matter of no satisfaction, but of deep concern to us, that our forebodings and warnings, not having been heeded, have now come true.

For us in the BJP the issue is particularly poignant. A number of our valiant colleagues have lost their lives since the martyrdom of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in 1953 in Jammu and Kashmir. We salute these stalwarts of the party who paid the price of governmental negligence by the ultimate sacrifice of their lives. The latest such incidents were the heinous assassination of Swami Raj Kattal on 30th May 1994 and Kumar on 7th June 1994, in Bharderwah.

Rao Government Incredible

The lack of proper perspective on Kashmir by Congress governments right from the Nehruvian era is responsible for creating the situation where the Central Government today presents a pathetic spectacle of inactivity. If Pandit Nehru's handling of Kashmir was myopic and that of the subsequent Congress governments disastrous, the Rao Government is excelling in the act of incredible insensitivity and supine negligence of the grave realities of the situation in Jammu & Kashmir.

Repeal Article 370

Article 370 admittedly was a historical blunder. It has created a separatist psyche. It has given rise to a psychological barrier between

the Jammu and Kashmir State and the rest of the country. It has constitutionalised divisive thinking. It has prevented the complete political and social assimilation of the Valley with the rest of the nation. It has inhibited the process of economic development of the State of J & K and made the State dependent on central grants and subsidy leading to corruption and nepotism. The BJP is convinced that the precondition of the solution of the Kashmir problem is the repeal of Article 370.

Absence of purpose

The handling of insurgency in the Valley by the Congress Government led by Narasimha Rao has been marked by a near total absence of purpose, policy and direction. Such unforgivable adhocism and drift in managing the Kashmir affairs has been responsible for a series of incidents one after another resulting in the erosion of the trust and confidence of people in the will and the capacity of the government to effectively handle the situation. Where there was need to quickly contain insurgency and snuff it out in the Valley, it had been permitted to spread to other parts of the state. Where there was a requirement for exemplary punishment to the guilty, they were feted, as in the case of Hazaratbal and they were permitted to negotiate and parley as if on equal terms with representatives of the State of India and allowed to go scot free. The country is yet to know as to the terms agreed upon. Where clear vision and purpose needed to be demonstrated, total confusion prevails. It is shameful that in a State so torn with strife, the Union Home Minister visits certain areas officially with one team of Congressmen, and his deputy, the Minister of State visits the same state, on almost the same dates, with his coterie of rival party men. For lack of adequate political direction where unified command has to be set up for smooth execution of orders, what has been demonstrated in the Valley and elsewhere in the State is total disunity and no command at all levels of administration.

Undeclared War

It has to be understood by one and all that the insurgency in Kashmir is not a case of some misguided elements or unemployed youth fighting for a cause. Terrorism inspired by Islamic fundamentalism and actively abetted by Pakistan has launched an

undeclared war against the territorial integrity of India. The militants and some armed mercenaries from Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan and other countries have perpetrated endless crimes including murder, rape, arson and extortion against the people of the State. Almost the entire Kashmiri Pandit population has been driven from their homes in the Valley.

Hindu Population being Squeezed Out

The militants have now concentrated their activities in the district of Doda in consonance with the Pakistani design of squeezing out the Hindus from this area also. The total inaction and the inept handling in the Valley by the Government is being replicated in the area of the Doda district. The terrorist killings and crimes in Doda go unabated. Since the writ of the Government does not run the Hindu population is migrating from the area as they feel politically orphaned.

Lack of Political Will

The security forces and the Army deployed in the Valley have done well against heavy odds. They merit thankfulness and commendation of the country. But due to lack of political will and clarity of political perception, want of administrative direction and incoherent and even contradictory style of decision-making with the Govt. hinder them in the effective discharge of their arduous duties, more so when the civil administration is either in coma or is in collusion with the terrorists and the militants whose sway is day by day expanding. The insufficiency of security forces as well as the inadequate deployment of Army in the Doda area which is geographically almost twice the size of the Valley, acts as a serious limiting factor in their mobility and capacity to strike at the militants effectively. Our forces further get inhibited as the Government has

neither any policy of sealing the passes to prevent the militants' infiltration nor to break their line of supplies from across the border.

Nation Faces a Very Grave Peril

The BJP concerns its bounden duty to remind our countrymen once again that the nation faces a very grave peril in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. We consider it our national obligation to expose the continued bunglings and acts of omission and commission of the Government in this regard. The BJP reiterates its resolve to fight through every constitutional means available against the dereliction of its national duty by the Narasimha Rao Government. In the aforesaid contest the BJP places the Charter to the people of India and calls upon the Narasimha Rao Government, to urgently initiate the necessary steps as follows.

Steps to be taken urgently

1. Immediate apprehension of the guilty and exemplary punishment to the perpetrators of crime anywhere in the state. The laxity shown in the past to the terrorists must cease. All wings of the administration must be galvanized and equipped to this end. The slackness being displayed in combating this invasion of the Indian soil by foreign mercenaries is unforgivable. These foreign mercenaries must be rooted out.
2. Conditions be created for the immediate return of all the displaced Hindus of the Doda district from the adjoining state of Himachal Pradesh and from other places in the State. Simultaneously, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and the Union Government must announce a comprehensive package of aid and assistance programme to the over 3,00,000 Kashmiri Hindus who continue to languish in the most appalling conditions – a lapse on the part of any civilised Government to let their own citizens being reduced to the status of refugees, in their own land.
3. The Doda district be declared as disturbed area. The Armed Forces be empowered by suitable special powers, as available under the Disturbed Areas Act, and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act to enable them to operate effectively.

4. Immediate implementation of the long pending decision to establish a cantonment at Bhaderwah.
5. Immediate constitution of Village Defence Forces, and Special Home Guards through re-employment of ex-servicemen of J & K State, equipping them with modern sophisticated arms; a liberal and judicious grant of arms licence, to the people.
6. A thorough revamp of the civil services, judicial administration, policies and intelligence network.
7. Article 370 of the Indian Constitution be abrogated.

The BJP is of the opinion that any talk about restoration of political process of holding negotiations with the terrorists is ill conceived. It will prove counter productive. The elimination of terrorism and militancy ought to be the condition precedent before any political process can be initiated.

BJP to engage in a Relentless struggle

The BJP always strives to maintain the integrity and unity of the country. With the cooperation and support of the people, the BJP will relentlessly struggle so as to compel the Govt. to act in a way as to ensure security, justice and dignity to the people in J&K State as behoves the citizens of India.

In as much as the resolution unanimously passed recently by both the houses of Parliament represents the collective will of the nation in respect of J&K as inalienable part of the country. The BJP calls upon the Govt. to take all necessary steps, without any hesitation and reservation, to honour the National Commitment, both in letter and spirit. It is imperative that the people be vigilant in this regard. Let it not be said by the posterity that the unanimous Parliamentary resolution, which came into being because of the initiative of the BJP was just another piece of empty rhetoric and a pious platitude lacking in any sanction or substance.

□

National Council

Vadodara

10-12 June, 1994

A. Political Situation

The Moral drift

After completion of three years in office, the Narasimha Rao Government has exhibited a complete moral drift, surrendering of economic sovereignty of the country, a weak-kneed approach in defending national security, undemocratic tendencies in seeking to constitutionally obstruct the BJP in the electoral arena on the pretext of electoral reforms and a mindless and disastrous pursuit of the politics of minoritism.

The Rao Government has institutionalized corruption as a way of life. The ghost of Bofors still haunts the Congress Party. Despite repeated efforts to sabotage the pursuit of truth in the Bofors Bribery Scandal, the CBI has consciously taken no steps to prevent the escape of Shri Ottavio Quattrochi, a close friend of the late Shri Rajiv Gandhi, despite the disclosure by the Swiss authorities that he was an appellant in the Swiss Courts and a beneficiary of the account in which money was paid by the Nobel Industries. The Stock and Bank Scam was unprecedented in shaking the national conscience and confidence in relation to the Banking system. A Joint Parliamentary Committee constituted to investigate the Scandal gave unanimous findings. Yet, except the snail speed prosecution of some brokers and bank executives, no minister or politician has been held accountable for this colossal fraud. The PSU Disinvestment Scam involving thousands of crores is still fresh on the nation's mind.

The Gold-Star scandal, allegation against Capt. Satish Sharma in relation to foreign funds maintained by him, the scandals rocking the Petroleum Ministry under Shri Shankaranand and the Railway Ministry under Shri Jaffer Sharief, the land scams of Shri Sharad Pawar are only symptomatic of the moral debasement of the ruling party.

The recent sugar muddle is a glaring example of the incompetence and the naked corruption of the Congress Government

in inflicting a misery on the people of India wherein sugar is today available at an unprecedented price of Rs. 17 per kg. The sugar lobby and the Congress politicians have netted crores of rupees.

Politics of Defections

The political immorality of the Congress Party is further established by the Machiavellian manoeuvres it has adopted in splitting the opposition parties to convert a minority into majority in Parliament. Parties like Janata Dal, Janata Dal (A), Shiv Sena, Telugu Desam were split at the Central level and Regional parties like Sikkim Sangram Parishad, HVP, Mizo National Front, etc., were split at the State level. The BJP regrets the fact that the 10th Schedule was added to the Constitution to mandate that defection is a political sin and would be penalised but the Ruling Party has legitimised the politics of defections.

Surrender of Economic Sovereignty

The past three years have witnessed a complete surrender of the Government on the economic front to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The signing of the GATT Treaty by the Government without due regard to the adverse consequences of the same on Indian economy virtually tantamounts to the abdication of the nation's economic sovereignty.

Weak-kneed Attitude on National Security

The Government has been utterly weak-kneed in the defence of national security. The propaganda of Pakistan on Kashmir goes on aggressively. The Indian Government has been soft even in propagating that Pakistan has been instigating an 'Undeclared war' on India by training, financing, protecting and abetting terrorism inspired by Islamic fundamentalism. The activities of the ISI go on unabated. It organises insurgency in India and our Government has failed to check these activities. The activities of the ISI, which were confined only to Kashmir and Punjab, have now spread to several other areas of the country including the North-Eastern states, West Bengal, Bihar, Kerala, and Bombay. It has now acquired the confidence to organise training centres within the territory of India. The Government presents a pathetic spectacle in the Doda region of Jammu and Kashmir where it has failed in protecting the

Hindu population from terrorist assaults. The trial of the accused in the Bombay blast case has not even taken off – an unfortunate comparison with the conviction of those responsible for the blast at the World Trade Centre in the USA. The farcical surrender of the Government by releasing the militants at the Hazaratbal is reflective of the psyche of the Government in not firmly dealing with ISI or terrorism. The visit of the Prime Minister to USA was a nonstarter. The credibility of the Government in the matter of non-signing of the NPT has been seriously eroded after the exposure of the London talks between the US and Indian diplomats.

Mindless Pursuit of Politics of Minorityism

The BJP has in the past several years launched a debate on the real content of Indian secularism. The BJP's ideological avalanche of cultural nationalism has received wide acceptability. As against this, the Ruling Party and other pseudo-secular parties continue to pursue 'Minorityism' and 'Hindu bashing' as their version of secularism. The Prime Minister's announcement to set up Government Trusts to build a temple and mosque at Ayodhya is a move intended to deny to the nation a temple at the Ram Janmasthan. The Government has failed to come up with any steps to prevent mass infiltration from Bangladesh which, besides being a burden on our economy, is also a threat to national security. The recent judgment of Allahabad High Court holding that oral Talaq is unconstitutional has revived the national debate on the need for a uniform civil code which would ensure equal rights to women and personal dignity to them. The fundamentalists have mounted a campaign against this historic verdict. More so, they have challenged the basic constitutional tenets by establishing 'Shariat Courts' in some parts of the country. Minorities Commission is being used for petty political motives to secure their votes.

Similarly, Article 30 of the Constitution has become a source to promote separatist tendencies.

The BJP cautions the countrymen to beware of this 'Shah Bano Syndrome' which is again visible and to campaign vigorously against these tendencies.

The replacement of Sanskrit with Urdu by the UP Government is a direct assault on the cultural heritage of India and another example of appeasement. While constituting the 'Special Peace Keeping Force' on communal lines, the UP Government has given preference to Urdu over Hindi so as to recruit Muslims in the forces. It has been decided to appoint atleast one Urdu teacher each in almost all 55,000 schools in the state; further it has been decided to recruit 10,000 Urdu translators; the Minorities Commission has taken place of the Human Rights Commission which was constituted by the BJP during its tenure. All these are the explicit examples of unseemly appeasement of the Muslim community. The BJP condemns the appeasement policy vigorously and would oppose it tooth and nail.

Emergence of Caste-based Politics, Criminalisation and Anarchy

The National Council of the BJP notes with concern that caste based criminalised politics resulting in administrative anarchy has emerged as the alternative to BJP in UP. The society has been fragmented on caste lines resulting in social tensions. Criminals are being lauded as the Non-BJP Secular Heroes by Non-BJP parties. Kidnappings have emerged as the most prosperous industry. It is a matter of shame that the Congress Party continues to unconditionally support such anarchic regime in UP.

Similar lumpenisation of public life is visible in Bihar. The Ruling Janata Dal and its Chief Minister represent the most crude form of casteist, and criminalised politics. The National Council notes with concern the emergence of counter caste politics in Bihar in the recent Vaishali by-election.

The BJP regrets that as a result of social tensions generated by caste based parties, atrocities on the weaker sections have increased in the past three years.

The political and security situation in Assam and the North-Eastern states has reached an unparalleled situation. The illegal migrants today are in majority in 14 of the 23 districts of Assam. In the states of North-East, there is denationalization of the Tribals

clearly visible. The Central Government continues to dangerously tinker with the political process in these states. The manoeuvring of defections in Sikkim and the Non-dissolution of the Manipur Assembly despite the breakdown of the state apparatus are partisan acts of the Centre.

The National Council notes that the recent by-elections have set the trend towards the ouster of Congress in the next elections. The Southern states have accounted for a bulk of the Congress members of the Lok Sabha. Both its candidates in Tamil Nadu, where it got 30 out of 39 seats last time, forfeited their security. It lost the Assembly seat in Kerala which it held for over 3 decades. It barely scraped through the Lok Sabha seat in Andhra Pradesh. In UP and Bihar, it lost its security in almost all the seats it contested. The Ajnala Assembly seat in Punjab represents a positive anti-Congress trend where Hindus and Sikhs jointly voted against the Congress.

Anti-BJP Election Law Amendments

The BJP notes that Congress(I) has been making a repeated effort to create legal hurdles in the BJP's right to contest election. Shri Arjun Singh failed to get the BJP deregistered as a political party both before the Election Commission and the Supreme Court. In 1993, the Government brought the illconceived Religious Bills to achieve the same objective, but did not succeed. The latest set of bills to amend the election laws are aimed at achieving dual purpose, first, to dilute the primacy of the Election Commission and thereby assault the independence of the Commission and interfere with the process of free and fair elections and, secondly, to debar the BJP from the electoral areas. It is unfortunate that some non-Congress(I) opposition parties are supporting these bills.

Demand for ID Cards For All Voters

The BJP is of the opinion that the current poll Reform Bills are purely partisan in character. It is incumbent upon all parties to implement all recommendations of the Dinesh Goswami Committee to which leaders of all parties are signatories. The BJP demands that the issuance of identity cards to all voters shall, besides curbing bogus voting, enable Dalits and weaker sections to be entitled to vote and will be an important check on illegal migrants' access to the border.

The BJP is convinced that the proposed amendments will sound

the death knell of multiparty democracy, and free and fair elections and reduce Indian democracy to a farce. The BJP calls upon the nation to fight this anti-democracy legislation.

The Government is making efforts to curb the RSS Shakhas and its programmes under the guise of banning 'Public Drill' and 'Arms Training' in public places by making amendments in the Cr. P.C. While the Government has utterly failed to curb the anti-national activities of JKLF and LTTE, it is manoeuvring to check the activities of RSS, a nationalist organization, by making such an amendment. The BJP strongly resists such a measure.

BJP's Emergence as a Distinct Ideological Pole in Indian Politics

The National Council notes that in the matter of its pursuit for value based politics and propagation of cultural nationalism, the BJP has become a distinct ideological pole in Indian politics. It is a party with a difference. Our rivals want to use legislative fiats to deter us.

But those who stand committed to principles and the cause are not detracted by such threats. Ideological battles are to be fought politically and not by administrative obstructions. The more ideologies are prevented from propagation the more people desire to understand them.

The BJP calls upon the people of India to beware of these undemocratic threats and strengthen the BJP's ideological distinctiveness, its political, cultural and assertive nationalism.

□

National Executive

Patna

15-17 September, 1994

A. Hubli Incidents of August 15

State Government Opposed to Hoisting of National Flag

It is the birthright of the citizens of every country to hoist and salute the national flag, particularly on auspicious national days. The state authorities are expected to assist its citizens in this solemn national task. But it is perhaps only in India that dutiful citizens are not only thwarted in this task but are maimed and killed in cold blood without any provocation though it poses no threat to peace and harmony of the country.

The hoisting of the tri-colour on the public Municipal Ground in Hubli on 15 August, 1994 would have passed off peacefully had the police and other militia of the state Government not decided to intervene and stop hoisting at the behest of the Chief Minister, Veerappa Moily.

Presently, there is no dispute about the ownership of the Municipal Ground as maliciously claimed by the state Government. The High Court of Karnataka, upholding the Judgement of the lower Courts, has clearly said that no lease exists between the Hubli-Dharwar Municipal Corporation and Anjuman-e-Islam regarding the Municipal Ground. It is only a licence to offer prayers twice a year that has been given to the Muslim community. The High Court has also ordered the semi-constructed commercial complex by Anjuman-e-Islam on the Municipal Ground to be demolished forthwith. Though the Anjuman-e-Islam has approached the Supreme Court, its Special Leave Petition is still pending admission and a stay has been given only regarding the demolition of the complex.

The Municipal Ground has been and is being used for public meetings by political parties and religious and cultural organizations till this day. The legal tangle has been used by the state Government solely to prevent the hoisting of the national flag by mounting unnecessary and extraordinary security build-up in the area.

Arousing Communal Passions for Political Gains

The Minority Community has never objected to the hoisting of the National Flag and there is no communal tension in the area. It is the Congress(I) Government in Karnataka which in an effort to arouse communal passions has tried to give it a communal twist and in the process finds itself with the blood of six innocent citizens on its hands including that of a 12-year old boy and a mother of 4-children out on a family errand. It is again vote-bank politics with a vengeance with patriotic citizens at the receiving end of state sponsored brutalities.

BJP – a Party of the Flag Movement

The BJP had given a nationwide call to hoist the National Flag in all public places to synchronise with the unfurling of the tri-colour at Lal Chowk in Srinagar by Dr MM Joshi on Republic Day, 1992. In response to that call, the citizens of Hubli hoisted the national flag in the Municipal Ground. But the police snatched away the flag and dishonoured it which led the citizens of Hubli to form a non-party organisation called Rashtra-Dhwaja Gourava Sanrakashan Samiti to launch agitation for hoisting the national flag with due honour. The BJP became a party of the Flag Movement from 15 August, 1992.

Unprovoked Police Firings

On 15 August 1994, the workers of the BJP succeeded in breaking through the security cordon and hoisted the tri-colour in the tightly guarded Municipal Ground in the early hours of the morning. A call was then given to celebrate the victory. Thousands of citizens who had come out braving the curfew orders, started moving away from the direction of the Ground and held victory meetings. The police suddenly opened indiscriminate fire at 12.15 PM in Deshpande Nagar, killing four persons and injuring several others. A few hours later, there was another unprovoked firing, this time on the mourners inside the premises of KMC Hospital which raised the toll to five. Regarding firing on the 19th, which killed an innocent housewife, the police authorities themselves have admitted it as an over-reaction. The authorities are at a loss to explain the reasons that led to firings on the 15th and 19th.

It is heartening to note that even after the gravest provocation by

the Congress State Government the issue did not lead to communal flare up.

Affront to National Flag Condemned by BJP

The BJP National Executive strongly condemns the affront to the National Flag committed by the Congress Government of Veerappa Moily on 15 August, 1994 in Hubli, as also the unprovoked firings which led to the loss of innocent lives for which the Party holds the Moily Government solely responsible. It calls for the judicial inquiry to be completed with the utmost despatch in order to expose the conspiracy hatched by the Congress Government, which is steeped in communal vote-bank politics.

The Moily Government has lost its moral right to continue in office and should be dismissed. The BJP salutes the martyrs who laid down their lives to uphold national honour and reaffirms its commitment to continue to wage relentless struggle to safeguard and uphold the symbols of national independence, sovereignty and honour.

B. Entry of Foreign Print Media

The National Executive of the BJP expresses its deep concern at the proposal under the active consideration of the Government of India to allow foreign print media to start their publications in India.

It is the considered view of the Executive that such a step is against our national interest, our culture, our traditions, in fact, our very way of life.

Entry of Foreign Media Not in National Interest

The signing of the GATT accord and the danger it poses to our economic sovereignty is the direct result of the misplaced faith of

the Government in globalization. Permission to foreign print media to begin publishing from India is a step in the same direction and is bound to endanger our freedom of thought.

It may be recalled that the Cabinet decision prohibiting the entry of foreign media into the country taken in 1955 and 1956 was based on the recommendations of the first Press Commission which had examined this issue in depth and expressed itself firmly against such entry. Foreign news agencies could cater to the Indian press only through Indian agencies and not directly.

Foreign Media's Portrayal of False Image of India

The print media is a direct participant in our democratic process and very much a part of it. Participation of foreigners with their huge resources not only in publication but specially in dissemination of news through their news agencies will make it difficult for the Indian News Agencies to compete and survive. As it is, most news about India emanating from foreign sources is not sympathetic to India. For example, the foreign Press is responsible for giving a totally distorted, highly exaggerated, one-sided and often totally false picture about the violation of human rights in India and gives prominence to the views of those Indians who toe this line while ignoring and blacking out views not in conformity with this line. This trend will get encouraged further. There is also a danger that pro-Pakistani Islamic fundamentalist elements may also take advantage of the opportunity to propagate terrorism, separatism, casteism and social bitterness through their publications.

By participating in our political process, they will seek to influence our electorate and endanger democracy.

The Government, on the other hand, has so far failed to finalise its view over the Prasar Bharati Bill and continues to misuse the electronic media and is reluctant to loosen its stranglehold on it. On the other hand, it is bending over backwards to ensure freedom of expression to foreigners – a right guaranteed only to Indian citizens under our Constitution. Even western democracies like the USA impose severe restraints on foreign media and mediemen.

Even today, foreign publications including newspapers and periodicals, can be freely imported into India. There is no restriction. But to invite foreign print media to come to India and influence our political, cultural and social thought, infact, to rule over our minds,

is reprehensible.

The BJP expresses strong opposition to this move and urges the Government to desist from this course of action.

C. Uttaranchal

Blatant Misuse of State Power

The National Executive of the BJP expresses grave concern at the brutal repression unleashed by the Mulayam Singh Government in UP which resulted in wanton killings of innocent, peaceful and patriotic citizens of UP Hills demanding the formation of a separate Uttaranchal State. The silent blood-stained streets of Pauri, Khatima and Mussoorie speak eloquently of the most inhuman demonstration of blatant misuse of State-power for crushing an unprecedented mass movement by the power drunk Mulayam Singh Government which swears everyday in the name of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia.

Democratic Rights Trampled

The illegal and reckless firings, unprovoked brutal lathi charges on women processionists, massive arrests of the senior retired army officers of the rank of Brigadier along with numerous ex-servicemen and hundreds of students whose only fault was to participate in a peaceful movement, have reminded people of the brutal atrocities during the alien British rule. And when the BJP leaders Dr. MM Joshi, Shri Kalyan Singh and Shri Kalraj Mishra were proceeding to console the families of the victims of the firing and to register the Party's protest against the police atrocities in Uttaranchal, they were arrested. The BJP legislator from Mussoorie, ex-Minister Shri Rajendra Shah, has been falsely implicated in a murder case and has been detained under NSA alongwith the BJYM leader Shri Vinod Chamoli, Major Gen. (Retd.) BC Khanduri and Shri Balraj Passi, both BJP MPs and BJP legislators. Shri Harbans Kapoor, Shri Tilak Raj Beher and Shri Devendra Shastri, all continue to be under arrest along with numerous BJP workers for no reason or rhyme. Even Shri ND Tiwari, President of UPCC(I), the party supporting the SP-BSP combine in UP was denied entry into Khatima. This is how the democratic rights of the people are being mercilessly trampled by

the Mulayam Singh Government in UP.

Ground Realities in Uttaranchal to be Recognised

The responsibility of transforming UP, the most populous state and heartland of India, into burning inferno squarely lies on the intransigence of the Mulayam Singh Government and the highly provocative statements by various SP-BSP leaders on the one hand, and the obduracy of the Congress(I) Government at the Centre, on the other. While the Central Government continues to deny the carving out of a separate Uttaranchal State despite the fact that the UP Assembly has voted twice for its formation once during the BJP rule in August 1991, and again endorsed by the Congress(I) supported present UP Government in 1994. The Mulayam Singh Government refuses to recognise the ground realities and demographic composition of the Uttaranchal area. The narrow vote-bank politics of the SP-BSP combine and the faction ridden shortsighted Congress(I) Government at the Centre have pushed UP to the brink of an unprecedented crisis which threatens to shatter its social fabric and harmony beyond repair.

Reservation Not the Main Issue

In the opinion of the BJP, the main issue today in UP is the formation of Uttaranchal and not reservation. Neither the BJP nor the people of Hills are opposed to the implementation of reservation policy formulated in accordance with the Supreme Court judgement in this regard. The people in Hills are only arguing that when the UP Assembly has recommended statehood for Uttaranchal then the formulation and implementation of the reservation policy for this region should be left to the new state which is in the offing, and, in the meantime, the reservation to the OBCs in proportion to their population, which is around 2 to 3 per cent in the Hill districts, can continue. They are justified in demanding the suspension of the excess of 25 per cent OBC reservation because of very different conditions prevailing in the area and the already meagre employment opportunities being restricted mainly to the state Government institutions.

Supreme Court Ruling

In relation to the Hill regions of Uttar Pradesh, the Supreme Court, (AIR 1975, SC 563) while declaring the Hill and Uttaranchal areas in UP as instances of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens, had held, "When effective territorial specialisation is not possible in the absence of means of communication and technical processes as in the Hill and the Uttarakhand areas, the people are socially backward classes of citizens. The Hill and Uttarakhand regions are inaccessible. People in the Hill and the Uttarakhand areas illustrate the educationally backward classes of citizens."

Mulayam Not Listening to Reason

Thus the entire region of UP Hills has been judicially determined to be backward and different from the plains. Any reservation policy in favour of citizens living in that region is sustainable under law. The UP Government has only to notify merely a lesser percentage of reservation for the OBCs in the Uttaranchal broadly commensurate with their population in those districts. But Mulayam Singh is not interested in listening to any voice of reason. Instead, he has been trying to tarnish the motivation of the Uttaranchal Movement with the sole objective of diverting public attention from his failures on all fronts, his inability to control the mafia and anti-social elements, his notorious corruption, and rank casteism, his total inability to protect the life and honour of Dalit men and women and the humiliation he suffered openly and continues to suffer at the hands of Kanshi Ram and Ms Mayawati.

Demand for Uttarakhand: a Long Standing One

It may be recalled that the demand for a separate Uttarakhand is a long standing one. When the BJP Government in UP recommended its formation, the people of the area became optimistic and thought that the Congress(I) Government at the Centre would honour the wishes of the people. They were sorely disappointed when the Centre turned a deaf ear to all pleadings and persuasions. The people felt frustrated when relevant orders issued by the BJP Government regarding the formation of a Hill-cadre were thrown into the dustbin during the President's Rule. They were enraged by the manner in which village Panchayats were being delimited ignoring completely

the geographical conditions and lack of communication in the region. They became restive because thousands of vacancies remained unfilled while the people were suffering for want of any other alternative avenues of employment. The demand for the formation of a separate state was thus simmering and the announcement of the reservation policy by the Mulayam Singh Government, which they apprehended would serve as a reverse discrimination, provided the immediate impulse as well as the momentum to the spontaneous movement. The last spark, however, came from the highly provocative and mischievous statements from the BSP leader Shri Jang Bahadur Patel and Ms Mayawati who described the movement as anti-national and those demanding Uttaranchal as traitors. Fuel was added to the fire by the highly provocative statements of Beni Prasad Verma and Mulayam Singh himself.

Uttaranchal People Deeply Nationalistic

The people of Uttaranchal are deeply pious, peace loving, law abiding and nationalist to the core. They have always remained a part of the national mainstream and are desirous of contributing their best not just for the development of the region but of the motherland as such. The Hill people had remained in the forefront during the freedom movement and produced the nation's finest soldiers who have earned the largest number of gallantry awards. The Kumaon Regiment and Garhwal Rifles are considered to be two of the best units in the armed forces. Apart from the services, the people of Uttaranchal are serving in all walks of national life – political, social, scientific, literary or administrative. Their sentiments are deeply hurt when the leaders of SP-BSP combine call them traitors. Uttaranchal is contiguous to two international boundaries. It is sad to note that the implications of a disturbed and dissatisfied Uttaranchal should be completely lost on the Mulayam Singh Government as well as the Central Congress Government which has bolstered it. The formation of a separate state is thus urgently called for. Any delay in this regard would cause incalculable harm to the broader national interests.

Time for the Mulayam Government to Go

Mulayam Singh, instead of recognising the seriousness of the problem, is playing a devious and dangerous game of caste-politics. His party and Government gave a pernicious twist to the whole

issue. The bandh sponsored by them on the 13th September was a calculated mischief to push UP into the cauldron of vote-bank politics and casteist acrimony. As the events unfolded, the country was shocked to find that during the Government sponsored bandh on 13th September, the UP Police connived with the hooligans and anti-socials of the SP-BSP dispensation and not only inflicted serious injury on the social harmony of UP resulting in serious loss of life and property but also incited vandalism in the precincts of the Allahabad High Court. The Government sponsored bandh resumed in vandalising the premises of the High Court, assaulting the lawyers, hurling abuses on the judges and even ransacking the Chamber of the Chief Justice. The police and civil administration actively aided and abetted the hooligans and protagonists of the bandh. No further evidence is required to prove the total collapse of the constitutional machinery in UP. The Mulayam Singh Government must go lock, stock and barrel.

Intriguing Attitude of Central Government

The attitude of the Congress(I) Government at the Centre is highly intriguing. Unmindful of the dangerous consequences of the continuance of the SP-BSP combine, the myopic Rao Government is only interested in electoral politics in its zeal to keep the BJP away from power in UP by hook or by crook. People are shocked to find that despite the unanimous resolution of the UP Congress(I) Party withdrawing support and demanding dismissal of the Mulayam Singh Government, which has also lost its majority the Central Government is dilly-dallying in removing the anti-people Government in UP. When UP is burning the Prime Minister is fiddling.

In the opinion of the BJP the situation in UP urgently calls for the following steps:

1. The Mulayam Singh Government in UP should be dismissed forthwith.
2. The Central Government must accept in principle the formation of a separate Uttaranchal State without delay. The implementation of the reservation policy in Uttaranchal be suspended till the formation of the new state. In the meantime, the reservation to the OBCs in the proportion of their population, which is around 2 to 3 per cent in Hill

districts, can continue.

3. All those arrested or detained in connection with the agitation must be released immediately and cases against them withdrawn.
4. Judicial inquiry be instituted to fix the responsibility for the Police firing at Khatima and Mussoorie.
5. The present delimitation of village Panchayats in Uttaranchal be scrapped; the Panchayats in Hills be constituted on the basis of distance and not of population.
6. Adequate compensations be given to the victims of firing and lathi-charge.

The BJP assures its full and unreserved support to the peaceful movement for the formation of the Uttaranchal State. The Party appeals to the valiant people of UP Hills to remain calm despite all provocations and see that no anti-social elements take advantage of the situation.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

27 February, 1993

Political Resolution

BJP's Massive Rally

The National Executive of the BJP congratulates lakhs of its workers and supporters, who exercised the utmost restraint while facing State terror in order to assert their right to rally peacefully but firmly in New Delhi on 25th February, 1993.

25 February marks yet another watershed in India's polity. The Nation's largest Opposition Party organised a Rally to mobilise public opinion in support of its demands for construction of Ram Mandir at Ram Janmasthan, lifting of the lawless ban on RSS, VHP and Bajrang Dal and holding of elections to the four dissolved Assemblies. The constitutional right to hold a rally and mobilise public opinion was banned by an undemocratic executive order. Lakhs of party workers were arrested even before they could reach Delhi. Nationwide arrests were made without authority of law. Millions were inconvenienced. Trade and industry were affected. The National Capital was sealed. A curfew-like situation was imposed in Delhi. India was turned into a police state. The Police, which is there as an instrument of law, was turned into an instrument of lawlessness. Senior party leaders were specially chosen as targets of attack. There is hardly a party MP who escaped unassaulted. The murderous assault on the BJP President, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, was deliberate and cold blooded. The government machinery had chosen to act without sanction of law. The Police was no longer accountable to law which mandates unequivocally against the use of 'disproportionate force'. The Police had become a lawless instrument of lawless politicians.

Assault on the Democratic Fabric

25 February witnessed an assault on the democratic fabric of India's Polity. The Government in the post-6 December, 1992 scenerio has gone berserk. It has chosen to dismantle the federal and democratic structure of our Constitution. The dismissal of BJP state Governments was an assault on Federalism. The arrest of Dr. MM

Joshi, Shri LK Advani and other leaders on fabricated charges, the ban on patriotic organizations, the unleashing of State violence and repression on the BJP has resulted in an undeclared state of emergency. The democratic structure of our Constitution has been wounded. Freedom of speech is the breath of democracy. But that is being sought to be crushed. The credibility of Radio and TV has been destroyed for partisan purposes. Several Pressmen have been physically assaulted by the Police. The ban on a political Rally at Boat Club is symptomatic of the Government's fascist character.

BJP a Force for Democracy and Freedom

Despite repression, the BJP has become the one and only torch-bearer of the 'right to protest'. The so-called National Front and the Left Front parties have become 'cheer leaders' of this tyrannical regime. Our workers fought for the survival of the Indian State as a Democratic Polity. Our protest, and the state repression have sent the message loud and clear; the Government displayed utmost panic, cynical irresponsibility and utter lawlessness; the BJP stood as the force for Democracy and Freedom.

Tremendous Support for BJP

The BJP thanks the people of India for their tremendous support for the BJP fight for Freedom and Democracy. We particularly thank the people of Delhi for their utmost cooperation and heart-warming hospitality to Rallyists from all over the country. And we heartily congratulate our lacs of workers – particularly our doughty and distinguished women workers – for facing Lathi, Goli and Cannon with a smile on their faces, and for refusing to be provoked. They have proved the prophets of doom and gloom false.

Assault on Dr. MM Joshil – a Harbinger of Doom for the Regime

The brutal assault on our President, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi is reminiscent of the Police attack on Lala Lajpat Rai in Lahore in 1927 and on Loknayak Jaya Prakash Narayan in Patna in 1974. The attack on Lala was a nail in the coffin of the British rule. The attack on Jaya Prakashji sealed the fate of the Indira Government. The assault on Dr. Joshi will no doubt finish this corrupt and anti-people regime.

□

National Executive

Calcutta

12 April, 1993

Political Resolution

Strengthening of Nationalism

During the last few months, the country has gone through nothing short of *Samudra Manthan*. This churning up of Indian society has thrown up some poison too. But India has shown the strength and the maturity to take the incidental poison in its stride, and to prepare to make it great and glorious with the nectar of its identity and integrity strengthened by its passage through fire.

The removal of the disputed structure in Ayodhya on 6 December has brought about a sea-change in the thinking of the people. It has exposed the communalists and the pseudos alike, and strengthened Nationalism.

Government going Berserk

The Government in its ignorance and arrogance has been making war on the people. It dismissed four popular state governments and dissolved four elected state Assemblies. It arrested some of the most respected leaders in the country and is still holding some in detention. And it banned a great organization like the RSS. By its double talk and double think, it has only confused the Ayodhya issue, which is crystal clear to the Indian people. And all this while it has misused the media to launch a campaign of lies and calumny against the BJP and the rest of the Sangha Parivar. It has damaged Democracy, fouled up Federalism, abetted Minorityism, presided over unprecedented disturbance of law and order in Bombay, Surat and elsewhere, and

weakened the unity, integrity and security of the country. We had two hijackings in the last two weeks.

Encouragement to Criminal Elements

Taking advantage of the weakness of this rudderless and characterless Government, criminal elements have indulged in murder, loot and arson, culminating in the horrendous explosions in Bombay. There was a big blast even in Calcutta. These gory events have exposed the unholy alliance of unscrupulous politicians with anti-social, anti-national elements like the Dauds, Memons, Pathans and Rashids, who in turn are obviously allied to Pakistan and its sinister ISI.

Judiciary Quashes Unlawful Action of Government

The Bharatiya Janata Party congratulates the people of India for facing the challenge of the times with courage and conviction. It particularly felicitates the people of Mumbai for instant recovery from the unprecedented shock of 12 March and it is a matter of gratification that the Judiciary has, in a series of major decisions, quashed several lawless actions of the Executive. In Delhi, Indore and elsewhere, courts have ordered RSS Karyalaya after Karyalaya to be unlocked. The High Courts of Goa and Bombay have held the Chief Ministers of the two states guilty of corrupt practices. In Calcutta, it has struck down the lawless ban on the BJP Rally.

Restoration of Patwa Government

Particularly significant in this respect is the judgement of the Jabalpur Bench of Madhya Pradesh High Court. It has held that Presidential proclamations are justiciable and they can be struck down on grounds of mala fides. In this particular case, it has ordered restoration of the Patwa Government and revival of the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha. Here is a historic judgement that has reinforced the federal character of the constitution.

Government's Declaration of War on the People

However, the Government continues to make war on the people by raiding the people's representatives, banning the people's rallies and sundry other dirty tricks. On 25 February, it even imposed concertina Raj on the National Capital. It put a lid on the Bofors

scandal, only to be blown up by the banking scam. And now the scandal has touched even the Prime Minister's family. The Congress in-fighting particularly in Congress states, reminds you of dog fights. The old Muslim League stands reborn and proliferated as Babri Masjid Action Committee and Muslim Personal Law Board. A Government that inflicts all this nonsense, and worse, on the country, is unfit to continue for another day.

Pakistan's Involvement in Bomb Explosion

It is clear that Pakistan was deeply involved in the bomb explosions in Bombay on 12 March, 1993. It has been established that the smuggling into Bombay of huge amounts of explosives and arms and ammunition began since at least the summer of 1992. Training was given to the perpetrators in Pakistan and some of the perpetrators have fled to Pakistan. Pakistan is now engaged in prevarication and excuses in order to deny the opportunity to interrogate and persecute the perpetrators of the heinous crime.

Need for a New Central Government

The country is facing both, a challenge and an opportunity. This discredited regime is as unfit to face the challenge of the times, as it is unequal to the task of seizing the historic opportunity to rebuild this Rashtra on its historic foundations. It is too corrupt, incompetent and too divided to do any good. Let it, therefore, implement the Jabalpur Judgement and restore the four BJP Governments and not delay justice by obstructive appeals. And, for the rest, let it go and get lost. The people of India must be given an early opportunity to give themselves a Government that will do what must be done for the country's security and integrity.

The Immediate Task:

1. Remove obstacles in the way of rebuilding the Ram Janmasthan Mandir in Ayodhya, by the existing Rama Janmabhumi Nyas.
2. Lift the ban on RSS, VHP and other organizations.
3. Smash the politician-criminal-foreign agent triangle.
4. Settle ex-servicemen along the borders and the sea coasts, to prevent smuggling, particularly of drugs and arms.

5. Ensure that Article 356 of the Indian Constitution is not misused and the sanctity of the Federal Character of the Constitution is preserved.
6. Cooperate and coordinate with the authorities in other countries similarly rocked by fundamentalist terrorism, to end this galloping international lawlessness.
7. Spare no effort to have Pakistan branded as a terrorist state.

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive directs its units to observe 28 April as 'Restore Democracy Day' with day-long dharnas at all district headquarters.



National Executive

Bangalore

18-20 June, 1993

Political Resolution

Non-governance of Rao's Government

This month the Congress (I) Government headed by Shri PV Narasimha Rao completes two years of its office at the Centre. It is a measure of the total failure of this Government on nearly every front that, within a short span of two years, the common man not only feels let down and betrayed but is beginning to wonder whether there is indeed a Government at the Centre.

Rao's Non-Governance

It is one thing for any Government to have tried and failed. The Narasimha Rao Government has not tried at all. It has raised non-Governance to such a fine art that it is all but invisible. Its first impulse is to deny everything from its involvement in the securities scam that has deprived innocent citizens of their priceless savings to the tune of Rs. 10,000 crore to its dubious role in Ayodhya which was used as an excuse to dismiss four BJP governments from their rightful seats of power and impose illegal ban on perfectly legal and nationally respected organisations like the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Bajrang Dal.

Widespread Chaos

The result is the nation's drift into disaster on a much bigger scale than even under the previous ruling party Government as the Rao administration is reduced to the status of a pathetic and Dhritarashtra like witness to the spreading chaos. The Prime Minister and his cabinet are chaos personified. The nation's polity is in chaos, the economy is in chaos, the society is in chaos, the external relations are in chaos, and over it all presides the scandalous figure of the Prime Minister whose own personal integrity has now been brought into question by a finance broker from Bombay in his shocking revelations that throw a lurid light on the nexus between the PM himself and his shady connections with the financial underworld

of the country.

Criminals Ruling the Roost

It is not, therefore, surprising to find that in several parts of the country, criminals rule the roost with ruling party politicians as their partners in crime, as they do in Maharashtra and Gujarat where they have been able to get away literally with mass murders under the benign patronage of their friends in high places. The bomb explosion in Uma Shri Bharati's house in Tikamgarh, MP, is another sample of criminal violence. In Kashmir, it is only the Army and our gallant Jawans who stand between the nation's integrity and the nation's enemies. And on the Eastern frontier, the Government continues to turn a blind eye to the throngs of illegal immigrants who pour in from Bangladesh, since the Government's eye is cocked on vote-banks, not on the nation's integrity.

Corruption at the Highest Level

The Rao Government may be a non-government but it is single-minded in its pursuit of filthy lucre, and is striking compromises with corruption, including corruption at the highest level, as the recent impeachment proceedings in the Parliament showed. This was an issue, the issue of proved corruption and irregularities at the highest judicial level, on which the Government and the ruling party should have behaved with utmost propriety. Instead, it played a dubious role and condoned the acts of commission for which the impeachment proceedings had been launched.

Rampant Lawlessness

The ruling party and its Prime Minister do not feel strongly about anything and are ready to compromise with anything and anybody just to survive and remain in power. So do its Chief Ministers, many of whom have been pulled up by one court or the other, on several counts of culpable corruption. At no time in recent history have so many Congress Chief Ministers fallen foul of the law and been hauled up before the courts, a reflection of rampant lawlessness that is the hallmark of the present Congress Government under Shri Narasimha Rao.

Abuse of Power

The lawlessness also leads to gross illegalities in the abuse of power for political purposes. Time and again during the last few months, the courts have struck down various acts of the government, from the dismissal of BJP ruled Governments in states to the banning of national organizations like the RSS on flimsy grounds. The latest Bahri Tribunal order striking down the ban on the RSS is a slap in the face of the Government and its blatant misuse of power for narrow partisan ends. But despite the lifting of the ban on the RSS, the Government has still not restored the BJP ruled Governments and it is trying to take the case to the Supreme Court although it has no moral authority to do so.

Eruption of Anti-National Forces

The erosion of legitimacy and the failure to act in Bombay and other places has led to the eruption of anti-national forces with their separatist and blatantly communal demands. Some of these forces met in Delhi last month and held a meeting to discuss a so-called “building of a society based on Islam” and for the Muslims of India to join the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), the same organization which recently met in Karachi and called for the disruption of the present set-up in Kashmir.

Unholy Nexus with Pak-Islamic Fundamentalism

The so-called ‘Milli Parliament’ is an undisguised attempt to build an unholy nexus between Muslim politics and pan-Islamic fundamentalism, and it must be firmly nipped in the bud as it cuts at the very roots of India’s integrity as a nation. It cannot be an accident that two MLAs from Maharashtra, one belonging to the BJP and the other to Shiv Sena, were murdered in cold blood and in broad daylight in Bombay a few days after the above meeting in Delhi. But the Government’s reaction to all these disturbing developments has been, to say the least, shocking and unworthy of a responsible Government. In Kerala, the Congress Government there, which is in open alliance with the Muslim League in the state, has issued orders for Friday to be declared a holiday in schools having a majority of Muslim students or Muslim staff or bearing an Islamic name. Schools and institutions with even a single Muslim student or teacher

have been directed to observe a two-hour recess for prayers. A Cabinet Minister at the Centre has gone further and called for the Government to apologise to the nation, which, in this case, means the Muslims, for the demolition of the disputed structure at Ayodhya. The Congress Party has learned nothing from history and is determined to pursue the disastrous course of appeasement of Muslim vote-banks which has brought the country to such a sorry pass.

Nation Heading Towards Bankruptcy

On the economic front, the situation is so chaotic that the Government does not know from day to day whether its 'new' economic policies are winning or losing. The Finance Minister says one thing in Delhi, and quite another to his friends in Washington and London. There has been virtually no growth in the last two years either in terms of national income or jobs. Prices keep rising relentlessly by as much as 25 per cent in less than two years. The national debt, a measure of the nation's bankruptcy, is soaring out of all proportion with the country's capacity to service it, and will soon touch Rs. 5,00,000 crore. The foreign debt, which is supposed to have brought on the economic crisis has nearly doubled in the last two years, from Rs. 1,20,000 crore to Rs. 2,30,000 crore, as the Government goes about nonchalantly on its borrowing spree. The crisis has not, however, prevented the Government from wasting money on foreign jaunts of ministers, and on such extravaganzas as conferences in Amethi and Surajkund where over Rs. 100 crore were reported to have been spent on providing amenities and luxuries to Congress (I) members including air-conditioned Swiss-type chalets and bathrooms. Even the gods and Mother Nature were apparently against the ruling party,

for the extravaganzas at Amethi and the so-called Som Yagya in Ayodhya, ended in fiascoes and had to be abandoned.

Government's Weakness Exposed on Foreign Affairs Front

On the foreign affairs front, the Government has turned so weak that it is unable to resist the growing external pressures that weak nations are prey to. Whether on Kashmir, or nuclear non-proliferation, or on human rights, New Delhi under the Rao Government does not speak with the strong voice expected from a country like India, and gives the impression of being a Government that is only too happy to compromise and surrender to pressures. On Kashmir, even a bureaucrat from the United States, can descend on new Delhi, lecture us on what we should do and should not do in regard to Kashmir, threaten us on human rights, and virtually get away with it, with the Government looking the other way. Chakma tribals have been pushed out of Bangladesh and the Government has failed to get Dhaka to create conditions for their return home. The Government is defensive on Kashmir, it is defensive on human rights, it is defensive in regard to Pakistan's role in Punjab and Kashmir, it is defensive on everything that affects India's interests and honour, at home and abroad. A Government always on the defensive can hardly summon the necessary political will or authority to govern, as a sovereign Government, worth the name must do.

Voters Turning Towards BJP

That the people of India can have no faith in such a Government and the party it represents is clear from the way they have recently voted. Six months after the four BJP ruled state Governments were wrongly and illegally dismissed, the voter has overwhelmingly expressed his distaste for the petty self-serving manipulations of the ruling party and has shown his decisive tilt towards the Bharatiya Janata Party as the only alternative to the Congress. The results of last month's by-elections are clear-cut pointers to the writing on the wall.

By-Elections Evidence of BJP's Rising Graph

It should be noted that none of the by-elections were held in the formerly BJP ruled states. All states, barring two, were, and are,

Congress-ruled states. Out of 14 Assembly seats in these states, the BJP won five, the Congress five – if the Yalahanka result in Karnataka is taken as a Congress ‘win’ – and regional opposition parties, four. It was a vote that went overwhelmingly against the Congress and in favour of the Opposition which won 9 out of 14 Assembly seats. In all these constituencies, the BJP increased its share of the total vote by substantial margins. In Gujarat, the BJP got 52 per cent of the vote, as against 42 per cent for the Congress. In all constituencies, the BJP vote made a quantum jump by as much as 25 to 120 per cent (as in the case of Jhalod where the votes polled shot up from 12,538 to 26,236). In Yalahanka, the BJP’s percentage rose from 30 per cent in 1991 to 50 per cent. In the Panchayat elections in West Bengal, the BJP raised its strength from about 30 seats to nearly 3,000 seats, an unprecedented 100-fold growth that has made the BJP a rising third force in that state. These figures give the lie to the myth, assiduously fostered by BJP-baiters and others, that 6 December had led to an attrition of the BJP’s supports base in the middle and upper middle classes. The historic day of 6 December, a Day of liberation, has certainly succeeded in liberating large chunks of the Indian society from their ‘secular’ myths and brought them into the mainstream of genuine secularism and nationalism.

Jyoti Basu Panics

The Marxists, already on the run in their old bastions, have begun to react with panic at the surge of the BJP on the national stage. But one did not expect a person of Jyoti Basu’s status to sink so low in his reaction. He is reported to have said recently that if the BJP comes to power at the Centre, West Bengal will secede from India. When the BJP comes to power at the Centre, it will be in power in West Bengal too, and Jyoti Basu and his Marxists will be thrown on the dustheap of history.

There is still a long road ahead of us. The Congress, for obvious reasons, is unwilling to hold fresh polls, though the people have signalled that it is a party of the past and has to make way for a party of the future.

Need for Fresh Elections

After the latest revelations by the Scamster and the Prime Minister’s financial dealings with him, neither the PM nor his Government have a leg to stand on and have forfeited the mandate

to rule the country. The Parliament should be dissolved forthwith and a date for fresh polls announced without further delay.

BJP to get Ready to Fill the Vacuum

But, elections or no elections, the BJP must proceed single-mindedly with the task of educating the people, not only about the acts of commission and omission of the ruling party and its Governments, but also about the BJP's agenda on national issues, from Ayodhya to Kashmir, from secularism to human rights, from full employment to social security and social justice, from seeds and water to farmers in their fields to new technology and skills to workers in factories, and above all, about national pride and self-respect of 900 million Indians, for only proud and self-respecting Indians can bring pride and self-respect to the Motherland. This is BJP's task and its historic role, and our commitment to the nation at this grave juncture in our history.

The message of the by-elections is, "Goodbye to Congress." The party is already a non-entity in the North. It is slipping so badly in the South that it will soon be reduced to a party of no-consequence there also. The pendulum which began swinging away from the Congress in 1989, is now swinging decisively towards the Bharatiya Janata Party. Politics, like nature, abhors a vacuum. The BJP is the only party that is fit to step into the vacuum.

□

National Executive

Jaipur

31 July-01 August, 1993

Political Situation

Government's Reputation in Tatters

The Rao Government has survived the no-confidence motion; but its days are clearly numbered. Mr. Narasimha Rao is in office, but he is no longer in power. The obscene manner in which he literally bought his survival, leaves his reputation, such as it is, in tatters. It is clear that his vote was arithmetical, not political, and certainly not moral. Today this Government is suffering from political decrepitude and moral hemorrhage that can only end in its complete rout as soon as elections are held.

The no-confidence motion gave the Government an opportunity to explain its conduct on the Securities Scam, the PSU disinvestment imbroglio, the Bofors Bribe Scandal, the Bombay blasts, the continuing Kashmir crisis, the cryogenic engine fiasco and sundry other matters. But Mr. Rao had nothing to say on any of these burning issues. And his only response to the corruption charges was virtually to confirm them by allowing his lieutenants to indulge in a disgusting exercise in horse-trading. A corrupt Government earned a lease of life by resorting to still more corruption.

Stunning Disclosure on Bofors Issue

The Bofors Bribery Scandal has eroded the moral credibility of the Congress Party and its two successive Governments. A shameless cover-up operation, and repeated lies and half-truths were the hallmark of the Congress Governments. The conclusive search for the political recipients of money in the Bofors case is finally over by the exposure of the Ottavio Quattrocchi's connection with the Swiss Accounts into which the bribe money was paid. Despite this stunning disclosure, the CBI and the Government have not woken up from their slumber to act by investigating, interrogating or arresting the key suspects.

Corruption Chakravyuha

The Stock-Scam and the ministerial and Prime Ministerial connections exposed with it, have destroyed the moral fabric of governance. Two successive Congress Prime Ministers have been accused of personal bribery. The Congress Party stands exposed as a pathetic leper, unable to get out of the corruption 'Chakravyuha' that it has created.

Five months after the horrendous Bombay and Calcutta blasts, which shattered the citizens' sense of security, this Government is yet to apprehend the masterminds of that fiendish crime. The reason is simple: the big criminals are also big friends of big politicians.

Concessions to Insurgents

A major failure of the Narasimha Rao Government is the continuing drift and deterioration of the situation in the Kashmir Valley. Because of this indecision and inaction, terrorism now afflicts Doda district as well. While hundreds of thousands of Kashmiri Pandits languish as refugees in their own homeland, completely uncared for, the Government announces further concessions to the insurgents. It is the kind of perversity combined with a lack of policy about J & K that has brought our country to this situation. For this national disservice, the Congress will not be forgiven.

The cryogenic engine contract has been bungled, compromising the vital scientific, technological, economic and strategic interests of the country.

BJP not to Tolerate Attacks on Democracy and Nationalism

And now, in the name of 'secularism', this Government wants to divorce 'Desh' from 'Dharma'. The Law and the Constitution already provide against the misuse of religion in politics. But what this Government now wants to do is, to make even a plea for the reconstruction of Ram Janmasthan Mandir an electoral offence. The Bharatiya Janata Party will fight all these attacks on Indian Democracy, Indian Nationalism and Indian Culture with all its strength, at all levels and in all fora. And the people of India, who humbled the dangerous dictators of the hated Emergency, would know how to put these tin-pot dictators in their place on the dung-hill of history. The people's resolve to see that a grand temple is constructed at the Rama Janmasthan cannot be thwarted by anyone.

Corrupt Government to be Thrown Out

This Government must clearly understand that the people will not be diverted from the burning issue of corruption in the highest places by any talk of 'separating religion from politics'. The people perceive this regime as the Government of the corrupt, by the corrupt and for the corrupt, which has bled the people and retarded the country's growth.

Today the people are waking up to their rights and responsibilities all over the world. Even Italy and Japan, where political corruption had been institutionalised for long, have sent their corrupt politicians packing. And the people of India are only waiting for the next electoral opportunity to throw out this corrupt outfit lock, stock and the last suitcase.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

18-19 December, 1993

A. Political Situation

Fabricated Cases against BJP Leaders

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive takes serious note of the cases filed against our President, Shri LK Advani, Ex-President, Dr. MM Joshi, Vice-President, Kalyan Singh, Leader of opposition in UP Assembly and several other leaders.

These cases are a clumsy fabrication which bring law and justice into contempt and ridicule.

On 8 December, 1992 our leaders were arrested on charges of instigating the demolition of the disputed structure on 6 December, and detained at Mata Tila Dam. After prolonged detention, the Chief Judicial Magistrate released them 'unconditionally' and 'honourably' since there was no charge sheet, no prima facie case and not even a request for extended remand.

In last October, the Government again filed cases, now alleging 'conspiracy' to demolish the disputed structure. Summons were issued for 10 November but not served. It is ominous that the decision to prosecute our leaders was announced by the PM at a meeting of 'Quami Tanzeem'. The political motivation of this announcement on election eve was obvious.

It is on record that our leaders repeatedly urged the Karsevaks on 6 December, 1992 not to touch the disputed structure. The Home Minister himself told the Rajya Sabha on January 1993 that there was no conspiracy to demolish the structure.

A case of Political Persecution

That being so, it is ridiculous for the Government to now allege conspiracy. Normally there is no objection to bail or bond. But this is not an ordinary case of legal persecution; it is a case of political persecution, and persecution of this kind can be fought more by going to jail than by remaining out. We are extremely sorry to note that national institution after national institution is being seriously eroded. In the present case, the very CBI, controlled by the Prime Minister's Office which was used to exonerate the PM of the charge of accepting a Rs. 1 crore - suitcase, has been used to frame some of the topmost leaders of the country. It is also significant that men like Imam Bukhari, Hinduja, Ottavio Quattrochi and Dawood Ibrahim, against whom there are serious charges, have never been produced before the court, while respected leaders have been harassed and hauled up.

The Government would be well advised to withdraw this false, fictitious and fabricated case if it has any sense of law and justice, democracy and decency.

The BJP will agitate this issue and expose this obscenity in all fora until such time as this bogus case is withdrawn and our leaders released.

□

National Executive

Varanasi

13-15 March, 1992

Jammu and Kashmir Problem

Historic Ekta Yatra

Since The National Executive met in Trivandrum last September, a number of developments have taken place which have a vital bearing on the Kashmir issue. By far the most significant of these are the Party's 'Save Kashmir' campaign and the *Ekta Yatra*, culminating in the unfurling of the national flag by our President, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, in Lal Chowk in Srinagar on Republic Day, 26 January.

The National Executive hails the Party President on this achievement. It salutes those Yatris who fell victim's to the bullets of the militants in the course of the *Yatra*. The Executive lauds the role of the Security Forces in Jammu and Kashmir who openly identified themselves with the *Yatra's* cause and in a way compelled the hostile political leadership in New Delhi to refrain from obstructing the *Yatra*. The Executive expresses its deep gratitude to the people of Jammu and the BJP workers of Jammu for the warmth and enthusiasm with which they welcomed the tens of thousands of Yatris who had joined this historic march.

The *Yatra* has not only aroused the people throughout India to the seriousness of the threat to the integrity of the country but also driven home the clear message that the Indian people would not brook any dilution of India's sovereignty in any part of the Union, and that in the specific case of J & K, they insist on the removal of the last barrier in the path of its full integration into the Union in the shape of Article 370 of the Constitution.

The successful and peaceful completion of the EKTA YATRA in which millions participated despite the Goebbelsian propaganda of our adversaries who virtually seemed to be praying for violence to erupt on the route of the *Yatra*.

The Government controlled media consciously blacked out the *Yatra*. If the intention was to ensure poor participation, it did

not succeed. The people responded enthusiastically to the BJP's call for unity. Millions participated in this movement dedicated to the country's unity and integrity, leaving its enemies, both at home and abroad, in no doubt that Mother India had stood up in all her power and glory.

No Return to Pre-1953 Arrangements

Instead of drawing the conclusion that the time was propitious for doing away with Article 370 and thereby ending indirect encouragement to fence-sitters and subversive elements in the state, some misguided individuals and groups continue to favour return to the pre-1953 arrangements whereby J & K's ties with the Union would become even more tenuous than they are today. The Union Government also continues to argue, in the face of facts to the contrary, that Article 370 represents a solemn commitment to the people of J & K.

Article 370 not a Perpetual Phenomenon

The National Executive regrets that though Article 370 was intended to be temporary and transient, and that though earlier even Pt. Nehru had apologetically spoken of its 'gradual erosion', the present Government has now chosen to refer to it as a 'solemn commitment' to the people of Kashmir. For the pseudo-secular parties, yesterday's apology for Article 370 institutionalises and constitutionalises divisive thinking. It creates a psychological barrier between Kashmir and the rest of India. It gives indirect legitimacy to the two-nation theory. It serves, besides, as a precedent for other states faced with separatist movements, which are already making demands for similar provisions for their states. This can eventually lead to dismemberment of the country.

In view of the lapse of time, it is necessary to recall that the

seeds of trouble were sown soon after the state's accession in 1947 when, in an attempt to appease Sheikh Abdullah, with his unlimited vanity and appetite for pelf and power, Pandit Nehru agreed to let him have a separate Constitution and a separate flag, as if J&K was an independent state. It was the supreme sacrifice of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee which thwarted Sheikh Abdullah's ambitions for independence and triggered off a series of steps towards integration.

The Permit System was abolished. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, the Election Commission and the Comptroller and Auditor General was extended to J & K State. The Executive recalls that even in 1953, workers of the Praja Parishad had to sacrifice their lives while hoisting the National Flag in various parts of Jammu and Kashmir!

Pakistan Supported Mercenaries' Unleashed Terrorism

It is an undeniable reality that mercenaries supported by Pakistan have unleashed terrorism and violence on Kashmir Valley in a manner as to force over 2,00,000 Kashmiri Hindus to leave their hearths and homes and become homeless refugees in their own country. Instead of condemning this gross violation of human rights, some so-called human rights organizations have been making statements which only provide a cloak of respectability to terrorists. None of these organizations has yet cared to condemn the supply of arms and finance and training to these terrorists by Pakistan.

Misguided by Islamic fundamentalists under the leadership of Jamat-e-Islami, and beguiled by Pakistani propaganda and money, the people in the Valley may not realise that it is in their own interest that they come under the full protection of the Indian Constitution. But this is the truth and it should not be beyond our resources to set them to recognise it.

Though this need not await the complete elimination of the terrorist-secessionist menace, the effort clearly cannot fully succeed so long as law and order is not restored in the state. It is, therefore, all the more imperative that the Government presses at full speed ahead with the pacification programme.

The BJP makes the following Demands:

1. Pakistan to be Declared a Terrorist State

That Pakistan, which is admittedly supporting terrorism in Kashmir by supply of arms to separatists, and by organising terrorist training camps, must be declared a terrorist State by the international community.

2.. Pro-Pak Elements to be Weeded out

Starting from the higher rungs, and progressively moving downwards, pro-Pakistan elements in the state administration and police must be systematically weeded out. This is perhaps the most urgent task facing the Government in view of the disclosures relating to the bomb explosion in the office of the Director General of Police himself and continuing intransigence on the part of state government employees. The Union Government is itself to blame for this intransigence. The recent strike gave it an opportunity to call off the bluff and to weed out the corrupt and suspect elements. Instead, it chose to surrender. Apparently, it has learnt nothing from the tragedy of the last two years.

3. Separate Regional Councils

Separate Regional Councils must be created for Jammu and Ladakh. The people there have faced discrimination and neglect for decades on account of the policies of the authorities in Srinagar. They have become quite restless. This is especially so in Ladakh where Buddhists have felt obliged to take to agitation. They need to be reassured that New Delhi is not insensitive to their just demands.

4. Kashmiri Refugees

Immediate and adequate relief and rehabilitation facilities must be made available to Kashmiri refugees. Their present

plight is pathetic and the Government's callous indifference to the problem is unpardonable.

5. Publicity Abroad

The propaganda machinery of the Government of India abroad must be strengthened and projection must be given to the Kashmir problem as one of terrorism inspired by Islamic fundamentalism.

6. Security Belt

The recent efforts being made by the separatists to extend their activities to Doda, Poonch and Rajauri districts must be checked immediately before it is too late. A security belt must be created all along the border to check infiltrators.

7. All out efforts should be made to establish the state administration's authority on the principle of 'Governance with Justice'. The authority of Government must be established but misgivings of the Kashmiri people, that they were being treated unjustly, must also be removed.

□

National Executive

Varanasi

13-14 April, 1992

Political Resolution

A Burdensome Legacy

Irresponsible management of our internal polity by the Congress Party has left a burdensome legacy for the nation. The three principal and bleeding sores of this legacy are the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Assam. It is a matter of great concern to the National Executive of the BJP that, in addressing itself to the tasks in these three strategically sensitive border states of the nation, the present Congress Government is not displaying either the required clarity of policy or the expected firmness in the execution of it.

The saga of the tortured states of Punjab, and its people, is not of today's making. From Bhinderanwala to the 1984 Delhi massacre, the BJP has been consistent in its approach about the policy to be adopted in curbing mindless terrorism in this state.

The recently concluded elections in Punjab do neither entirely reflect the existing ground realities there, nor do the boycotted elections. In 1992, the Akalis have done the same. In this tale of two boycotts, both the Congress and the various Akali groupings have contributed to further complicating an already complex situation.

Earlier, the Congress Party, after boycotting the elections of 1991, arranged, at the penultimate hour when the entire process of electioneering had been completed, to have them postponed and then subsequently countermanded. By so doing, this Government has been guilty of having crossed the *Lakshman Rekha* of inviolability of our election process, something that had never happened before. The BJP would like to caution the nation that in the countermanding of the elections in Punjab in 1991, we have done something which, in the coming decades, is going to haunt our polity. In that, folly lies in the genesis of the elections of 1992.

It is a matter of great regret that these elections were boycotted by the Akalis. This has given to the election results an inbuilt fragility and imbalance. In turn, the Congress has failed to respond to the situation with the required magnanimity of political approach,

choosing yet again to place party interests above all.

Manipulating the Electoral Process

Notwithstanding the Congress (I) attempt to manipulate the electoral process in Punjab, the BJP participation, despite heavy odds of threat to the lives of political activists contributed to the generation of a democratic tempo during the elections. The BJP retained its numerical strength in the Assembly but increased its vote percentage to 16.08%.

Today, the Congress(I) rules the Centre as also the states of Punjab and Haryana. On the Congress(I) Government squarely lies the responsibility of implementing the Longowal accord which certainly will be a positive step towards restoration of political normalcy in Punjab. Now, the nation will not accept any political alibi for non-implementation of the Longowal accord.

The BJP, while cautioning the Government about the bed that it has made, and on which it must now lie, regards it as singularly unfortunate that the Prime Minister in a recent interview indicated that he was not averse to considering the granting of a special status to the state of Punjab.

Cluelessness in Assam

Assam is the other example. Not one of the basic causes underlying the troubles in Assam has been addressed fully, leave alone resolved. Fragmentation in the minds, psyche and hearts of the people of that state has taken root; deep political fissures have developed. In the handling of the ULFA problem, the Union Government has continued to display lack of a coherent or even a recognizable policy. It has addressed itself to the challenge thrown by ULFA in a stop-go fashion. The BJP demands that Government must clarify the following:

1. What is the current status of the so-called 'talks about talks' with ULFA?
2. Has any effort been made to obtain from ULFA details of the crores of rupees that they have collected through coercion and kidnapping?
3. What are the details of the foreign assistance received by ULFA, whether financial, through supply of arms or the provision of safe sanctuaries?

Misuse of Article 356

The nation has already paid heavily for the Congress(I) manipulation of the political process in states like Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. The repeated misuse of Article 356 to dismiss non-Congress(I) Government has led to popular alienation in many a state. The recent invocation of Article 356 in Manipur and Meghalaya deserves the strongest condemnation. Encouragement of defections, splits in smaller political groups and generation of an avoidable conflict between the Judiciary and the Legislature on the implementation of the Tenth Schedule are some recent developments which are likely to disturb the equilibrium of the political process.

Language Issue

The Executive is of the opinion that the agitation over the language issue in Manipur must be controlled forthwith before the situation gets out of hand. The BJP is of the clear opinion that Manipuri and Nepali Gorkhali should be included in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution.

Disturbing Conditions in Bihar

The BJP would like to draw the pointed attention of the country and the Government to the disturbing conditions as they prevail in the state of Bihar, causing widespread lawlessness, social conflict, breakdown of administrative and police machinery and subversion of constitutional processes because of the acts of commission and omission of the state Government. The services have been pulverised and caste-vitiated so as to subserve to the whims and interests of the ruling party and its Chief Minister. In the name of social justice, caste feuds are being systematically generated, leading to massacres of different groups and castes in the countryside. The state Government is callously unconcerned about the long-term implications and adverse impact of its policies and functioning on the prospects and policy of the state. All development work is at a standstill. For the common man, there is no protection to life, limb and dignity. Public servants are being humiliated, and have been completely demoralized. Bihar is today under mafia rule. It is high time for the Union Government and all shades of political opinion

to pause and ponder as to how such misuse and abuse of political authority can be stopped and the faith of the people restored in the legitimacy of the democratic process.

Elections Held in BJP Ruled States Free of Rigging

The Executive compliments the Government of UP for having controlled the tense communal situation in this largest state of the country. The Executive proudly claims that compared to the massive electoral rigging in states like Bihar, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, elections held in the BJP-ruled states have been conspicuously free of this evil of rigging.

Misuse of Govt. Machinery by Congress Govts

The disarray in Congress ruled states, and the Congress Party's misuse of governmental machinery in every possible manner have now reached unprecedented proportions. Doordarshan and All India Radio have been reduced to mere propaganda organs of the Congress Party and the Government. The principle of accountability in high offices has been thrown to the winds. Despite irrefutable evidence and burgeoning political corruption in high offices in many states and elsewhere, the Government of India has done everything it can to thwart a proper enquiry about the Bofors scandal, whether in India or abroad. It is a matter of concern that even as sensitive an enquiry as that relating to Late Shri Rajiv Gandhi's assassination is marked by inefficiency.

Indeed, on the political plane, this Government's performance has been extremely dismal. Apart from its abject failure to deal with terrorism in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam, it has let Naxalite violence in Andhra and elsewhere grow at an alarming pace. Illegal immigration into Assam, West Bengal, Rajasthan and Gujarat has been continuing unabated. From Karnataka, there

have been reports of political corruption of unprecedented dimensions. All that the Congress has done in Karnataka is to exacerbate the Kaveri dispute, raise public passions and create yet another area of discord.

National Security Threatened by Islamic Fundamentalism

The BJP is greatly concerned about the resurgence of the pre-1947 Muslim League divisive mentality in the name of protection of minority rights and secularism. Pan-Islamic movements, decisions of the Organisation of Islamic States and Islamic fundamentalism are sought to be explained away as having only a religious complexion. There is no dearth of apologists who suggest that these activities have no political implications for our national security. The inflow of foreign money from the Middle East is making serious inroads into our political and economic system. It is important to realise that the Congress Government adopt postures and policies which will jeopardise the national cohesiveness and integrity of our constitutional processes. The Prime Minister has rushed headlong into announcing the grant of statutory status to the present Minority Commission. Announcement of a Composite Riot Force, in our view, is another retrograde step. This will only further aggravate the fissiparous tendencies and promote a separatist psyche detrimental to national solidarity. The BJP reiterates its demand that a Human Rights Commission be set up in place of the Minorities Commission so that national cohesiveness is promoted and reinforced.

While these bleeding sores continue to afflict the body of our nation, we find in the ranks of other parties in the Opposition a total disarray and a complete absence of the sense of purpose and direction. It is our view that just when national ethos needs to be redefined and rebuilt, security of the nation ensured, and Indian society protected and strengthened, just then parties in Opposition, instead of addressing themselves to these tasks, are pre-occupied either with internecine and empty political struggles, or aimlessly attacking the policies of the BJP.

BJP as a Vigilant Watchdog of National Interests

The BJP as the principal party in Opposition to the Congress will continue to act as a vigilant watchdog of the people's interests

and as it has always done, will place national interests and priorities uppermost, continuing undeterred on the path of formulating policies for the nation and for national good only.



National Executive

Bhopal

24 August, 1992

A. Jammu and Kashmir Situation

Terrorism in J & K Unabated

The National Executive of the BJP regrets the complete lack of perspective of the Central Government on dealing with the Jammu and Kashmir situation. Terrorism and separatism go on unabated and the Central Government with the failure of its kid glove policy has been completely overtaken by the events. Terrorism inspired by Islamic fundamentalism has engulfed the Valley completely. The shocking incidents of the 14th and 15th August, 1992 have thoroughly exposed the hollowness of the Central Government's claim that situation in the Valley was improving. In fact Government office functions at Srinagar. All Central Government departments including Akashvani and Doordarshan operate only from Jammu.

The entire patriotic community, Kashmiri Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims have been driven out of the Valley. The local Administration and the Government have been totally insensitive to the human problem of the migrants. There is not even an iota of positive thinking on the part of the Government to resettle the migrants back in the valley. After engulfing the entire Valley, the hydra-headed demon of terrorism is now spreading its tentacles in the Doda, Kishtwar, Bhadrawah, Rajauri and Punch areas of Jammu. There is a sudden spurt and consequential escalation of violence in the Jammu region.

Pakistan a Terrorist State

The obvious need of the hour is that the Government sends clear signals to the entire world community that Kashmir is an integral part of India and any suggestion which will dilute this relationship is not negotiable. The psychological barrier between the Kashmir Valley and the rest of India in terms of special status guaranteed by Article 370 requires immediate scrapping. The world community requires to be told unequivocally that Pakistan, by organising terrorist training camps, is a terrorist State and deserves the same

sanctions as Libya. The democratic world community requires to be informed of the dangers of Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism and separatism in Kashmir.

No Negotiations with Subversionist group

It is a matter of regret that instead of embarking upon this determined course, the Government is considering counter-productive and patch work solutions such as holding Assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir. It is intriguing that while the Union Minister goes on repeating that elections in J & K would be held soon, the Governor does not share this perspective. Till such time the terrorists and Pakistan inspired mercenaries can be eliminated on the ground, there should be no question of restoration of the political process in the Valley. The CPI (M) suggestion in the Consultative Committee meeting of the Home Ministry that negotiations should be held with the JKLF and other subversionist groups is highly reprehensible.

Pakistan Must Vacate Occupied Areas

The recently concluded talks between the Foreign Secretaries of India and Pakistan reflect a disturbing trend. Pakistan is construing these talks as an India acquiescence to negotiate the Kashmir problem and, further, as a preliminary step to implement the UN Resolutions. The BJP calls upon the Government of India to clearly and unequivocally state that any talks with Pakistan on Kashmir will only be on the issue of Pakistan vacating the occupied areas of the Jammu and Kashmir State and stopping aiding and organising of the terrorist-training camps by Pakistan.

In the opinion of the BJP, it is extremely important to establish full state authority on the ground in Kashmir before initiating any political process and for this, the following steps are urgently called for:

1. Put strong and continuous pressure on the terrorists and their collaborators.
2. Treat the situation as low-intensity war and take all measures to counter this.
3. Beef up the security measures and put an effective blockade to the supply line of the subversionists and terrorists.

4. Take effective measures so that the state resources do not flow to the subversives.
5. Identify and remove from Government and government organizations all those who collaborate with subversion.
6. Counter the anti-Indian propaganda launched by Pakistan and organise a publicity campaign for projecting a proper picture to the world community.
7. Take immediate steps for creating conditions for the expeditious return of the Kashmiri migrants to their homes and meanwhile provide them with adequate relief and financial support.
8. Set up statutory Regional Councils for Jammu, Ladakh and the Valley for removing political, economic and regional imbalances and ensure that Jammu and Ladakh receive their legitimate share of seats in the State Assembly.

B. Political Resolution

Lengthening shadows of Corruption

The Bharatiya Janata Party notes with dismay the lengthening shadows of corruption and communalism spreading over the land, and the casual approach of the Congress Government, the Congress Party and its friends to these viruses menacing the health of the nation. Perhaps it was to cover up these creeping menaces that the PM, in his 15 August address, proposed a moratorium on 'contentious' issues. While we are all for an honest cooperation and consensus, let us make it clear that if he wants a moratorium on public discussion of public issues, the country is not going to oblige him. On the other hand, there should be not just a 3-year moratorium, but a permanent moratorium, on the grievous sins his Government, his party and their friends, visible and invisible, are committing with impunity.

Communal Manipulations

The Congress has a long and sorry record of communal appeasement. But what it is now doing in Kerala is a new blow in communal manipulation. It is not only in coalition with the Muslim

League, it is aiding and abetting a rabidly communal and violent mystery organization called the Islamic Sevak Sangh. In Kerala, it is public knowledge that Congress is using the ISS – itself a creature of Pakistans’s ISI – in a bid to divide the state’s Muslim community. It is just like the Congress pitting Bhinderanwala against the Akalis to divide the Sikhs, only to heighten competitive communalism and so hurt the whole country. Decency demands an end to the unholy Congress alliance with the party of India’s partition, and to its secret alliance with a dangerous outfit like the ISS.

It is sad, but hardly surprising, to note that even Janata Dal and Communists are playing this communal game with the Congress. A JD MLA organised a huge riotous mob in Malegaon, Maharashtra, leading to much violence. And known Muslim Communist workers have been seen in ISS ranks.

A Mockery of Anti-Defection Law

Not content with communalising the National Polity, the Congress has been corrupting it with reckless abandon. After rigging New Delhi and Nandyal and stealing the Punjab election, the Congress has been busy breaking other parties. Its Department of Dirty Tricks has used not only its inexhaustible funds but also the State apparatus, and even the Prime Minister’s Office, to divide the Telugu Desam, the Shiv Sena, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha and now the Janata Dal, to manipulate for itself a majority that the country withheld from it.

The Anti-Defection law has been made into an instrument for wholesale defections, in place of the earlier retail *Ayarams* and *Gayarams*. The PM who presides over both, the ruling party and the Union Government, cannot feign ignorance of all these goings-on and disown responsibility for the same.

However, it must be noted that the JD is no less a sinner in this

respect than the Congress. Two years back, its Laloo Prasad had engineered defections in the Bihar unit of BJP, and its President, Mr. VP Singh had conveniently looked the other way.

Congress Involved in Scandals

The BJP notes that all non-BJP States are in serious disarray. In Kerala, the Congress, resting on Muslim League crutches, is busy fighting factional wars. The Karnataka Congress Government is corrupt to the core. Our State unit has quoted the chapter and verse in its charge-sheet showing how the Karnataka Chief Minister has made hundreds of crores and how the real ruler of the state today is its lawless Liquor Lobby. Andhra's Congress Government is a close runner-up in massive corruption. And both the ministries are tottering. Its Gujarat Government only recently presided over the worst communal violence of the year. Even Maharashtra's Congress Government is in serious trouble, rocked by Karad Bank Scandal and Mr. Sharad Pawar's Land Scam. The PM's cabinet colleague, Mr. Arjun Singh, is deeply involved in the Churhat Lottery Scandal and the country is awaiting early Presidential decision on Shri Kailash Joshi's plea for permission to prosecute him. Mr. Arjun Singh is also yet to answer the Madhya Pradesh High Court's question about where he got the money to build his Kerwa Dam Palace.

The Meghalya Congress Government was a silent witness to the burning alive of three businessmen on the trade licence issue.

Nor are the Janata Dal Governments fairing any better. In Orissa, elections have been rigged, the BJP candidates kidnapped, and Sarpanches paraded naked. Thanks to their reservation policy, the educational institutions are closed. And the wholesome office of Lokpal has been abolished by ordinance. The Bihar Government's criminal irresponsibility has led to land grab and rural violence on an unprecedented scale.

BJP's Successes

In this darkening situation, the BJP performance comes as a big bright flood-light of hope for the country. The party in Parliament has set a new high in performance. Our efforts fructified in the setting up of a Joint Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the Securities Scam. We succeeded in getting Manipuri, Konkani and Nepali included in the Eighth Schedule, as per our Election Manifesto. And

we had a decision made that from now on, Parliamentary sessions will open with 'Vande Mataram', and close with 'Jana Gana Mana'!

The Government used its brute force to transfer Tin Bigha to Bangladesh; but the people's resistance, organised by the BJP, has persuaded the Government to sanction crores for the development of Kuchlibari and go slow on any more transfers.

Impressive Performance of BJP Governments

At the state level, our four Governments have taken many happy new initiatives in the realms of Rural Development, Education, Economy, Administration and Antyodaya. Himachal Pradesh has restored administrative discipline and is fast moving in the direction of making the losing Public Sector Undertakings profitable. Rajasthan's economic performance is so good that even the Planning Commission has appreciated it and nearly trebled its allocation. Madhya Pradesh has not only waived farmers' loans, it has undertaken many programmes for the uplift of SC and ST, crowned by the establishment of Babasaheb Ambedkar University. UP has stopped mass copying in examinations, improved school text books, and made Sanskrit compulsory. All these four states have improved the economy and imposed no fresh taxation.

During this period, UP has been in the eye of the storm. Repeated efforts were made in Faizabad, Rae Bareli and even Lucknow by agent provocateurs to disturb the peace. But our alert Government nipped all these mischiefs in the bud. The BJP is proud to note the fact that while VP Singh's 20-month term as CM of UP saw 10 major communal riots and 199 deaths and Mulayam Singh's 19-month term saw 19 major communal riots and 463 deaths, Kalyan Singh's 14-month term has seen just one communal riot and 28 deaths. It is fast developing into a riot-free state.

The Ayodhya Mandate

The National Executive feels particularly gratified that the UP State Government has been moving resolutely towards discharging its mandate in respect of Ayodhya. The last phase of the Ayodhya movement has greatly enhanced the BJP's credibility as a mature and responsible party and, at the same time, created confidence in the people that, come what may, the Rama Temple will certainly be built.

The Executive also takes note of the fact that throughout these

fourteen months that the BJP has been in office, every single move made by the State Government towards fulfilment of its mandate right from the acquisition of land around the Shilanyas site, to erection of a wall around the complex, to levelling of the 2.77 acres of acquired land, to entrusting of the Ram Katha Park to the VHP, has been opposed and obstructed not only by the NF-LF combine but also by the Congress Government at the Centre. In fact, the Central Government has been repeatedly threatening the Kalyan Singh Government with dismissal.

It was this negative attitude of the Central Government which brought the situation last month to the brink of a major confrontation. The confrontation was averted mainly because of the maturity displayed also seemed to realise that the adversaries of the Ayodhya movement, both within the Congress Party and outside, who were egging him on towards a showdown, were no well-wishers of his. Their guns were trained not just on Kalyan Singh, but on the Prime Minister as well. In the process, however, the Prime Minister has gained some time which, the country hopes, he will utilise profitably to bring about a just solution for the problem.

India Becoming a Soft State

At the other end of the spectrum was the anti-national violence that rocked centrally-ruled Kashmir on 14-15 August. It shocked every patriotic Indian but, for the Union Government, it was 'business as usual'. India is not the only country in the world that has had to face insurgency. But we are the only country to treat it too often with contrary signals. At a time when hard decisions need to be taken and implemented with a strong hand, the Congress has given the country a soft state that goes wobbly from head to foot.

It is this pulpy softness of the State that shows in the servile concessions made every other day to foreign interests, ranging from foreign banks to foreign beverages and foreign newspapers. We have no doubt that it is the confusion of thought, induced by a soulless pseudo-secularism, that has robbed us of the mental discipline and the moral integrity without which nothing worth-while can be achieved.

The Bharatiya Janata Party has already recognised the sovereignty of culture as the builder of character, both individual and national, and the ultimate guarantor of 'Ram, Roti and Insaf' in the

country. The Indian people will no doubt appreciate the validity and vitality of BJP insights and perceptions and make it the mainstream of the Indian Polity and the instrument of National Unity, National Reconstruction and National Transformation.



National Executive

Bhubaneswar

8 November, 1992

Corruption in High Offices

When Shri PV Narasimha Rao assumed office last year, it was hoped that a person of his background and erudition would provide, if nothing else, a reasonably clean administration, even though it would be Congress (I) Government. These hopes have now been belied as the Rao administration is being increasingly exposed as irremediably corrupt.

The securities-scam is a big black spot on the Rao administration. The Finance Minister and his colleagues, instead of owning up the responsibility for the scam, are styling themselves as scambusters. Efforts by his deputies in the ministry to convert the JPC into a cover up exercise have not invited any indictment by the Prime Minister.

Corruption Becoming a Way of Life

Earlier, Congress (I) Prime Ministers used to say that corruption was a global phenomenon. Under Narasimha Rao, it has been taken a step further and has almost become a way of life. Corruption now permeates not only government ministers and departments but all walks of life, including the very heart of democracy, the political process. It has turned the nation into a wasteland on which the Bangarappas, Janardan Reddys, the Shankaranands, the Karunakarans and the Shariefs sprout and flower merrily.

Scores of Ministers Involved in Scandals

Until a few months ago, the Prime Minister could have been given the benefit of doubt for fiddling while India burnt. But he is still fiddling while the flames leap higher and higher and the scandals lap at his very feet. The Prime Minister must know by now that scores of his ministers are involved in one scandal or another. Wherever there is a land scandal the shadow of his Defence Minister looms large, the Minister for I&B has treated even the sanctioning of the Doordarshan serials as a venture for fattening his own coffers, the Minister for Railways is linked with the scandal in the purchases of

locomotives, the Minister for Power has been openly named to be involved in the securities-scam and the Human Resources Minister is making herculean efforts to pull himself out from the lottery scandal. The scandals involve thousands of crores of public money – the poor public of the poorest country in the world whose government is always begging for alms at the doors of the rich, while the leaders loot the treasury dry.

No Action by PM

The Prime Minister has not lifted a finger to bring the culprits to book. Not a single Minister has been shown the door or pulled up. In other countries, heads would have rolled by the dozen, as indeed they have done in Japan where three Prime Ministers, no less, have had to quit in disgrace and bow out of politics for ever. In India, the more scandals you have to your name, the more powerful you become, for scandals bring money and money buys power.

The Principal Law Officer and the Constitutional Adviser to the Government, Shri G. Ramaswami personifies the moral decay that has set in the Rao Government. He is stuck neck deep in every conceivable scam. Any civilised Government would have sacked him long ago, but he continues to occupy the high position and the Prime Minister is unable to remove him.

Criminals Taking Over in States

In the Congress (I) ruled states, things are even worse. In large parts of the country, the legitimate administration is taking a back seat and the criminals are taking over. In Bombay, the nation's financial capital, the hoodlums patronised by a gangster in Dubai rule the roost. At least one minister, said to be close to a cabinet minister at the Centre, has been found to be in regular touch with the Dubai gangster. The nexus between crooks and Congress (I) politicians is now so clearly established that even the politicians are brazen about it.

In two districts close to Bombay, Vasai and Thane, Congress(I) politicians, some of whom are Municipal functionaries and Assembly members, are themselves involved in criminal activities. They lead the local mafia even as they preside over their administrations. And they receive protection from their bosses in Bombay and elsewhere. The dividing line between politics and crime is so thin that it has

become invisible. To the public at large, the Congress(I) brand of politics is an extension of organised crime and loot.

PM's Progeny Also Involved

What is particularly distressing is that reports have been circulating galore of sons and daughters of the Prime Minister suddenly becoming industrial tycoons, handling Industries and financial companies worth hundreds of crores. Equally disturbing are the reports that the dirty money collected by the Congress(I) Ministers and the associates of the Prime Minister has been used in engineering defections in political parties. Polluting the political process through corrupt money would ultimately corrode the entire democratic fabric of the country.

The Rao Government must bear responsibility for this phenomenal corruption, and increasing criminalisation of society. By refusing to act in time, he is abetting corruption. And by abetting corruption, he is helping destroy the very fabric of our democracy over which he is supposed to preside.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

23-24 December, 1992

Political Situation

Government's Campaign Against Nationalist Forces

After the unfortunate incidents of 6 December at Ayodhya, the Congress Party and the Congress Government at the Centre have launched a programme of repression and untruth against all nationalist forces. It is a condemnable attempt to replicate what was done after the foul murder of Mahatma Gandhi in 1948. This deliberate programme of mis-information and dis-information, launched by the Government will not succeed.

Triple Conspiracy

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party would like to remind the Congress, its newfound allies in the Left Parties and its old allies among communalists who have now rushed to their support, that this triple conspiracy of Congress, Communists and Communalists to keep the country divided and directionless will not succeed. 1992 is not 1948. The people of India are now wide awake to their rights and responsibilities. They are also fully aware of what the Congress and its allies have done to the country by constantly playing the politics of pandering votes.

Insincerity of Central Government

The incidents of 6 December would have been easily avoided had the Central Government co-operated with the Government of Uttar Pradesh in trying to obtain an early decision from the Allahabad

Bench of the Lucknow High Court, in the matter of the acquisition of 2.77-acre plot. Had this decision been given before 6 December, Kar Seva would have started on this tract of land and no untoward incident would have taken place. It, however, appears that the Central Government was determined to not only thwart the efforts of the leadership of Ram Janmasthan Mandir renovation but also to create other complications, so that this leadership would be compelled to confront either the Courts or the impatience of the Kar Sevaks. There was neither sincerity in the Central Government's attitude nor any desire on its part to solve the problem in a comprehensive and satisfactory manner.

Deliberately Keeping the Matter Unresolved

After giving the assurance of four months to the Sadhu Samaj, the Union Government did not take any action for almost half that period. It attempted to divide the leadership of that Samaj; it sent different proposals through different emissaries and ministers, and when there was a positive response to these, it retracted from them. These are among the many such incidents that took place during this period, putting a big question-mark on the dependability of this Government. It is obvious that then, as now, the Congress Party and its Government are more interested in keeping the matter unresolved, complicated and as a source of tension.

Display of Extreme Pettiness

Accepting their moral responsibility, Shri LK Advani resigned as Leader of the Opposition. Similarly, Shri Kalyan Singh, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, and his Government also resigned. They acted in accordance with the highest traditions of democracy. But the Central Government, on its part, arrested Shri LK Advani and, hours after the resignation of Shri Kalyan Singh, they announced the dismissal of that Government. This is reflective of an extreme pettiness of mind in the face of an event of major proportions. A Government duly elected by the people is not expected to treat another elected Government in this manner.

The manner in which RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad and other organisations have been banned, is not only a step riddled with illegality, it is an action born entirely out of the frustration of the

weak.

Dismissal of Government – An Act of Political Malice

The National Executive of the BJP unequivocally condemns the dismissal of the constitutionally and democratically elected Governments in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh and the dissolution of these and of UP State Assemblies. This is a step born out of political malice and mendacity and it will be answered in no uncertain terms by the people of India.

Atalji's Arrest – A Mindless Vendetta

The undemocratic and repressive measures adopted by the Congress Party at the Centre can also be seen in their attempts at arresting archaeologists in the midst of a Press Conference, in their destroying the credibility of AIR and Doordarshan, in the banning of BJP's protest meetings in Delhi, when all others are permitted to hold whatever meetings they like. And then, to compound it all, there was the mindless vendetta of arresting a veteran like Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. We would like to forewarn the people of India that these are but the first signals of a panicky Government attempting the totalitarian method.

Bankruptcy of Thought

It is most unfortunate that this Government is behaving as it is because it is caught between the pincers of internal party dissensions, discord within the Cabinet and external pressures. On top of all this, to announce that a Masjid will be built at Ram Janmasthan is to betray not just total bankruptcy of thought but also an insensitivity to the present situation that is beyond belief. Had this disputed structure not constantly and wrongly been called by the Congress Party and Government and its allies a 'masjid', the country would have been spared the protests and violence, at home and abroad, in the wake of 6 December.

Muslims to Recognise Hindu Sentiments

The National Executive of the BJP expresses its fervent hope that even now the Muslim community will recognise the deep commitment of faith and the sentiments of the majority society on this issue. What has happened at Ram Janmasthan is the reaction

to grave historical wrong and the idea is not to hurt the sentiments of anyone. Indian Muslims should not identify themselves with the excesses of invaders just because they happened to be Muslims.

No Theocratic State

The BJP neither believes in, nor subscribes to, India ever becoming a theocratic State. The BJP reiterates its commitment to, and conviction about, equal opportunity and equal rights to all citizens of India. It implicitly believes in 'Justice for all and appeasement of none'. Wherever the BJP has been in power, it has through its conduct amply demonstrated this belief through purposeful and responsible governance.

Need for Judiciary to Assert its Independence

The National Executive of the BJP reiterates its firm commitment to judicial independence and dignity. However, the concept of a 'committed' Judiciary and, of late, the methodology of some judicial appointments, has tended to politicise it. This has tended to erode the public confidence in the Judiciary. The BJP hopes that, inspite of these circumstances, the Judiciary will assert its independence, particularly when authoritarianism is sought to be justified in the name of secularism.

BJP Confident of Victory

The National Executive treats the many anti-democratic and lawless measures adopted by the Congress Party and Government as declaration of political war on the BJP and all other likeminded organisations and crores of citizens of this country. We will face this onslaught with courage and conviction. We are confident of victory because today History has made the future of India synonymous with the future of the BJP – and the people of India know it in their bones.

The National Executive of the BJP makes the following demands:

1. Immediate steps be taken to remove the impediments in the construction of Ram Janmasthan temple in Ayodhya and *Pooja* and *Darshan* of Ram Lalla be allowed as before 6 December; a mosque may be built outside the Panch Kosi Parikrama.
2. Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, President BJP, Shri LK Advani, Leader of Opposition, Shri Vishnu Hari Dalmia, Shri Ashok Singhal, Shri Vinay Katiyar, Uma Sri Bharati and all other leaders and workers who have been arrested on false and fabricated charges be released.
3. The lawless and unwarranted ban on RSS and other organisations be lifted.
4. Elections to the four State Assemblies be held without any loss of time.
5. This Government having lost its moral authority must go back to the people at the earliest and seek a fresh mandate.

□

National Executive

Jaipur **31 January-03 February, 1991**

Political Situation

Deteriorating National Situation

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its deep anxiety and profound concern over the deteriorating national situation. Recent events indicate that the country is being pushed to the brink of disintegration. The polity is being destabilized and public life is being debased and devalued all along the line.

The VP Singh Government assumed office amidst high hopes. But within a brief span of eleven months, all these hopes were dashed to the ground. Intense lust for power leading to ceaseless infighting among ruling party politicians and social dissonance brought about in the name of social justice, but actually in shameless pursuit of communal and casteist vote banks rendered the Government totally incapable of dealing with the numerous problems confronting the country. The manner in which this Government sought to implement the Mandal Commission Report—without caring to consult the supporting parties and without incorporating in it the economic criterion suggested by the BJP in its Election Manifesto, it only divided the people by rousing exaggerated hopes in some sections and exaggerated fears in some other sections.

Dismal Record of NF Government

The NF Government's eleven-month rule has been a dismal record of malperformance and non-performance, with which the BJP found it increasingly difficult to associate. On 1 October, 1990, therefore, we decided to part company.

The upshot of all this is that we have today an unholy political combination of a miniscule Government headed by a surrogate and backed by those who were specifically rejected by the electorate.

Hindus Forced to Leave Kashmir

The separatist movement in Kashmir has made symbols of India's national identity special targets of attack. The very word 'Indian' is being blacked out. Almost the entire Hindu community has been driven out of the Kashmir Valley. It is significant that while the BJP collected Rs. 2 crore in cash and kind for the Kashmir refugees, the so-called secular parties have neither condemned their ouster from the Valley nor done anything for them.

Unwillingness to Fight Separatism

Successive governments, instead of fighting separatism in the state, have adopted a weak-kneed policy and succumbed to separatist pressures. The Rajiv Government had messed up the Kashmir problem badly enough. And now the VP Government began its Kashmir Chapter with the notorious Rubaiya episode. The Chandra Shekhar Government in turn started with the reinstatement of officers whose services were earlier terminated for their blatantly anti-India role. The last three regimes have thus exhibited their utter inability and unwillingness to fight separatism.

Need to Repeal Article 370

In no circumstances will the Indian people allow anti-national elements in J & K, aided, abetted, trained, financed and armed by Pakistan, to succeed in their nefarious designs to undo the accession of that state to India. Success of those designs will mean a second partition of the country. It will be a fatal blow to all that India stands for. Article 370 has not only been a psychological barrier between the people of the state and the rest of the country, it has encouraged divisive forces in other parts of the country also to demand a special status for themselves on the basis of religion or region. We hold that an enduring solution of the Kashmir problem will come only when Kashmir is brought at par with other states of the country. The BJP is resolved to mobilise nation-wide support for the demand that the 'temporary and provisional' Article 370 be repealed.

Terror in Punjab

Terrorists in Punjab have succeeded in creating an atmosphere of terror all over the state. Free and fair elections have, therefore, become impossible. Indeed, the year 1990 has proved the bloodiest

in this decade in Punjab. Terrorists have made nationalists and cultural symbols of Indianness their particular targets of attack. The Government has failed to fortify the morale of the people and inspire them to resist terrorism. In fact, the Government itself has been meekly submitting to the writ of the terrorists in matters relating to the administration, the media, educational institutions and the market-place. The recent demand for the assertion of the right of self-determination voiced by a section of the extremist leadership in Punjab is a measure of the seriousness of the Punjab situation.

No Long Term Perspective

The Bharatiya Janata Party regrets that successive Governments of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Shri VP Singh and Shri Chandra Shekhar have based their policies in the Punjab on sheer adhocism, with neither a long-term perspective nor clarity of thought or firmness of action. The BJP from the very start has been demanding the creation of a security belt and sealing of the border to prevent the influx of arms and armed saboteurs from Pakistan. While some action has been taken on sealing the border, the need of the hour is to give it the highest priority and complete the fencing without any further delay. The BJP salutes the heroic people of Punjab, both Hindus and Sikhs, for their steadfast refusal to allow the massacres of innocent people including women and children, the extortions and other atrocities being perpetrated by the extremists to provoke a communal flare-up.

Terrorism in Assam Unchecked

In Assam, the BJP supported the imposition of President's rule because of the AGP Government's failure to stem the rise of a new terrorist outfit, ULFA. It is to be regretted that the AGP Government, installed in office in the wake of a popular movement led by students chiefly in protest against infiltration from across the border proved to be so ineffective in stemming the rot. No quarter can be given to forces which indulge in killing of innocents, extortion and spreading disaffection.

Nor are things any normal in UP Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.

PWG Rules AP

In Andhra Pradesh, in eight whole districts, the writ that runs is that of 'People's War Group', a violent naxalite, splinter and not that of the State Government. And Congress, TDP and Janata Dal are busy wooing the PWG and not restoring law and order in these districts.

Dangerous Situation Developing in Tamil Nadu

In Tamil Nadu, a duly elected Government has been dismissed and President's rule imposed. The BJP has always been opposed to such drastic steps. But the DMK Government had failed to tackle the situation arising out of the activities of Sri Lanka militants in Tamil Nadu, so much so that apprehension had arisen in the minds of the people in Tamil Nadu that a challenge was being built up there to the very unity and integrity of the country. The BJP had been warning the state government to realise the danger arising out of its passivity, but it fell on deaf ears. This situation could have been contained, had the VP Singh Government taken timely steps. It is for the present Government to justify its action by doing what the preceding state and Central Governments had failed to do.

Violence in UP

In UP, things have been, if anything, even more serious. Here, the Chief Minister triggered communal violence by his incendiary speeches in district after district. Curfew was imposed in forty towns. Enough ammunition was found in Varanasi to blow up that sacred city twice over. Here was a Government that deserved to be dismissed for its massacres in Ayodhya on 30 October and 2 November. But the partisan Government of India has tolerated the Government guilty of genocide. Recently, this Government has even conferred honours on three officers directly responsible for those

two crimes. It is like pouring salt on the wounds of the people. And now, this state Government has appointed a judicial commission of retired judges to inquire into all kinds of things except its own crimes. The BJP rejects this inquiry. We demand an inquiry by sitting judges after the concerned officers have been suspended and the terms of inquiry have been reformulated to cover the sins of the Mulayam Singh Ministry and its minions.

National Unity Threatened

It is singularly unfortunate that in the name of secularism most political parties have been pursuing policies that are creating deep fissures in society. These parties have shown no interest in the emancipation of minority groups from their social or economic backwardness. But they have been assiduously exerting to create in them an intense minority complex by supporting demands for a separate status for Kashmir, retention of separate personal laws (as against a Uniform Civil Code), establishment of a Minority Commission with constitutional status (as against a Human Rights Commission), setting up of a Special Swift Force (based on communal representation) and so on. All this gravely impairs India's national unity and tends to generate the same divisive attitudes which, four decades ago, led to the arduous partition of our Motherland.

Of late, demonstrations have been held on the Gulf War issue, some of them leading to much violence. The BJP would urge upon the people of India not to indulge in any demonstrations in favour or against any side in this War.

One Nation, One People, One Culture

The Bharatiya Janata Party is committed to the concept of One Nation, One People, One Culture. It rejects the Communist theory of India being a multi-national State. It is committed to a strong and united India, with Equality and Justice for All Citizens, with Appeasement of None. The BJP believes that the attitude of their pseudo-secular parties in denying to the people of India a temple at the birth-place of Rama is a telling example of the total alienations from the soul of India. The BJP believes that the overwhelming support given by the people to the demand for re-constuction of Ram Temple at the Ram Janmasthan, is not only a reassertion of their religious right but also a re-affirmation of their cultural roots

and national identity.

BJP to Provide an Alternative Political Culture

From 1947 to this day, India is yet to see a genuine non-Congress Government being installed at the Centre. The Congress' political culture, which has played a predominant role in India's recent political history, has been eating into the vitals of India's democratic polity. Corruption—both monetary and political—defections, splits, unholy political alliances, and appeasement at the cost of national unity are today the hallmarks of the Congress culture. The Congress has been busy blackmailing and toppling even its own state governments. The two Janata Dals and the Congress (I) today symbolise this same malaise and they all have become virtually politically inter-changeable groups. The Bharatiya Janata Party is determined to provide India an alternative political culture.

Indian Polity in Need of a New Direction

The Bharatiya Janata Party had contested the 1989 Lok Sabha elections with an electoral promise to provide new direction to Indian Polity. In the past one year, the BJP has virtually remained the only oasis in a desert of instability and opportunism. It has been a beacon of Light in the surrounding darkness. Today, we re-dedicate ourselves to the task of making India great and strong and giving our people both *Roti* and Ram.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

16-17 March, 1991

Political Resolution

Leadership Crisis Dangerous for the Country

The Bharatiya Janata Party welcomes the Presidential orders dissolving the Ninth Lok Sabha and directing the tenth Lok Sabha to be constituted and called by 5 June. We have no doubt that the people of India will avail of this opportunity to give themselves a new and stable, clean and competent Government.

Starting with the trauma of Emergency, the country has suffered much from the arbitrariness and autocracy of Smt. Indira Gandhi, the immaturity and irresponsibility of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the dangerous divisiveness of Shri VP Singh and lately, under Shri Chandra Shekhar, the return of infantile politics arising from the back-seat driving by Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

Widespread Violence

The result of all this bungling is there for all to see. Violence in Punjab and Kashmir has gone on unabated. It has erupted in a big way in Assam and Andhra Pradesh. Infiltration from Bangladesh has continued all this while. Kashmiri Hindus have become refugees in their own country. Shri VP Singh and his lieutenants have casteised and communalised the national scene to dangerous levels. We have had some of the worst rioting since Partition. For the first time in Indian history, scores of youths immolated themselves. The British had staged a Jallianwala Bagh in the sacred city of Amritsar. And now we had a Jallianwala Bagh in the sacred city of Ayodhya. The people of India neither forget nor forgive the guilty men of that colossal crime.

A Strong and Stable Government Needed

Meanwhile, prices and unemployment are rising by the day. Indebtedness, domestic and foreign, is mounting by the month. There is no Annual Budget. The Development Plan has taken a long holiday. Taking advantage of our political and economic weakness,

the USA has re-slapped its Super-301 on India; GATT is twisting our arms; and IMF is coming up with its 'conditionalities' that compromise our economic sovereignty. We have to quickly give ourselves a strong and stable Government to halt, and reverse, this drift to disaster.

Congressmen Found Wanting

The country has tried a variety of Congressmen and Ex-Congressmen, and found them wanting. The Congress President himself is such an unstable character that he cannot possibly give the country a stable government. As PM, he used to shuffle his Ministry every other month. There is not a Congress Chief Minister that this Congress President did not subvert and topple. More recently, he propped up a miniscule Government of defectors and then toppled it over the silly issue of two constables. Indeed, with a leader like that, Congress needs no enemies to go down and under.

Janata Dal - An Abysmal Failure

Of the Janata Dal, the less said the better. The nation knows its leader as the Great Divider. Indeed, the JD is not a proper party at all. There are as many JD groups as there are JD leaders, and all these Leaders and groups are constantly at war with one another.

For example, Shri VP Singh suddenly remembered the Mandal Report not because his heart was bleeding for the poor but just to counter Devi Lal. More recently, both Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri VP Singh played politics with the Gulf War in complete disregard of national interest, in a cheap bid to corner Muslim votes.

The two gentlemen, between themselves, have inflicted political, financial and social instability on the country. They have divided caste from caste and community from community. What is political sport for them could mean death and destruction for many. Irresponsible men like these are unfit for any office of trust and responsibility.

Communists – Mere Political Parasites

Taking advantage of the divisions and confusion created by the Congress and the Janata Dal, even Communists, rejected the world over, are conspiring to smuggle themselves into seats of power. Throughout the twentieth century, they have been known as political

parasites, who try to ride to power on the backs of other parties. Their alternate wooing of Rajiv and VP Singh is a warning signal for the country, because communism is a by-word for dictatorship and shortages, violence and failure.

BJP - A Great Beacon of Light

In this darkening situation, the Bharatiya Janata Party is a great beacon of light. Example is better than precept. And our three Governments in Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh are examples of how orderly and efficient, clean and competent, responsive and responsible, the BJP dispensation can be.

Just as the Jallianwala Bagh was a turning point in the Freedom movement, Ayodhya has become a turning point in Independent India. The march from Ram Janma Mandir to *Ram Rajya* will see the fulfilment of our dreams. Our commitment to Ram and *Roti* will ensure the material, mental and moral upliftment of all castes, classes and communities. For implicit in the concept of *Ram Rajya* is the Unity and Integrity of the country, Law and order in the Land, Peace and Progress for Society and Justice – Social and Economic – for All.

Here is a model in the spiritual tradition of Dayanand, Vivekanand and Aurobindo, the fighting tradition of Subhas, Ambedkar and Jaya Prakash, the statesmanly tradition of Tilak, Mookerjeeji and Sardar Patel and the humanistic tradition of Gandhiji, Guruji and Deendayalji.

Today, when the country stands at a civilisational crossroads, the BJP has emerged as the vanguard of history, the instrument of renewal and realisation of our Great Society.

The people have tried others all these years. Now let the country try the BJP to realise their hopes and aspirations.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

25-26 May, 1991

Political Resolution

Dangerous Forces at Work

The brutal assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi has once again shaken the country into a realisation of the dangers to our democratic fabric looming ahead.

The fact that the tragedy occurred in the midst of the electoral process casts a tremendous responsibility on all Indian citizens to ensure that the process is not short-circuited by self-serving individuals or groups. India is a democracy and it can survive as a nation only as a democracy.

The path ahead is strewn with dangers. There is a big vacuum at the very heart of the nation—we have been without a proper Government at the Centre for the last six months—and violence raging all around. There are dangerous forces at work, totally out of step, and deliberately so, with the norms of civilised society. A number of state governments are actually in control of groups representing these forces. And quite a few of them have been nurtured by the Congress (I), though the party may not like to be reminded of this in the present hour of grief.

The economy is in shambles. The trade deficit has reached an all time high. The mounting foreign debt, the sky rocketing high prices, the galloping inflation and a rapidly growing unemployment have pushed India to the brink of an impending economic crisis.

Directionless Congress

Congress (I) today, is a crowd without a direction. With the departure of its only leader, the party is in complete disarray, and is facing a deep crisis – a total vacuum. Its response to the situation has been one of panic and this once great political party is reduced to groping for tears of condolence for a last chance to retrieve their political fortunes. The Congress(I)'s sole plank of a stable government at the Centre hinged around their only leader, and now with his exit from the political scene the party's own stability has become extremely fragile. How can such a shattered party provide any stable government to the country?

National Front's Lack of Cohesion

The Left Front, the major ally of the National Front, has never subscribed to the concept of India being one nation and one people. They have been open advocates of the pernicious doctrine of India being a multinational state. And now several constituents of the National Front seem to have adopted the same divisive approach. The Janata Dal Chief Minister in Orissa has threatened to secede; the AGP has been hand in glove with the separatist ULFA; and the DMK's role in instigating the LTTE in Tamil Nadu is well known. How can this group provide a stable government at the Centre and keep India united? Moreover, this alliance is also under serious strain because of its inner contradictions, it would not be surprising if the Left Front deserts the National Front and joins hands with the Congress (I).

Democratic Norms Violated

What threatens all political and democratic norms today is the unbridled resort to violence in public life. It is all the more ominous that certain people in authority, in their craze to stick to power, are forgetting all maxims of civilized behaviour. The Janata Dal Chief Minister Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav in Bihar has been responsible for large scale poll violence, booth capturing and rigging. A few days before the poll, Shri Ishwar Choudhary – a Harijan BJP leader and thrice Member of Parliament – was shot dead in broad day light by men who had arrived in Jeeps flying Janata Dal flags, and sporting a picture of Imam of Jama Masjid and Communist party symbols, a deadly combination. It was Laloo Prasad himself who had threatened

Shri Choudhary before this brutal killing and had said that he would not allow any BJP man to win in Bihar and if he did the man would not reach Delhi alive. In UP, run by Mulayam Singh Yadav of the SJD the poll violence was planned by the Chief Minister himself. In his own constituency there have been killings, both inside and outside the polling booths. In fact, he was living up to the pernicious image he has carved out for himself through the inhuman massacre of unarmed and peaceful Karsevaks in Ayodhya.

Election Commission had warned the states of UP, Bihar, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh regarding the complaints of poll violence and electoral offences. But it proved in vain. On the contrary, there have been no complaints about poll irregularities in the three BJP-run states. Elections have been peaceful, free and fair in Himachal, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh where law and order was fully maintained and safety and security provided to all citizens. The people have, thus, had an opportunity to judge what the BJP dispensation at the Centre would mean.

If anything was in doubt, the Congress (I) instigated violence in the South, particularly in Andhra – presumably under the protection of state Government – after the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has proved the point. The election publicity material, offices and vehicles as well as private properties of the BJP workers were destroyed on a large scale. The National Executive demands an impartial enquiry and full compensation to the sufferers.

The Nation's Safety only in BJP's Hands

As things are, only the Bharatiya Janata Party stands out as a beacon of stability, high moral character and discipline amidst the spreading sea of violence, corruption and moral degradation. After the first round of elections covering 204 seats, reports from all over indicate that the BJP is heading for a clear majority. In the remaining constituencies, the Party should be able to capture enough seats to form a Government at the Centre.

India may be at the crossroads, as it has often been in the recent past, but this time the choice is clear; a bunch of indisciplined non-leaders and non-parties on the one side, or a disciplined, well organised Party like the BJP on the other. The Party feels proud of the fact that it derives this strength from the eternal values of India's great culture which is symbolised in Shri Ram. A reconstruction of

the Janmabhoomi temple at Ayodhya is the BJP commitment for this very reason.

The National Executive calls upon the people of India, irrespective of their caste and creed, once again to respond to its call at this hour of national crisis and help it guide the nation, safe and sound, to the shores of peace, stability and progress in the years to come. India has never been in greater need of a strong and stable Government. The Bharatiya Janata Party submits with due humility that it alone can provide it at this crucial juncture in our history.

□

National Executive

Thiruvananthapuram **28-30 September, 1991**

Threats to National Unity, Integrity and Stability

The National Executive of the BJP feels deeply disturbed by the widespread organised violence that has gripped many parts of the country. In some border states, like J&K, Punjab and Assam, murder and mayhem, kidnappings and ransoms, have become the order of the day. The BJP does not regard this as simply a deterioration of the law and order situation. The Executive views this as conscious and deliberate efforts by some elements within the country, aided and abetted by foreign forces, to subvert the unity, integrity and stability of the country.

The Executive regrets that the Government of India has not only failed miserably to contain this growing menace of secessionism and terrorism, but has, by its gross mismanagement of the problems in these states, and its rank opportunism, contributed towards aggravating the situation.

Externally Aided Insurgency in Kashmir

In Kashmir, apart from the initial follies of going to the UN, ceasing fire before clearing the Valley of the invader and putting Article 370 in the Constitution, in recent years the Government has been guilty of rigging elections, capitulating to kidnapping and sending out very wrong signals. The Bharatiya Janata Party has consistently been of the view that what confronts the nation in Jammu and Kashmir, is an externally aided insurgency. And now it is spreading its tentacles to Jammu and Doda. Decisive action, flowing from a clear-cut policy, is an irriducible minimum.

At the same time, the Bharatiya Janata Party considers it unforgivable that migrants from the Valley continue to be neglected by the Union Government, more than a year after their ejection from their homes. Their plight is tragic in the extreme. No new initiative, whether of thought or of action, is being taken by the Government in the face of this continuing tragedy.

Costly Failure in Punjab

In the Punjab also, the long hand of Pakistan is certainly very active. But Punjab also has a legitimate grievance that the Congress put up Bhinderanwala to divide the Sikhs, toppled duly elected state Government, and signed agreements in haste and then forgot them at leisure. More recently, this infectious violence has spread to the adjoining districts of UP. The Centre has sent a procession of Governors to the Punjab and repeatedly and dishonestly put off the polls, denying the people due representation, both at the Centre and in the State. The Bharatiya Janata Party, while castigating the Union Government on their partisan approach to Punjab, calls upon the nation to take note of the consequences that this will have for our national integrity and security.

Disaster in Assam

In Assam, the ULFA leadership has publicly admitted support by more than one foreign power. Added to the remnants of Naga, Mizo and Mei Tei insurgency in the wooded hills of the area, this has created an explosive situation in the North-East. Here again, mixed signals led to Operation Bajrang being interrupted by elections, and now superseded by Operation Rhino. When general amnesty to the ULFA was announced upon the return of Congress Government, the Bharatiya Janata Party had warned against the dangers of such a capitulative approach to internal disorder. It is, therefore, saddening to record that events in yet another border state have been allowed to drift to disaster.

The Naxalite Menace

In Andhra Pradesh, Naxalite violence has a long ancestry. But the Cong.(I) and TDP competition for Naxalite support in the elections, now joined by the Janata Dal, has further complicated matters. The result is a parallel government of 'People's War Group', complete with regular kidnappings and Kangaroo courts. More recently, Naxalites have moved into the adjoining areas of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra. Here is a menace that needs to be nipped in the bud.

It is sad to note that some so-called human rights activists have been giving aid and comfort to terrorist outfits and providing them legal cover and a touch of respectability.

LTTE Turned a Frankenstein Monster

During the last few years, even Tamil Nadu has been infected by terrorism. Instead of making Colombo see reason and do justice to Tamils, New Delhi most irresponsibly armed, trained, equipped and financed the LTTE, which has now become a Frankenstein's monster for both, India and Sri Lanka. The misconceived IPKF exercise not only cost us over a thousand crores of rupees and over a thousand promising young lives, it has won us the hostility in Sri Lanka of Sinhalese and Tamils alike. Today, sections of DK, DMK and Muslim League are in unholy alliance with the LTTE to subvert the country. A so-called Jihad Committee has published posters announcing the names of Hindu leaders it wants to liquidate. Thus, a list of eight names was publicised on 19 August, 1991. A fortnight later, on 5th September, one of these eight, Shri Shiva Kumar, was stabbed to death. A second leader in the same list, Shri Saravanan, was attacked and escaped death only because of timely intervention by the police

Communalisation of Politics in Kerala

In Kerala, the Congress and the competition for the communal vote have given the Muslim League 19 seats in the Assembly. Its four cabinet ministers – for Education, Industry, PWD and LSG–control more than half the state budget. We shudder to think of the deadly consequences of communalisation of politics in the coastal state of Kerala.

Lawlessness in Bihar and West Bengal

Under the criminal leadership of the JD Chief Minister, Bihar has suffered six hundred kidnappings and thousand murders in a brief sixteen months. Bangladeshi infiltrators have almost overrun the six border districts. For once, even the Marxist Government of West Bengal has confirmed the BJP fears of sixty lakh infiltrators upsetting the economic and population balance all over Eastern India.

There is a method in all this murderous madness and only wise and firm handling can restore law and order and reestablish justice in the land. It must be clearly understood that India is not the first or only country to face terrorism and secession. Malaya and Philippines mastered that situation – and so must we. The Bharatiya

Janata Party with its clarity of thought and vision about the unity, integrity and stability of the country, and with the demonstrated exemplary performance of its four state Governments, asks of the Government to pay immediate attention to the following:

Govt of India should

1. have no talks with terrorists and secessionists;
2. be firm with lawless elements and eliminate terrorism and, to this end, hand over the seriously disturbed areas to the Defence Forces for early and quick pacification;
3. give our security forces arms and equipment that are at least as good as those of the enemy;
4. amend the law on kidnapping to provide for more stringent punishment, and to make terrorists in captivity, whose release is demanded in exchange for release of hostages, accomplices in the act of kidnapping;
5. coordinate and streamline the activities of all our Intelligence Agencies;
6. tighten the loose Arms Act of 1959 and make possession of unlicensed arms an offence punishable not only by imprisonment but also by confiscation of property;
7. take all steps necessary to curb the smuggling of arms etc. from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka and, where necessary, by the creation of a Cordon Sanitaire or Security Belt;
8. monitor, check and publish the account of monies received from foreign individuals, institutions and organizations; and last, but not the least
9. redress the genuine grievances of the people and implement, in letter and in spirit, the land laws and other Welfare Legislation, grossly neglected, for example in parts of

Bihar and Andhra.

BJP Determined to Maintain Unity and Integrity of India

While the national situation as adumbrated above is serious, there is no ground for pessimism or panic. India is not so much a case of unity in diversity, as it is of diversity in unity. Our ancient unities, and our democracy rooted in our inborn pluralism, are guarantee alike of our unity and our innate vitality. But, at the same time, we cannot lightly dismiss the concerted threats to our unity and integrity. India is in peril and we must, and will, defend it with all our might. Let the enemies of India understand that, with the BJP as the backbone of the country, they will not be able to detach even an inch of the national territory. To this end, we must all rise above caste, class and community, and unitedly combat and defeat all threats to the unity, integrity and stability of India. In this *Dharma Yuddha* let the BJP workers, steeped in the hallowed traditions of Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Deendayal Upadhyay, lead the vanguard in all spheres, at all levels and on all fronts.

□

National Executive

Calcutta

6-8 April, 1990

Kashmir Situation

Sinister Moves on Article 370

The rise of a secessionist movement in Kashmir constitutes a grave threat to the country's unity, integrity and security and calls not only for an immediate and adequate response but also an awareness that the threat is a long-term one. Unfortunately, even after the expulsion of almost the entire Hindu minority from the Valley at the point of the gun, near-collapse of the local administration and terrorisation of substantial sections of even the Muslims, such an awareness is still not sufficiently sharp.

This much is obvious from the demand for the early resumption of political process that there were moves to establish contacts with at least some sections of the secessionists, and examination of the feasibility of reviving the J & K State Assembly, if not reinstalling Dr. Farooq Abdullah in the office of Chief Minister. Implicit in all this is the naive assumption that the bid, fully backed by the fundamentalist elements in the Valley and Pakistan, to take Kashmir out of the Indian Union, will yield quickly to expressions of goodwill and promises of accommodation through a further stretching of the Constitution which, in plain terms, must mean an extension of the scope of Article 370.

The Bharatiya Janata Party has always been opposed to Article 370 on the twin grounds that it has encouraged separatism in Kashmir and that it has denied the people in the state the full advantages of the Indian Constitution and the independent judiciary and the election machinery under it. Recent developments have only confirmed the correctness of this assessment and the legitimacy of the demand for the abrogation of Article 370. If the people in Kashmir feel alienated and aggrieved, the main reason for this is that Article 370 has helped produce and sustain corrupt and incompetent regimes which have felt free to engage in self-aggrandisement for over four decades. The Party, therefore, regards it a matter of urgent necessity to warn the Indian people in advance of the danger that the mindset

responsible for the disastrous Article 370 may once again be at work, and to put it on record unequivocally, that it will oppose tooth and nail any attempt to widen and strengthen the scope of Article 370.

It is commonsense that the political process in Kashmir can be revived only when the back of the secessionist movement has been broken, and that an attempt to hasten it can only encourage the terrorists and the fundamentalists.

Need to Counter Terrorism

The present crisis in Kashmir is not a sudden development. Its origin can be traced back to 1947. While it is hardly necessary to recall and detail events which have led to the present tragedy, the point needs to be made forcefully once again that no amount of tough talk against Pakistan for its involvement in Kashmir can produce results unless it is accompanied by determined and sustained action against the terrorists who constitute the cutting edge of Islamabad's military power. The Government and people of India have to recognise the fact that they are facing a two-front conflict which they can win only if they address themselves to both simultaneously. To think and talk in terms of a 'quick-fix' will encourage not only the terrorists but also their Pakistani backers to step up their activities. Both can be persuaded to see reason only if we can convince them that we are prepared to pay any price, and pay it for as long as necessary, to defend the unity, integrity and security of our country.

It is a matter of grave concern that we continue to send wrong signals to both, the terrorists in Kashmir and the Pakistanis. Nothing can establish the point better than the utter indifference that the Government has shown to Kashmiris, both Hindus and Muslims, but predominantly Hindus. It is, therefore, the Indian State's obligation to look after them so long as it is not able to create conditions which can enable them to return to their homes and jobs. Instead, it has chosen to pretend as if they do not exist. This is callousness unworthy of any Government. As it happens, this callousness has political implications as well. It is tantamount to a declaration that official solicitude is reserved for those who wield the gun.

Pakistan to be Warned

The BJP would wish to remind those out to disrupt India's unity that while democracies have been known to fumble, history

has shown that in the final analysis, it is dangerous to underestimate their will to resist external aggression and internal subversion. Kashmir is an integral part of the Indian Union, and so it shall remain. Meanwhile, we call upon the Government of India to seal the border, take proper care of the refugees, take all effective steps to restore law and order, prepare itself and the country for any eventuality, and warn Pakistan against its continuing mischiefs.

Hot Pursuit Desirable now

Pakistan's many provocations amount to so many acts of war. Today, it is literally carrying on a war against India on Indian territory, in places and timings of its choosing. Unless, therefore, Pakistan quickly withdraws its hand and thus makes it possible to re-establish order in these areas, India may have no choice but to consider knocking out the training camps and transit routes of terrorists in Pakistan. Hot pursuit is a recognised defensive measure. And, in any case, as the world knows, Pakistan-occupied Kashmir is, legally, Indian territory.

The BJP expresses its deep sympathy for the people in the Valley who have lost their homes and/or jobs, because of disturbed conditions. It congratulates Jammu on maintaining peace in spite of grave provocation.

The BJP hereby resolves to observe 20-27 April as 'SAVE KASHMIR: SAVE BHARAT WEEK'. It will culminate in a massive rally in front of Parliament House on 30 April. Simultaneously, a Kashmiris' Relief Fund will be launched to provide help and succour to the refugees from the Valley.

□

National Executive

Calcutta

06-08 April, 1990

Granting Statehood to Delhi

Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive expresses regret that even after the formation of the new Government at the Centre, a Bill for giving status of statehood to Delhi has not so far been introduced in the Parliament. Bharatiya Janata Party has always been supporting the full statehood status for Delhi, and in the 1989 election manifesto, we have given a promise for full statehood for Delhi. Janata Dal has also given a clear indication in the manifesto and the then President of the Party, Shri Vishwa Nath Pratap Singh has also, on behalf of his Party, supported the demand through a public statement. In the light of this, the people of Delhi have expectations from the new Government that it would fulfil its commitment for giving full statehood status to Delhi by introducing a relevant Bill in the Parliament as early as possible. It is regretted that in spite of many reminders to the Prime Minister, no action has been taken so far. It is worth remembering that on the 10th of December, 1989, Bharatiya Janata Party President, Shri Lal Krishna Advani was assured by the Prime Minister that before March 1990, a Bill for the Legislative Assembly for Delhi will be prepared.

When no bill was introduced in the Parliament for the grant of full statehood to Delhi inspite of this clean assurance, it was natural that the people of Delhi got suspicious that the new Government was going back on its commitment. In order to remove these suspicions, Bharatiya Janata Party, Delhi Pradesh, has written to Shri Vishwa Nath Pratap Singh,

Prime Minister, that if a Bill for the grant of full statehood to Delhi is not introduced before 31 March, then BJP will be compelled to adopt the path of agitation to express the feelings of the masses.

The National Executive of Bharatiya Janata Party draws the attention of the new Government and reiterates its demand that if a Bill is not introduced in the Parliament for the grant of full statehood to Delhi, then an agitation will be started from 11 April.

□

National Executive

Madras

21-23 July, 1990

Kashmir

Appreciation of the Heroic Work of Soldiers

Since the National Executive meeting in Calcutta on 6-8 April defined the Party's stand on the terrorist-secessionist threat in Jammu and Kashmir, our security forces have achieved some notable successes in their heroic efforts to preserve the country's unity and security. They have arrested hundreds of Pakistan-trained terrorists, captured large quantities of arms and ammunition, taken effective steps to reduce the flow of men and weapons across the line of control, and improved the intelligence apparatus so that it has been possible to solve a number of murder cases and nab the leaders of various secessionist outfits. The National Executive places on record its deep appreciation for the heroic men who have risked, and even lost their lives in the cause of the nation's integrity.

Removal of Governor Jagmohan

We would, however, be failing in our duty if we did not, at the same time, take note of a number of adverse developments that have taken place since. The first such development was the Union Government's decision to remove Shri Jagmohan as Governor of the state on 25 May, when it was widely recognised that he had prevented a complete collapse of the administration, restored the morale of patriotic elements in the state machinery and struck terror in the hearts of terrorists and secessionists. Over one and a half lakh Hindus were driven out of their homes to find refuge in Jammu, Delhi and other places. The Government's attitude towards them has been utterly indifferent, casual and callous.

Plight of Hindu Families

Meanwhile, their properties in the Valley are being looted, their jobs handed over to 'locals'. In Jammu, of the 47,000 families registered there, only 6,000 have been provided tents or other temporary accommodation. In Delhi, of the more than 10,000

registered families, only 350 have been accommodated, and that too in miserable conditions.

The removal of Shri Jagmohan naturally boosted the morale of terrorists and their Pakistani mentors and caused concern among nationalist elements in the J & K administration, especially the police and the paramilitary forces. This by itself posed a challenge to the new Governor, Shri Girish Chandra Saxena. Unfortunately for Shri Saxena, his problem has been compounded by the failure of the Government of India to take firm action against 137 officers, including senior IAS officers, and even Additional Chief Secretaries, who have been guilty of the worst kind of indiscipline by becoming party to the vilification campaign outside the country against the Indian State and its security forces. New Delhi's virtual acquiescence in its denigration by a section of the state government employees has shaken the confidence of other employees in its willingness and ability to stand by them in the performance of the tasks assigned to them.

The Executive is loath to draw the conclusion that this inaction is part of a larger policy, however ill-defined and well-meaning, which is intended to appease those very people who are engaged in destroying the country's unity. It is, for instance, extraordinary that the Government should have ordered employment of the so-called 'local' people in place of government and public sector employees, who have had to seek shelter in Jammu when the administration, on its own admission, is not in a position to provide them adequate protection in Srinagar.

Revival of the Political Process

As the National Executive noted in its resolution on Kashmir on 7 April, "It is commonsense that the political process in Kashmir can be revived only when the back of the secessionist movement has

been broken and that an attempt to hasten it can only encourage the terrorists and the fundamentalists." Surely, no one can claim that the back of the secessionist movement has been broken. On the contrary, secessionists have stepped up their activities to attack security forces directly. Recently, they even managed to infiltrate Jammu, as the bomb explosions not only in open bazars but also in the offices of the Divisional Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner amply demonstrate. Indeed, by declaring the whole of the Kashmir Valley and some border districts as 'Disturbed Area' under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, the Government of India itself has acknowledged that it is wholly premature to think in terms of reviving the so-called political process. Talk of reviving the so-called political process while providing, on the one hand, encouragement to anti-India elements, creates, on the other hand, apprehension in public mind that the Government intends to bring back to power the very persons who had earlier betrayed their trust, and brought the Valley to its present pass. This is no time to raise this issue.

The successive state governments and Central intelligence agencies doubtless failed to check the flow of men, arms and ammunition across the line of control from 1984 onwards. The failure was monumental. The quantities of arms that have been captured and otherwise recovered, from where they had been hidden are a testimony to that failure. But, as Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah also turned a blind eye to the growing menace of fundamentalism, secessionism and terrorism, to engage in discussions with him at this stage is certainly to send a wrong signal.

Fighting Terrorism

We cannot fight terrorism, especially when it is fully backed by Pakistan, and when it can exploit religious susceptibilities, with kid gloves. It requires a clear vision and definite direction in approach. As once again indicated at the recent Secretary level talks between the two governments in Islamabad, Pakistan seems determined to continue with its present policy of provocation, sabotage and proxy war. Firmness, perseverance and, above all, sympathetic understanding of the intolerable psychological strain under which men of the security forces have to live and operate, are also called for. Unfortunately, some Indian groups have consistently refused to show such an understanding.

It is notable that such groups of self-appointed guardians of civil liberties have no thought to spare, nor any tear to shed for hundreds of Hindus—men, women and children—who have been brutally murdered and around 2,00,000 of whom have been terrorised into abandoning their hearths and homes and seeking shelter in camps in Jammu, Delhi and elsewhere. This callous indifference towards a helpless minority speaks volumes about the bonafides of these self-styled libertarians.

BJP's Demands

The Bharatiya Janata Party, therefore, demands the following:

1. No talks should be held with terrorists as long as terrorism continues.
2. The Indo-Pak border should be effectively sealed.
3. Pakistan be given notice to close down all terrorist training camps within a certain number of days or else steps be taken to destroy them.
4. An intensive combing operation should be launched to unearth and, confiscate the enormous quantities of lethal weaponry now in terrorists' hands.
5. Adequate security for Hindu government staff be provided in the Valley, or they be posted in Jammu or Ladakh, and in no case their vacancies be filled with so-called 'locals'.
6. Prompt curbing of incipient terrorist activity in Poonch, Rajauri and Doda areas must be ensured.
7. The state government staff should be screened for loyalty and discipline.
8. Jammu and Ladakh have always been neglected by the Valley-centric Government of the state. With the start of insurgency, the state Government in Jammu and Ladakh also stands paralysed and the development work there

has come to a dead stop. The BJP demands the posting of an Advisor each in Jammu and Ladakh to revive the administration in these provinces and resume development work.

9. Accommodation, 'even if only tents,' must be provided to the refugees as a first priority. However, over the next few months, new townships should be built for Kashmiri refugees in the high hilly areas of Jammu, like Thud, Batote, Zanskar and Patni-top, so that they may be close to their native Kashmir and also since they cannot stand the heat of the plains.
10. Hindu houses, shops and other properties worth billions should be protected and saved from mounting spoliation.
11. All refugee students from the Valley should be accommodated in correspondence courses and colleges in Jammu, Delhi and elsewhere in the country.

In conclusion, the BJP notes with apprehension that New Delhi has allowed Amnesty International to visit India. Amnesty has a dubious record of checking only on 'State terrorism'. We are opposed to all terrorism and Amnesty will be doing injustice to itself if it confines itself only to State action, but turns a blind eye to the terror of terrorists.

□

National Executive

Madras

21-23 July, 1990

Naxalite Menace in AP

Naxalites were fighting a losing battle with the police till August 1989. Their front organizations had become defunct. Their heavily armed gangs were disappearing into the forests of Maharashtra, M.P. and Orissa to escape the police wrath. Because of NTR Government's policy of protection and rehabilitation for the surrendered ones, nearly 50 Naxalites of different levels came out of their underground activities to lead a normal life.

Nexus with Congress(I) and fresh lease to Naxalites

As the 1989 crucial elections drew nearer, the scenario began to change. Suddenly the Naxalites started an offensive. They abducted the TDP political activists to cow down the then TDP Government. Congress(I) adopted a peculiar line i.e. boycotting all party meetings to discuss extremist problem kidnapping of people's representatives. Then PCC (I) President Dr. Chenna Reddy is believed to have a tacit understanding with Naxalites especially PWG (Peoples' War Group led by Sri Kondapalli Seetharamiah). The statements by Sri Shasidhar Reddy, S/o. Dr. Chenna Reddy, role played by Sri K. Chandramouli Reddy, cousin of Sri K. Seetharamiah of PWG and open acknowledgement of Sri Shabbir. MLA Kamma Reddy that his victory was due to Naxalite support only substantiated the nexus between Congress(I) and PWG. After October 1989, this unholy nexus has given Naxals a fresh lease of life to gang up, consolidate and upsurge.

Congress(I) Government's surrender policy and the Naxalite Upsurge

Dr. Chenna Reddy after coming to power in AP is pursuing a new policy towards Naxalite problem. The basic features of the policy are:

1. Negotiations with Naxalites' leader.
2. To create conducive atmosphere by the unconditional release of undertrials, and not using preventive laws.

3. Stopping the police initiative to check the Naxalite atrocities.
4. Appeasement of top Naxalite leaders, which included Government's offer to give medical facilities for the ailing top naxal leader Sri Seetharamiah and offer of job to Gaddar, a noted Naxal poet and artist.

In line with the above spelt policy framework, hell was let loose.

- (a) Dr. Chenna Reddy unilaterally ordered the release of all Naxalite under-trial prisoners even while the Cabinet Sub-Committee was in the process of holding discussions with various parties.
- (b) The use of Disturbed Areas Act, Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (prevention) act was repealed.
- (c) Disbandment of special police force i.e. 'Grey hounds' which was set up to contain terrorism by the previous Government.
- (d) Allowed Naxalites to organise meetings and rallies openly in which they made inflammatory speeches including the threats to kill top police officers.
- (e) Endorsement to the functioning of People's court (Praja courts) organised by the Naxalites.
- (f) Government kept quiet over the Naxalities rally in Warrangal demanding in an open resolution, 'Right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir.'

The Naxalite upsurge – Its devastating features

The People's War Group called PWG led by Sri K Seetharamiah. The CP Group (Chandra Pullo Reddy) and the Pyla group (Pyala Vasudeva Rao group) are the three factions of Naxalites active in AP. The most active being PWG led by Seetharamiah.

The Government's policy has enlivened these factions with detrimental effect on the socio-political-economic fabric of the region.

1. Terrorist organization in open

Because of the Government's new policy, the PWG has come out openly in propagating the terrorist ideology, extorting money, enlisting the cadre, arming them, filling the arsenal, creating a mass base appearance and acquiring legitimacy and setting up a parallel administration.

The law enforcing authority—the police have become mute spectators. The district administration and its various wings, the state administration and its various services like State transport, Electricity Board and other officials have become subservient to the whims and fancies of the Naxalites in the parts of Telengana districts.

The Naxalites roam around the area in Karim Nagar Nizamabad, Adilabad, Warrangal, and Medak district with AK 47 rifles as defacto representatives of the Govt. and it is their writ that runs in Telengana districts. Any body from officer to commoner opposing them is gunned down and any institution burnt to ashes.

Recently, they have been holding rallies, public meetings and press conferences with AK 47 hanging on their shoulders.

It is a well acknowledged fact that they have extracted money to the extent of more than Rs. 12 crores by coercion from farmers, businessmen, doctors and commoners as well.

2. Administration under Naxalite seige

The entire administration in Telengana area is under Naxalite siege. The officials have no way but to obey the PWG orders to the extent that they erect dais for PWG rally, rebuild the memorials, provide generators and co-operate with Naxalites in day to day administration.

3. Democracy in danger

The very foundation of our democratic set up i.e. people's representatives are obstructed in their constituencies. The village level political activities shattered. The MPs, MLAs and Presidents of Mandal Praja Parishad and the Village sarpanch are not able to discharge their duties freely in the above mentioned areas. The political parties are warned not to take membership in these parts of the state.

Those who protest are kidnapped, threatened, murdered, beaten up, their families are also attacked and they take Govt. officials as hostages to get their demands met. 35 sarpanchs have been beaten up, 4 have been murdered. Because of this reign of terror, many MLAs are safely in Hyderabad and can visit the district Headquarters only under tight security. The Mandal Praja Parishad meetings

are held in the district headquarters.

4. Reign of terror

The lawlessness that has become the by-word is taking its toll. Factional fights between warring Naxalite groups have created a sense of insecurity among people.

Innocent people are attacked, women harassed and molested, banks, cooperative societies are looted and gutted, the govt. offices set on fire village socio-political leadership trampled.

Naxalites have no moral standard value system of any sort. This has resulted in their barbaric atrocities becoming unbearable.

5. Justice in criminal hands and People's force at gun point

According to their ethics of 'withering away of State' they are 'driving away' the State. The basic fulcrum is civil administration and the soul of it is Judiciary. Naxalites have threatened the people not to go to District and subordinate courts to settle their issues but to come to the Praja courts. The PWG has established Praja courts in Telengana region. The 'Dalam' (The Armed squad), summons the villagers, hears them and gives the verdict at gun point. Any farmer holding more than 10 acres was to give the extra land to the man whom the PWG nominates. In Telengana having 24 acres of land cannot enable one to make both ends meet. Those who defy the judgement have to face the wrath of the Naxals. People are obeying the orders because of fear and making registrations and handing over the same to PWG.

6. The crisis

The Chief Minister feels that his policy of surrender and collusion with extremists is paying dividends, whereas the Naxalites are spreading their tentacles and are making all

out efforts to liberate Dendakaranya. Many surrendered Naxalites during TDP days have gone underground again.

The Public is agitated, traders frightened, village administration shattered, police demoralized, some of the inaccessible villages liberated, the Naxalites continue the rule of terror unobstructed.

Opposition parties are putting pressure on the State Govt. to reverse its policies and act. Even among the ruling party, there is severe criticism of the CM's policy. There is every fear that the State may slip into an unmanageable crisis of the magnitude of Punjab and J & K, if immediate remedial steps are not initiated by all concerned.

What should be done?

1. Centre should direct the State Govt. to take care of the law and order situation, before it becomes unmanageable. It should direct the State Govt. to prevent kidnapping of the innocents, holding of Praja courts and forced extraction of money and other such unlawful activities indulged in by the extremists.
2. The centre should coordinate and monitor the efforts of the State Govts. viz, AP, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh affected by the Naxalite problem.
3. The Central Govt. should respond positively to the request of the State Govts. in tackling this menace.
4. The State Govt. should take stringent steps to stop arms inflow into Andhra Pradesh.

Addendum I

1. Damage to Buses

The Naxalites set fire to 650 buses belonging to Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation (APSRTC). Cost of buses burnt is to the tune of Rs. 29 crores and 29 lacs and damage is to the extent of 29 crores 94 lacs (1192 buses). In the last 6 months 32 buses were burnt or damaged.

2. Murders

During the period 1985-89, Naxalites murdered 242 people.

3. Loss of Police Lives

Naxalites killed 52 policemen in between 1985-89, during this year four police personnel were killed.

4. Dacoities

Dacoities and attacks are to the extent of 248 from the extremists side.

5. Encounter

During the last 6 months six encounters were reported.

The above information was furnished by the Government.

Addendum II

PWG's STRATEGY: The Rectification Campaign

According to the action plan titled 'The rectification campaign' prepared by Mr K. Sitharamaiah in 1982, a guerilla zone comprising areas of four states was divided into five divisions;

Division	Districts
East	Koraput, Srikakulam, Vizayanagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari.
Bastar	Balaghat, Rainandgoan, Bastar, Khamam Garchiroli, Chandrapur.
North Telengana	Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad.
South Telengana	Medak, Rangareddy, Nalgonda, Mahaboobnagar.

According to the document, this guerilla zone has many similarities with Cambodia, in size, population, topography. The document also spells out the advantages of the zone for waging guerilla war:

1. It has a sea front from Ichapuram to Kakinada which facilitates the smuggling of the arms. The LTTE has shown the way.
2. The Multi-state composition of the Zone gives the advantage of striking in one state and sneaking into the hideouts set up in other states. All these years after striking Andhra, the Dalams were taking shelter in Maharashtra and MP. The present political climate, when different political parties are in power in these states is most favourable since coordination almost ceased to exist.

3. The area is hilly and to a large extent inaccessible. Vast majority of the people are tribals who can easily be coaxed to follow the line of armed conflict.
4. Two life-lines of the country, the Madras-Delhi and the Madras-Calcutta, pass through this zone. Control over this zone means cutting off the South from the North and paralysing the economy.

First inaccessible villages will be liberated. Then villages around small towns will be brought under control. After the capture of towns cities will be surrounded. To achieve this guerilla dalams numbering 25 are operating in each division. After Chenna Reddy came to power the number of dalams in Telengana and the entire neighbourhood of Hyderabad is already reeling under the 'liberation'.

Arms and Training from the LTTE

According to police sources one Karunakaran group of LTTE stockpiled huge quantity of arms including AK 47 rifles, mines etc. during the training period of LTTE in Tamil Nadu. These arms are now being procured by the PWG. A meeting of the DGPs of AP, MP, Maharashtra and Orissa held in July 1989 in Bombay took note of this Clandestine activity. The police chiefs have also found sufficient evidence to conclude that many naxals are being trained by the LTTE. (*Indian Express*, Bombay 31 July, 1989.)

The Home Minister of AP said that there was evidence to show that AK 47 rifles used in Khanapur massacre were obtained from LTTE. He had also disclosed that some arrests were made at Ottakamand, Madurai and Bangalore.

Sri Sharad Pawar, Chief Minister of Maharashtra admitted in the Assembly on 27 July, 1988 that the Naxalites operating in Garhchiroli and Chandrapur are getting arms from Punjab terrorists.

□

National Executive

Madras

21 July, 1990

7.8 Report on Calcutta Corporation Election on 17th June, 1990

The thirteen years of Left Front rule in West Bengal has unveiled the truth of Marxist hollowness. The deceit of the Marxists, shrouded in populist slogans and phoney jargon has been totally exposed to the people in West Bengal. Not only that the CPI (M) led Left Front government has failed to deliver the goods which they had promised, it has created a stalemate unprecedented in the history of India. A total failure on the economic front, marked by steep rise in the number of unemployed (17 lakhs plus in 1977 to 48 lakhs plus in 1989), closure of industries due to labour unrest and that of one-third of the jute mills in the state, acute shortage of power (average production in the sector being about 35% of the installed capacity, one of the lowest in the country) has made the people totally disillusioned with the potential of the Left Front government. The desperate use of the land reform measures like the operation Barga for partisan gains by the CPI (M) has rendered the rural economy plagued with loss of vital agricultural productivity. In the zeal to establish total control over the administration, the CPI (M) had been politicising the police administration, the educational and other institutions in an organised manner. All opposition in these spheres has been eradicated stage by stage. Corruption is not only tolerated at various levels, in cases it is being encouraged. As happens always in such an environment, the anti-social elements are patronised by the ruling party as they have become the vital tool in the hands of the rulers to suppress any voice of dissent within the party and outside it. The electoral rolls have been tampered with since 1978 with the help of the Left Front led Coordination Committee of the West Bengal Government Employees, which has always played a vital role in the elections in the state since 1977. The anti-social elements and the police have been used recklessly by the CPI (M) to curb any opposition activity by force. In return both have been given a free hand in smuggling, robbery, atrocities on women, Harijans, Scheduled Castes and other backward communities. The so-called Citizens' Committees have been formed at all police stations in the

state. These committees have been packed with CPI (M) men and these people literally dictate the police and force them to act only in the interest of the party even at the cost of law and order. Political opponents are this way crushed by the joint actions of the obliging police and the anti-socials in the rank and file of the CPI (M). The result of all these are evident. Robberies and criminal activities are alarmingly rising in the state. Even CPI (M) leaders and other Front leaders are admitting it. The anti-socials have gained so much power that on 31st May last they dared attack three ladies, two of them being state government officials and the third an executive of the UNICEF and their driver (a government employee) at Bantala within ward No. 108 of Calcutta Municipal Corporation at 7 PM, beat them mercilessly, stripped the ladies of all their clothing and it is suspected that one of them was raped. The team was returning from Gosaba on duty. The driver, Abani Naiya and one of the officers Anita Dewan were killed; the others luckily got saved. All these happened in front of thousands of onlookers who dared not protest as the assailants were dreaded criminals with close connections in the ruling party. It seems that Anita Dewan had been trying to unearth the mystery of pilferage of government medicines in the area, which is the motive behind the assault on her and the rest of the party. The subsequent reactions of the ruling party leaders and the police have created strong suspicion that the authorities were trying to shield some people and hide something from the people's notice. It is surprising that even till date some of the suspects have not been arrested and some who had been arrested earlier have been released on bail. The incident has proved that the anti-socials who are in the CPI (M) fold can get away doing anything. Not only that the CPI (M) has no control over these elements, the party or the police dared not book them as they were the vital tools which brought them the votes. Immediately after this came another news that two ladies at Hooghly (one at Singur Police Station) were raped. The reluctance of the West Bengal Government to register cases in the incidents and unnecessary delay in medical test was an eye opener to the fact that the CPI (M) supported policemen are also free to do anything in the state. The government would not book them as long as they were useful for mustering the ballots in favour of the Left Front – CPI (M) in particular.

Even on the day of writing this report (19.7.90) the state is

shocked to learn that at Birati, a suburb of Calcutta nine women from the recently displaced refugee families from Bangladesh have been gang raped by local hoodlums who are the members of the trade union front of the CPI (M), one being a local leader. Some teenager girls have been paraded naked on 18th July in open view of a few hundred men and women! No one dared protest as they were all known CPI (M) men. These anti-socials run illicit liquor dens in the shanties where the refugees live. The police refused to register their complaint for obvious reasons. The latest report indicates that the local party cadres of CPI (M) are obstructing the reporters from talking to the refugees who were the eye-witness to this ghastly crime. The victims and their families are threatened not to talk to any one other than the CPI (M) leaders! A RULE OF THE JUNGLE HAS ALIGHTED UPON THE STATE OF WEST BENGAL!

The people of West Bengal were clearly annoyed at such deterioration of law and order and the obvious patronage of the criminals by the authorities. Criminalisation of CPI (M) politics, the unsolved cases of many mysterious murders in the past five years, political vendetta of CPI(M) resulting in arson, looting, killings of non-CPM political workers compounded with widespread corruption at all levels and economic bankruptcy of the state had its obvious effects as reflected in the municipal elections held on 27th May last. A new force, BJP, which fielded 841 candidates (as against 160 only four years earlier) bagged a little less than 7-8% of the votes. Contrary to the speculation of many, BJP made a big dent in the anti-Congress and negative left vote bank in the state many of them had got disenchanted with the performance of the CPI(M). The result was that the Congress could snatch away quite a few municipalities from the Left Front despite widespread and Government-sponsored rigging and intimidation by the CPI(M). Bolpur, Gobardanga, Ranaghat were some of the municipalities which the Congress could wrest away from the Left despite an all-round anti-Congress wave in the state and the legendary internal feud in the party.

This had sent the danger signal in the CPI(M) fold. The party feared that if this trend was allowed to continue, the Left Front would lose the Calcutta Corporation election where they held a very slender majority for the last five years. There was also another fear that the Calcutta Corporation had a very notorious record on the question of corruption. The last five years saw rampant corruption in the affairs

of the Calcutta Corporation; so much so that the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation was recently on record as saying that corruption could not lie eradicated from the Corporation. Parks and Markets were sold to private developers and investors in quite a few shady deals. Rowdon Square scandal Satyanarayan Park scandal evoked widespread agitation from the BJP and the Congress. New Market stall allotment scandal was revealed by the CPI(M) leader Sri Biman Bose in one of his publicised tirade against the Mayor of Calcutta. Multi-storeyed buildings have been falling like a house of cards at regular periodicity. The builders of these are still going scot-free, hobnobbing with the CPI (M) leaders and senior police officials. The CPI (M) was sure of losing Calcutta Corporation if the election was allowed to be fair.

Hence a Plan was chalked out with wide parameters, meticulously detailed. Even the electoral roll tampered with to suit the Front would not suffice. Therefore wide spread intimidation started in the pre-poll days. In wide areas of Garia, Jadavpur, Behala, Tollygunj, Tiljala, Tangra, Belia-ghata, Manicktata, Dumdum and Garden Reach the Congress workers were intimidated. Many of them were arrested in cooked up charges two days prior to the election. BJP workers were much less in number but they had the people's support. Hence the people were terrorised in these areas. The CPI (M) workers were going around in these areas, particularly in the slums, asking the dwellers not to venture out to vote on the 17th.

Two days prior to the polls the CPI (M) started bringing their action squad from the adjoining districts. These were the anti-socials of the CPI (M) brand. Each ward was crowded with a minimum of 100 of these hoodlums, each carrying deadly weapons. They had come from the industrial areas of 24 Parganas—North, Howrah, Hooghly, Burdwan, Siliguri and 24 parganas—South.

On the day of the poll in areas of absolute CPI (M) supremacy

(Garia, Behala, Jadavpur, Kashba, Tollygunj, Tiljala, Tangra, Beliaghata and Dum Dum) in about 40 wards these anti-socials started moving around from the morning scaring away voters. As a result genuine voters did not come to vote. Since many of the Congressmen were already arrested by the police as a precautionary measure the comparative manpower strength of the CPI(M) was much better on the day. After 9 AM most of the polling agents of the Congress and the BJP had been driven out of the polling booths. This is the time when the proxy votes were being polled by the CPI (M) at random. Polling officials kept a silent posture pretending not to have seen anything at all. That is why the polling pattern in these areas show that till 10 AM only 15% of the votes have been polled, whereas between 10 AM and 1 PM (the most lean time in all elections) another 35% of the votes were polled. After 2 PM proxy votes were polled carefully. In numerous areas CPI (M) cadres were seen with calculators at the polling station camps frantically calculating the number of votes to be cast so as to keep the total polling percentage within the specified limit. Wherever the polling officials were not obliging intimidation was used to bring them to their senses and fall in line with others.

In Central Calcutta, parts of south Calcutta and Burrabazar. Jorasanko. Jorabagan and Cossipur where B.J.P. had enough workers to combat the situation, ruthless violence was resorted to. In some areas the Congress joined hands with the CPI(M) to ensure BJP's defeat. It would be worthwhile to remember that in February 1987 eleven Congress councillors had cross voted in a no-confidence motion against the CPI(M) Mayor and help the CPI (M) to retain power in the Corporation. These eleven councillors were rewarded by the CPI (M) and their victory was ensured. In all such places the Congress-BJP tussle was on till the last day. It was only on the polling day that the CPI (M)-Congress combined forces attacked the BJP councillor Santilal Jain's house. In ward no 6, 22, 23, 39, 41, 42, 63, 70, 86 and 87 both the parties launched joint attacks on the BJP. In South Calcutta, Manicktala, Kakurgachi and Alipur the affluent voters in the multistoreyed buildings were not allowed to go out of their houses to vote. The gates of these house were locked and two or three weapon wielding CPI (M) cadres were posted outside to ensure that no one dared out to vote. BJP candidate Dr. Marwaha was assaulted on this day by his rival CPI candidate Ajoy Deb. Another

BJP candidate Sudhir Sadhukhan and his wife were driven out of the polling station by force and not allowed to vote. BJP candidate Fateh Chand's car was burnt down by CPI (M) goondas. Yet another candidate of BJP Mainak Ghosh's house was bombed and his aged father was injured. In Central Calcutta and North Calcutta BJP workers could resist these assaults in three wards to some extent. In two of them BJP came out winners and lost by about 50 votes in the third one (Shyam Sunder Goenka).

In some wards where the Congress could muster enough strength there were fierce battles. Bombs were hurled in hundreds. Revolvers and other fire arms were used freely. In Muchipara, Jorasanko, Vidyasagar and Burrabazar areas wherever the common man could brave out to the polling booths, they found the CPI(M) men – Congressmen in some booths, jamming the booths and polling proxy votes at free will and the police and election officials preferring to look the other way. Thus concluded the most nefarious variety of 'Free and Peaceful Rigging' in the election of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation of 1990. The most barbarous form of violence and terrorism was resorted to by the ruling party. The worst criminals were let loose on this day to act where physical violence was necessary to rig the poll, and to spread fear-psychosis where that was enough to serve their purpose.

The media has reported all these and condemned the rigging in no uncertain terms. Photographs of criminals operating on the polling day in front of the police were published in all the dailies of the state. Some of the scribes and lensmen have been assaulted while trying to record these acts.

Chief Minister Jyoti Basu has tried to shirk his responsibilities by saying that all the mischief makers snapped on this day were Congressmen. The Mayor has justified all these by saying that booth jamming etc. were quite common and normal practice. Post-election survey shows that thousands of people in all areas could not cast their votes as these had been cast by the proxy voters. Many could not reach the booth even after long waiting in the queues due to booth jamming. A lot many of them were CPI (M) supporters. This shows that the CPI(M) leaders could not trust their own voters this time as they were suffering from the complex of their accumulated guilt. This is an indicator of how far the so-called People's Party had drifted away from the people.

One thing was very clear from all sources of information – that the election process on the 17th June in Calcutta was certainly not controlled by the police and the government authority. It was in the hands of criminals, to whom the government had pawned all its values and democratic principles! Weapons ruled this day. The lesson one has learnt from 17th June is that in future, unless something serious is done immediately, all elections in West Bengal will be in the hands of such criminals, and not in the hands of the law and order authorities. Weapon wielding scenes will be commonplace henceforth. Which peace loving citizen would venture out in such scenario to exercise his or her franchise? Has not Mr. Jyoti Basu failed in his primary duty to ensure the right of every citizen to exercise his or her franchise? As the Home Minister has he not failed in his obligations to the rule of law on the election day? Only because there has not been sufficient counter offensive that tragedy like Meham has not been repeated. In terms of booth jamming, booth capturing, intimidation, misuse of the official machinery, Calcutta has equalled Meham. Meham, far away from the vigilant sight of the people could little afford the shameless affront on democracy and all right thinking people had agreed on Chautala's ouster. How about Calcutta – right in front of the eyes of the world's scrutiny? Democracy has been mauled badly in Calcutta and the culture of Calcutta has been raped by the Marxists and their 'Lumpen Proletariat' cronies on the year of the city's centenary!

There were more episodes of mischief. The counting of vote was a farce in many wards, as the polling cum counting agents had already been driven away. One does not know how much manipulation was done but one can surely guess. The BJP contested 118 out of 141 wards as against 31 wards five years earlier. The results show that all over Calcutta BJP has secured a little over 5% votes, as against less than 2% votes polled during the last Lok Sabha polls and 46% votes polled in the last Corporation elections held in 1985. North-West Calcutta has awarded BJP about 7% of its votes, a figure which has not changed much from last November. But South Calcutta which polled about 1.3% in the last Lok Sabha polls

in favour of BJP showed quite an improvement. BJP did poll about 6% votes in South Calcutta in the Corporation Election despite all odds.

(Report compiled on behalf of BJP Bengal State Committee.)



National Executive

New Delhi

17 October, 1990

Rama Janmabhoomi

Slanderous Campaign Against Ram Rath Yatra

The Ram Rath Yatra has been a tremendous success. From Somnath to Delhi so far, literally millions of people belonging to all castes and communities have given it tremendous ovation. Here was a great act of national integration. Any Government interested in national unity should have welcomed it. But, the Government has responded by carrying on a ceaseless slanderous campaign against the *Yatra*, and in UP, by embarking on a repressive course by arresting thousands, including BJP leaders in the UP Assembly, Shri Kalyan Singh, Barrister Narendrajit Singh Ji, respected Sanghchalak of UP and Justice Devki Nandan Agrawal (Retd.).

We are sorry to say that we are not exactly surprised. The performance of this Government has been a total disappointment.

The country has welcomed, and the BJP had backed, the Janata Dal Government, with great expectations. But all these expectations have been belied.

The Punjab and Kashmir issues bungled by the Rajiv Government, have been worsened by the VP Singh Government. And on top of that, terrorism in Assam and Andhra Pradesh has been allowed to assume menacing proportions.

Thanks to the wrong economic and fiscal policies, prices have sky-rocketed, making life miserable for more and more millions.

Politicisation of Mandal Report

The BJP has been in favour of reservations to socially and educationally backward classes. However, the manner in which the Government announced its decision about the Mandal Commission Report without any consultation with supporting parties, and without qualifying it with any economic criteria, was utterly wrong. The decision was prompted not by any concern for the backward classes, but by considerations of political expediency. The

Government's decision can only lead to dividing and sub-dividing society. The result has been not only serious disturbance of peace and enormous loss of life and property, but also the immolation by some of the flowers of our youth.

The issue of Ramjanma Bhoomi Mandir-Babri Masjid has been hanging fire for long. The people want the Ayodhya sites restored to close the old unhappy chapter of the Mandir, desecrated and converted into a Mosque. This is not a communal issue. It is a matter of national honour, calculated to promote national reconciliation. But instead of seeing the matter in this positive light, the Government has communalised the issue. Some leaders of the ruling party have even whipped up communal passions, leading to serious rioting.

Hindu Sentiment to be Respected

The BJP holds that Hindu sentiment can be satisfied only if a temple is constructed at the Ram Janmasthan. The mosque built by Babar was abandoned in 1936. For 54 years, thus, no namaz has been offered at this place. And since at least 1949, poojas and parikramas have been regularly going on. The dispute in fact is between a Mandir and a non-Masjid. Even so, in deference to Muslim sentiment, the VHP has offered to relocate the Masjid structure elsewhere.

The BJP's National Executive calls upon the Union Government to honour the sentiment of the people and allow a temple to be built at the *Janmasthan*. The Executive warns the Government that if it fails to do so, or, if it disrupts the *Rath Yatra* which has come to symbolise this sentiment, the BJP would be constrained to withdraw support to this Government.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

09-10 November, 1990

Political Resolution

State Terror against Rath Yatra

At its Palampur meeting, the BJP National Executive had urged the Government of India to respect the sentiments of the overwhelming majority in the country and allow a Ram Temple to be built at the *Ram Janmasthan*. Construction of such a temple has been a centuries old aspiration of the people. The Government was urged to adopt the same positive approach to Ayodhya that Free India's first government had adopted towards Somnath.

To mobilise national support for our stand on this issue and to expose minorityism and pseudo-secularism, the BJP President undertook *Ram Rath Yatra* from Somnath to Ayodhya. This *Yatra* roused and united the people as never before. Men, women and children by the million, young and old, of all castes, classes and communities gave their wholehearted support. It was history in the making. But the small men in power viewed this, not as evidence of national unity and national regeneration, but as a threat to the petty little political constituencies carved out by them. And so they arrested Shri Advani and impounded the *Ram Rath*. This led to a spontaneous Bandh that very day and a regular Bharat Bandh the following day. It was only the culture of our people and the restraint of BJP workers that prevented a massive violent reaction to this trifling with the sentiments of the people.

Fundamental Rights Violated

Nor did the violation of laws and conventions begin or end there. The PM issued a belated, flawed and half-hearted Ordinance, and withdrew even that under the pressure of his communal friends. The Chief Minister of UP of course had already set a new record in State terror. Over one lakh persons were taken into preventive custody. All road, rail, river and even air traffic was choked, to the infinite harassment of the people. In defiance of the Law and the Constitution,

the citizen's Fundamental Rights of Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Religion, Freedom of Association and Freedom of Movement were extinguished. The pilgrims' rights of *Puja*, *Parikrama* and *Akhand Path* were violated, in spite of High Court and Supreme Court orders. Even the *Chhatra* over the *Shilanyas* spot was removed in an act of sacrilege. Newspaper offices were invaded, editors arrested, chained and paraded. In unprecedented protest, most of the markets and courts closed for a whole fortnight. A total of 3,30,000 *Kar-Sevaks* were arrested. Even the British in all their excesses from 1857-1942 and the Emergency regime of 1975-77 had not indulged in so much oppression of the people.

A Second Jallianwala Bagh

All this terror was let loose on the fifteen crore people of UP and lakhs of visiting *Kar-Sevaks* from other states, to prevent anybody from entering Ayodhya on 30 October. However, defying all the repressive might of the State, tens of thousands reached Ayodhya, braved lathis, teargas shells and bullets and symbolically accomplished *Kar-Seva*.

However, this was something which those in office just could not tolerate. And so, on 2 November, they staged a Second Jallianwala Bagh and mowed down unarmed, peaceful *Ram Bhaktas* just to assert their petty authority. And it was the communal reporting by AIR and TV and communal talk by Mulayam Singh that triggered communal violence in several districts of UP.

The Bharatiya Janata Party demands the following:

1. Dismissal of the Mulayam Singh Ministry.
2. Suspension of officers involved in all these excesses.
3. Prosecution of officers and leaders who terrorised the people in violation of the letter and spirit of the Law and the Constitution.

4. Facilities for early construction of *Ram-Janma-Mandir* at *Ram-Janmasthan* to defuse the tension and redeem National Honour.

At this Historic Moment in the Life of the Nation, the BJP

1. Congratulates the country on the successful *Kar-Seva* on 30 October;
2. Felicitates the millions whose devotion and dedication to Ram made *Ram Rath Yatra* an unforgettable experience, *Ram-Janma-Mandir* an irresistible movement and *Ram Rajya* a compelling goal;
3. Thanks the gallant people of UP who suffered many inconveniences at the hands of the Government but who helped *Kar-Sevaks* with food, lodging, medicines and conveyance and enabled them to proceed to Ayodhya;
4. Compliments the Press, particularly the regional language Press, which gave honest news and suffered for it in the glorious tradition of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Dr. Annie Besant and BG Horniman;
5. Salutes the lakhs of *Kar-Sevaks* who travelled long distances and suffered countless inconveniences but stormed the Iron Curtains raised around the State and around Ayodhya to reach the *Janmasthan*;
6. Bows its head in tearful homage to the sacred memory of the Martyrs of Ayodhya; and
7. Holds that a non-official Inquiry Commission comprising eminent citizens, jurists, journalists etc. should be set up to conduct an early inquiry into the excesses committed during the Ayodhya movement culminating in the mass murder of 2 November.

The blood of the *Ram-Bhaktas* shall not go in vain. And the BJP rededicates itself to the sacred task of re-building the *Ram Janma Mandir* at *Ram-Janmasthan* and initiating the movement for the establishment of *Ram Rajya*.

In conclusion, we would like to advise our Muslim brethren once again to come out of their isolation and join the national mainstream. Let them find security and honour in peace with Hindus and not in the murderous muskets of Mulayam Singh. □

National Executive

Udaipur

3-5 March, 1989

B. Political Situation

PM's Incompetence Exposed

Four years of Rajiv Gandhi's misrule have thrown the country into the vortex of an unprecedented political crisis. Never before in the history of independent India, has the nation been made to face a multi-dimensional crisis of such magnitude. It is a crisis engulfing all walks of our national life, political, economic, moral and cultural. The people today are convinced that the country would not be able to tide over this crisis under the leadership of this highly incompetent Prime Minister.

Mr. Gandhi's Failure to Hold his Party Together

The Tamil Nadu election results have brought into sharp focus the steep electoral decline of the Congress (I) party under the stewardship of Mr. Gandhi. The results of the recent local bodies' elections in UP further confirm the rapid erosion of Mr. Gandhi's appeal even in his own home state in the Hindi heartland. That Mr. Gandhi has lost the grip over his party apparatus has been fully demonstrated by his inability to contain the revolt in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh legislature parties. The cascading effect of dissidence within the Congress (I) party has now percolated to almost all the states. The bungling in Bihar by the Congress (I) high command has triggered off a chain reaction of instability in the states of Gujarat and Rajasthan. People are now asking, if Mr. Gandhi cannot hold his party together how can he hold the country?

The Churhat Lottery Scandal

The judicial verdict of the Madhya Pradesh High Court on a petition regarding the Churhat Lottery Scandal filed by BJP's Kailash Joshi has clearly established that the MP Government had been shamelessly patronising and promoting a fraudulent lottery connected with the Chief Minister. It was a case where Chief Minister Arjun Singh was found involved neck-deep in corruption. Instead of punishing the guilty, attempts are now afoot to save the corrupt by instituting a wishy-washy enquiry. No useful purpose would be served by this enquiry unless its terms of reference specifically require the investigation of the acts of omission and commission of those who had misused their power and position (a) in granting registration to the Churhat Children's Welfare Society and issuing licence to it for running the lottery, and (b) in granting tax relief to the Lottery and committing other irregularities under the law.

Rajiv Gandhi's Involvement in Shady Deals

Mr. Gandhi began his tenure with pompous declarations about rooting out corruption. He is ending it this year with his own reputation besmirched by a series of scandals like Bofors, HDW submarines, Westland helicopters etc. He has even started rehabilitating partymen like Mr. Antulay earlier discredited because of corruption charges.

Lokpal Bill Withdrawn

His volte face on the issue of corruption and clean politics was dramatically highlighted some months back when his Government announced that it was withdrawing the Lokpal Bill which it had introduced with great fanfare in 1985 with the avowed objective of curbing Ministerial corruption in the Central Government.

PM's Disregard for the Constitution

The continued neglect by Mr. Gandhi of even the legitimate demands of the state governments shows his utter disregard towards the Constitution of the country. The BJP has long been advocating that the powers, functions, resources, tenure etc. of local bodies, including Panchayats, be given constitutional recognition. But the pronouncements made by the Prime Minister

lately in respect of Panchayati Raj arouse apprehensions about the real intentions of the Government. Instead of going in for decentralisation of power by implementing the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission in regard to enlargement of the financial base of the state governments, Mr. Gandhi is now interfering directly in the district administration. The danger is that in the name of restructuring the powers and functions of Panchayati Raj institutions, he is trying to administer the villages directly from Delhi, thus bypassing the state governments completely. This is total subversion of the concept of democratic decentralisation. Persistent denial of statehood to Delhi despite the longstanding popular demand provides a classic example of Mr. Gandhi's overall attitude to democracy and decentralisation of power. In respect of the people of Delhi, what is even more outrageous is the denial to the people of Delhi of their right even to hold regular elections.

Proposed Electoral Reforms Disappointing

It may be recalled that the Prime Minister had declared that his Government would introduce a comprehensive bill on electoral reforms which would make the Election Commission's recommendations seem 'Chicken feed'. Anybody who goes through the long list of proposals forwarded by the Commission and the provisions of the latest amendments to the election law would realise that it is Mr. Gandhi's proposals that are 'chicken feed'. Nothing has been done to contain the rapidly growing influence of money power in the electoral process. Recommendations for the issuance of multipurpose identity cards to the voters and state funding of elections have not been even touched. Mr. Gandhi is not interested in a multi-member election commission nor is he willing to concede to it the independent infrastructure which the Commission itself has been demanding. Democracy can only be sustained through a flaw-free election law. The Prime Minister is deliberately avoiding to have such a law because his party has developed a vested interest in the lacunae and shortcomings of the present electoral arrangement.

Abject Surrender to Communal Fanaticism

The recent riots in Srinagar and Bombay show the depth to which the communal virus has penetrated. Rushdie's book was banned by the Government immediately after its publication and there was not even an excuse for any one to arouse passions over this issue. While the Government was very prompt in banning the book, it has kept mum on Khomeini's call to kill the author. Such a silence on the part of Mr. Gandhi is yet another example of his abject surrender to communal fanaticism. Here is a Government which fights shy of condemning this onslaught on human rights and state sponsored terrorism.

Communists Backing Congress (I)

The Communists, by their silence on such a vital matter, have bracketed themselves with the Congress (I), in their compromise with fundamentalism. In fact, looking to their past record, Communists have always opposed the consolidation of nationalist democratic forces and have actively supported fissiparous and communal elements. Moreover, a close observation of their activities and statements reveals that they have always been undermining the nation's morale and national defence, they have worked against the interests of the peasantry, and today we are witnessing their fury against the new dawn of humanism all over the world. Their periodic outbursts can be easily understood in this background.

Nexus Confirmed

The exclusion of leftist parties by the Prime Minister, while attacking the Opposition in Parliament, and Namboodiripad's tirade against the BJP clearly establish the nexus between the two which is further confirmed by the voting pattern of CPI (M) members in UP Corporations. When the people are preparing themselves to throw

out the corrupt and worthless Rajiv Government at the earliest opportunity at the hustings, Communists are playing a devious game by keeping the democratic Opposition divided and thus trying to ensure Rajiv's continuation.

The country today is restlessly wanting to bring about a total change in the Government at New Delhi. The BJP reiterates its resolve to continue its struggle for fulfilling the people's aspirations by intensifying its grass root activities. □

National Executive

Udaipur

3-5 March, 1989

Bhopal 'Sell Out'

The entire world has been shocked and surprised at the Indian Congress Government surrendering before multinational Union Carbide and allowing them to go scot-free from criminal liability of killing 3,500 persons and disabling lakhs of people by poisonous gas leakage. All were expecting that India would take a principled and bold stand to prevent powerful multinational companies from exploiting poverty of third world for experimenting and manufacturing such poisonous chemicals which they are not doing in their own developed countries for the safety of their people. Indian Government has all through adopted a soft anti-people line and callous attitude towards this disaster underplaying its magnitude and severity. This disaster should have been an eye-opener and had the potential of conferring the rights to Information to the people as well as establishing a monument in the memory of the victims and a research centre to avert such calamities in future.

Bhopal Gas tragedy victims have been let down by the Union Government's surrender and sell out before the multinational Union Carbide by compounding all past, present, future offences and compensations for a meagre amount of Rs. 715 crores. The Congress(I) Government had allowed installation of this poisonous industry in the city. When Janata Party formed Government, it directed its shifting outside the city, but on change of government Arjun Singh and other Congressmen took heavy donations, and revoked Janata Party decision. Two earlier tragedies were highlighted by BJP in State Legislature, but Congress Government, in spite of assurance did not take any action against it. Ultimately the criminal negligence resulted in the worst industrial disaster of the world on 3rd December, 1984 night. About 3,500 died overnight due to poisonous gas leakage and lakhs were injured mostly becoming permanently handicapped.

Even now every day on an average one person is dying due to the after-effects of the poisonous gas. After such a disaster, for criminal offence, when Anderson was arrested in Bhopal, the Central Government pressurised, and got him released otherwise the multinational company would have immediately paid compensation

at the American law standard for loss of human life and limbs, which is minimum not less than 10 lakhs and goes upto crores for one person.

The Union Government claimed 4,000 crores rupees before the American Court and the Union Carbide was prepared to pay 600 crores even at that time, in addition to another huge amount of 400 crores, which they wanted to spend on medical treatment and rehabilitation. Even when the Prime Minister met the representatives of Madhya Pradesh in November, 1988, he assured that out of court settlement should not be less than 1,000 to 1,500 crores and that too after consulting the victims representatives. In 1987, similar offer was rejected by demonstrators at Boat Club, Delhi.

The interim compensation of 350 crores was allowed by District Judge, Bhopal and when the High Court reduced it to 250 crores the Gas tragedy victims and State filed appeal in Supreme Court.

The world was shocked to hear suddenly that in interim order appeal, the Union of India compromised for only Rs. 715 crores and that too granting amnesty to Anderson, Robert Kennedy and all or present, past and future grave offences and civil liabilities. The BJP National Executive expresses its deep sense of anguish and concern over this 'sell out' and 'surrender', and demands its review and reopening ensuring minimum actual payment of Rs. 10 lakhs to families of each dead and minimum 2 lakhs to permanently disabled and reasonable compensation to all other victims for cattle and other losses.

The Executive notes with concern that the action plan of Rs. 371 crores of Madhya Pradesh Government for victims' rehabilitation is being curtailed drastically by Central Government by Rs. 115 crores and further there is effort to adjust it in the above amount of Rs. 715 crores. The amount spent by Red Cross Rs. 5 crores, Madhya Pradesh Government's expenditure of Rs. 169 crores and other are sought to be adjusted leaving only Rs. 162.4 crores. The BJP demands that Rs. 715 crores should be exclusively paid to victims and no adjustments or deductions should be made.

Since the Bhopal Gas Leak Disaster (processing of claims) Act, 1985 fails to provide the principles, criteria, or guidelines for determination of quantum of compensation to victims, and so far the Central Government has not formulated any scheme and guidelines for determination of compensation it should provide now.

The BJP demands that immediate adjudication be made to lakhs of claims. Effort should also be made to pay the compensation directly, without exploitation by brokers and in case of widows and minors, fixed deposits of substantial portion be made in their accounts in banks.

While condemning the settlement which has been obviously made by Congress (I) by bargaining with multinationals like Bofors Kickbacks, at the cost of the poor victims, the BJP National Executive calls all nationalist forces to mobilise public opinion for prohibitive, punitive and preventive actions for such worst disasters and tragedies, and for opposing this 'Sell out'.

NK Singh's Commission appointed by the State Government for finding out causes and suggesting remedies and also the conduct of Shri Arjun Singh, was dropped to shield Arjun Singh and others, on the false plea that Dr. Varadarajan Committee has been appointed. But the terms of reference of the two were absolutely different. The BJP Executive demands revival of such Commission for fixing the responsibility. It also demands that Anderson and eight others who were challaned on 2-12-1987 for offences under Sections 304, 326, 429 and 324 IPC must be punished and jailed after trial. The offences of 304, 326 and 429 are non-compoundable and the compromise and compounding in Supreme Court is wholly unconstitutional. The State Government officers and the Central Government officers, responsible for this criminal negligence, should be prosecuted and punished.

The abnormal delay in not making payment of compensation, the determination process having not yet started, is shameful and causing great hardship to victims. The Executive demands that pending final determination the Commissioner should pay interim compensation @ Rs. 2 lakhs in case of deaths and Rs. 50 thousand for permanent disabilities and Rs. 10 thousand for other injuries, on

ad hoc basis forthwith. The USSR Government paid all compensation within one year for Chernobyl disaster. In Motor Vehicles Act also, interim compensation is paid immediately statutorily and there is no reason to make any further delay.

The Executive condemns the Congress Government's surrender and assures the victims that BJP would stand by them in their struggle for getting real justice and do all sacrifices for it.

The Congress Government, scared by Bofors exposure smashing image of its Prime Minister Rajiv, has made camouflage by involving highest court, and the Executive regrets that Supreme Court has been made scapegoat. The Executive appeals to people not to fall in Congress mischievous trap to earn people's annoyance and which are against Government, to Judiciary-but to know the real people's enemy Congress, who have re-enacted Bofors. It also urges Judiciary to see this Congress game, and act with restraint and dignity, by utilising Rs. 715 crores for interim compensation, and not to allow its withdrawal, if this judgement is reopened and revoked as hinted by one hon'ble Judge while withdrawing himself.

The Executive is deeply concerned by the reactions of Supreme Court hinted at the time of withdrawal of Venkataramaiah, and appeals to people as well as Judiciary, not to fall in Congress trap of making Judiciary a scapegoat for covering up' and 'camouflaging' its international betrayal of taking kickbacks from multinational Union Carbide. The Judiciary should not be disrespected and the indirect Congress effort to degenerate and destabilise it by this trickery should be resisted by people.

□

National Executive

Palampur

9-11 June, 1989

A. Panchayati Raj

Leadership without Scruples

'Panchayati Raj' furnishes a singular example of how an unexceptionable subject can be misappropriated and sought to be exploited for narrow partisan ends by a leadership without scruples. That the issue is in the process badly distorted is of little concern to it. This is not surprising. For one thing, catapulted to power by a tragic sympathy wave, Shri Rajiv Gandhi's tenure has been a series of unending hops from scandal to scandal. As such, he is understandably anxious to clutch at every possible straw in this election year. With his credibility at the lowest ebb, what is surprising is the confidence he reflects in his capacity to befool the people.

Delhi Denied an Elected Civic Body

The BJP does not have to remind anyone that it is none other than Shri Rajiv Gandhi who for the third consecutive year has denied even the people of the capital their right to elect their civic body. His tall talk of "ensuring democracy in urban local bodies", therefore, sounds utterly hypocritical. He has forgotten his repeated promises to hold elections even within his own party. Over the years, he has reduced the elected Chief Ministers to the level of errand boys, and turned Congress legislative parties into bodies of bonded serfs. His sudden awakening to the virtues of regular elections can deceive no one.

No Gram Swaraj during Congress Regime

The BJP regrets to note, however, that the way Mr. Gandhi is going about the task of "giving power to the people" and the manner in which he is trying to grab all credit for it, have the making of something which has been described as "conceived in malice and executed in deceit". Before terming those who do not join the chorus of his sycophancy as "supporters of power brokers", he would have done well to explain what his party had done to implement

Gandhiji's dream of Gram Swaraj during the last four decades and why corporations and other civic bodies have remained superseded for as long as 18 years.

Strengthening of Local Institutions

The BJP takes pride in the fact that the need to give local institutions like Panchayats, Janapad Sabhas, Zila Parishads and Nagarpalikas a place of honour in the Constitution was recognised since the very beginning in the tradition inherited by the Party. It was asserted right at the first plenary session of the Jana Sangh (1952) in Kanpur' in its representation to the States Reorganization Commission (1957), and in its election manifesto (1957). Its Ambala session (1968) underlined the importance of demarcating their role and resources in the Constitution, holding their elections, and the supervision of the Election Commission, making them the base of our development programmes, and amending the rules and regulations to protect them against undue interference as well as arbitrary supersessions and nomination by state governments. Not to speak of the present Prime Minister, who was a toddler at that time, his grandfather Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a public meeting, is on record having observed at Barabanki (1957) to the effect that the Jana Sangh did not "understand democracy: if the rural people are given such sweeping rights, the Centre will become weak and the country will break up." It was because of that fear and the concomitant craze for centralizing all authority at the top that though Panchayati Raj was formally launched in 1959, it was virtually denied the opportunity to find its own feet. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has admitted that lots of corporations remained suspended at a stretch for 15 or 16 years (Bhagalpur topping the list with 18 years) and three-fourths of them were in Congress ruled states, but failed to appreciate that the Opposition run states had given more substantial powers to Panchayati Raj institutions and have been by and large holding regular elections.

No effort has currently been made to assess the earlier experience as to why the Panchayati Raj failed to take off in the past. Also, how can the Panchayati Raj institutions be saved from the evils which plague our political system?

Local Bodies to be Provided Adequate Finances

Most importantly, the bane of Panchayat institutions has been the absence of assured resources in consonance with the tasks entrusted to them. The BJP holds, therefore, that there should be a constitutional guarantee of resources to local bodies in the form of a 4th list in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. What is being provided is too little and too late while too much credit is being claimed for it. The guarantee is necessary to invest the PRI's with the necessary dignity so that they become effective and responsible basic units of our democratic structure and fulfil the dream of visionaries like Mahatma Gandhi, Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narayan, Dr. Lohia and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay. The struggle to realise that ideal will have to be continued till its fulfillment.

B. Ramjanma Bhoomi

No Regard for Hindu Sentiments

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party regards the current debate on the Ramjanma Bhoomi issue as one which has dramatically highlighted the callous unconcern which the Congress Party in particular, and the other political parties in general, betray towards the sentiments of the overwhelming majority in this country – the Hindus.

According to all available records, the Moghul Emperor Babar visited Ayodhya in 1528, destroyed the Temple situated at the site believed to be *Ram Janmasthan*, and constructed a mosque in its place. Ever since, Hindus have been longing to see the resuscitation of the temple at the site which they hold as extremely sacred. During the 1857 war of Independence, the Muslims responding to the sentiments of the Hindus had accepted their claim over the *Ram Janmasthan*,

but the vile British, in pursuance of their policy of divide and rule, scuttled the settlement. Though efforts have been continuing to persuade Muslims to respect the feelings of Hindus and abandon their claim to the site, this site has also been a subject matter of prolonged litigation.

Slanderous Propaganda

Lately, the Congress Government has unleashed a virulent campaign against the BJP and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, which has been representing the Hindu point of view in the negotiations with the Government, alleging that while other sections of opinion have accepted reference of the dispute to the Allahabad High Court, the BJP and the VHP are unwilling to abide by a judicial verdict in this case. This propaganda is slanderous, and is based on a total misrepresentation of facts.

Court of Law's Inability to Solve this Problem

The BJP holds that the nature of this controversy is such that it just cannot be sorted out by a court of law. A court of law can settle issues of title, trespass, possession etc. But it cannot adjudicate as to whether Babar did actually invade Ayodhya, destroyed a temple and built a mosque in its place. Even where a court does pronounce on such facts, it cannot suggest remedies to undo the vandalism of history. As far back as 1886, a British Judge Col. FEA Chamier, disposing of a civil appeal relating to the site, observed in a helpless vein:

“It is most unfortunate that a Masjid should have been built on land specially held sacred by the Hindus, but as that occurred 356 years ago, it is too late to remedy the grievance...”

(Dated 18th March, 1886 Civil Appeal No. 27 of 1885, District Court, Faizabad).

In this context, it should not be forgotten that the present turmoil itself stems from two court decisions, one of 1951 and the second of 1986.

On March 3, 1951, in Gopal Singh Visharad versus Zahur Ahmad and others, the Civil Judge, Faizabad observed, *inter alia*:

“...at least from 1936 onwards, the Muslims have neither used the site as a mosque nor offered prayers there, and that the Hindus

have been performing their Pooja etc. on the disputed site.”

Then, on 1 February, 1986, District Judge Faizabad referred to this 1951 order and directed that as “for the last 35 years Hindus have (had) an unrestricted right of worship” at the place, the locks put on two gates in 1951 on grounds of law and order should be removed. (Civil Appeal No. 6/1986).

Example of Somnath Temple

The 1951 order had provoked little reaction. Till then, secularism had not yet become a euphemism for Hindu baiting, as it has become today. It is noteworthy that around this very time, the Government of India, under the leadership of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, and with the blessings of Gandhiji, had itself decided to undo a similar act of vandalism, and to restore the great Somnath temple at Prabhas Patan (Gujarat).

When the Archaeological Department suggested that the site be declared a protected monument (these days a similar suggestion is being canvassed in respect of *Rama Janmabhoomi* also), Home Minister Sardar Patel put it on record in the official files:

“The Hindu sentiment in regard to this temple is both strong and widespread. In the present conditions it is unlikely that sentiment will be satisfied by mere restoration of the temple, or by prolonging its life. The restoration of the idol would be a point of honour and sentiment with the Hindu public.”

When the *Jyotirling* was formally installed at Somnath, the country’s Rashtrapati, Dr. Rajendra Prasad participated in the ceremony.

Minority Appeasement

However, by the time the second court order of 1986 came, secularism had come to be equated with an allergy to Hinduism, and a synonym for minority appeasement. The Muslim League lobby in the country had acquired a new militancy and aggressiveness. The campaign launched by this lobby against the Supreme Court’s judgement in the Shah Bano Case in 1985 had brought it rich dividends. A panic-stricken Government had amended the criminal law; the Supreme Court judgement was legislatively annulled. Having thus tasted blood, this lobby set up the Babri Masjid Action Committee, and mounted a vicious assault on the decisions of the

Faizabad Court, and went to the length of boycotting Republic Day celebrations in protest against these orders. A rally organized by this lobby in front of Parliament House actually held out threats of violence unless these orders were reversed. It is significant that most of the members of the Babri Masjid Action Committee belonged to the Congress (I).

Against the above background, the reference made to the High Court is just an expedient device to sweep the issues beneath the carpet. The move satisfied the Muslim League lobby, and so is electorally convenient. It certainly does not reveal any earnest desire on the part of the Government to solve the problem.

Theocracy Alien to Our Tradition

The BJP believes that theocracy is alien to our history and tradition. It is, therefore, that in 1947, even though India was partitioned on religious grounds and even though Pakistan had declared itself an Islamic state, India opted for the present Constitution, and guaranteed equality to all citizens irrespective of their religion.

Secularism, according to our Constitution-makers, meant *Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava*. It did not connote an irreligious state. It certainly did not mean the rejection of our history and cultural heritage.

Shia Leaders' Positive Approach

The National Executive records its appreciation of the attempts made by some Shia leaders to persuade the community that it was contrary to the tenets of Islam to have a mosque built upon a place of worship of another religion, and that, therefore, the site in dispute should be handed over to the Hindus and a mosque built at some other suitable place.

The Bharatiya Janata Party calls upon the Rajiv Government to adopt the same positive approach in respect of Ayodhya that the Nehru Government did with regard to Somnath. The sentiments of the people must be respected, and *Ram Janmasthan* handed over to the Hindus – if possible, through a negotiated settlement or else, by legislation. Litigation certainly is no answer. □

National Executive

New Delhi

01-02 December, 1989

A. Situation in Kashmir

Callapse of Law and Order

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Paraty expresses its grave concern at the serious aggravation of anti-India activities resulting in the virtual collapse of law and order in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. For all practical purposes, terrorists hold peaceful citizens to ransom and the infiltration of armed Pak saboteurs goes on unhindered and members of the minority communities live in perpetual fear of life and honour, reducing the 'Paradise on Earth' to a virtual picture of hell. The recent elections in the districts of Anantnag and Baramulla have been a cruel farce eloquently symbolised by a colour TV placed in a deserted bazaar as a prize for the person who would dare to cast the first vote. The state Government's smug satisfaction in accepting a less than two per cent vote as a model exercise of franchise is nothing but ostrich-like complacency.

Pak Agents Ruling the Roost in the Valley

It is perhaps the queerest offshoot of Congress (I)'s perverse secularism that Nelson's eye is turned toward all types of crimes in Kashmir for the simple reason that the victims happen to be Hindus. Desecration and destruction of more than 50 temples with large scale burning and looting of houses and business establishments in the Valley in February, 1986, did not disturb the sleep of our pseudo-secularists of Rajiv Gandhi. GM Shah gave a parting kick in the form of a declaration that all Kashmiris were Pakistanis. The record of the Congress (I)-National Conference coalition is only slightly better unless the high flown rhetoric of Farooq Abdullah is considered enough to make up for the brazenness with which Pak agents are indulging in sabotage and challenging India's integrity. Hoisting of Pakistani flags on 14 August and the burning of the tri-colour in the presence of Police on the last Independence Day, widespread rioting on the arrest of Pakistani saboteur Shabbir Shah, cold-blooded

murders of the BJP State Vice-President Tikka Lal Taploo, former sessions judge, Neel Kanth Ganjoo, preceded by those of National Conference workers like Halwai, are further portents of danger. The impunity with which foreign agents raise pro-Pakistan slogans, attack security forces and terrorise people into 'Bandhs' paralysing normal life in this sensitive part of the country are alarm bells which only an utterly blind and totally impotent Government could ignore. Farooq's prescription for this painful situation was, interestingly enough, only a gag on the Press.

Corrupt and Unresponsive State Government

The National Executive is aware that a singularly corrupt and unresponsive state government over the years has been an important cause of disaffection among the people of the Valley and other regions. Denial of these usual democratic outlets for grievances in the form of free and fair elections (except in 1977) has added to the common man's grouse.

Deteriorating Situation in Jammu and Ladakh

The situation in other parts of the state too is fast deteriorating. In Kishtwar, Swami Raj Gupta, Vice-President of Mandal BJP was beaten to death by the police on Diwali eve for the crime of asking them to allow shopkeepers – already permitted by the authorities – to open during curfew hours. Simmering discontent caused virtual turmoil in the peaceful Ladakh also recently. Persistent discrimination against the Jammu and Ladakh regions of the state is at the root of the demands for autonomy or separation from Kashmir.

Urgent Need for President's Rule in J & K

All these facts add up to a scenario which calls for immediate action. Shri Rajiv Gandhi could not have left a worse gift for his successor than a Kashmir in shambles, nor can the new Government have a better opportunity to exhibit its capacity to come to grips with the challenges ahead. The National Executive makes the following demands of the Central Government, therefore, in view of the unmistakable breakdown of law and order and a grave threat to the security and unity of the country in the state:

1. Jammu and Kashmir be immediately brought under President's rule.

2. Effective steps be taken to check infiltration and arms trafficking across the border.
3. Pakistani agents as well as their harbourers be weeded out and brought to book.
4. Steps be initiated to set up Regional Councils in the three regions of the state so that complaints of imbalance and discrimination can be rectified and public welfare promoted.

The Bharatiya Janata Party pledges its full support to the Government in measures to achieve these objectives.

□

National Executive

Ernakulam

01 January, 1988

A. Political Situation

Grim Political Situation

The National Executive of the BJP discerns a disturbing resemblance between the political situation prevailing in the country in 1975 just before the promulgation of the Emergency and the situation that obtains today.

In 1971, the Congress (I) had won a massive mandate on the basis of its *gharibi hatao* promise. High hopes had been aroused. By 1974, the hopes had been dashed to the ground. Popular discontentment kept erupting in the form of strikes, agitation etc. When in 1975, the Prime Minister herself was indicted by the Allahabad High Court of electoral corruption, public anger against the establishment touched a peak.

Deep Disillusionment

In 1985, the Rajiv Government also was returned to Parliament with a record majority. And if his first year in office was a year of euphoria, his third one, just over, has been one of deep disillusionment and intense anger.

Stinking Scandals

Indeed, the year 1987 will be remembered by posterity principally for two things. First, this was the year of the worst drought of the century. Secondly, during this year, a series of stinking scandals surfaced and forced the country's Prime Minister to stand up in Parliament and declare that neither he nor his family had received any graft money, and yet, the man in the street remained unconvinced by the declaration.

Government's Loss of Credibility

The credibility of the Rajiv Government today is zero, and the Prime Minister knows it. Apart from some tiny territories in the east, the Congress (I) has been rejected in every state where elections have

been held after the General Elections of 1985. The fear that it will be thrown out, lock, stock and barrel in Delhi also, has led the ruling party to postpone elections in the Capital.

The Fairfax affair is a classic example of the devious ways in which the Rajiv Government goes out of its way to shield criminals instead of bringing them to book. The core issue in this episode has been: who are the economic offenders who have stashed away crores in foreign banks and, whether a foreign investigating agency should have been hired to trace these criminals or not is a minor, marginal issue. The Government has sought to make this the principal issue and now wishes to prosecute not those who have been looting the country left and right but those very upright officials who, at the instance of their minister, had been vigorously exerting to track down the criminals.

Scuttling Investigation

In the case of Bofors, the Government seems to have succeeded in scuttling the entire investigation by entrusting the task to a committee robbed of effective powers and headed by an individual who was himself a member of the Government when the deal was struck with the notorious Swedish company. Meanwhile the inquiry into the HDW Submarine deal ordered by the former Defence Minister has been quietly killed.

Wasteful Expenditure

The contempt Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi betrays for public sensibilities is appalling. Of course, he himself has been talking about the terrible drought in the country and the need to curb wasteful expenditure. And yet, he sees nothing wrong in spending crores on a weekend cabinet meeting in a tiger sanctuary, or a ten-day holiday in a deserted island where everything, from drinking water to wireless sets, has to be transported from the mainland several hundred kilometres away.

Assault on Indian Express

When the Allahabad High Court indicted Mrs. Gandhi for electoral corruption, she reacted angrily – against the Opposition and against the Press. Rajiv Gandhi's reaction to the corruption charges levelled against him in the people's court is not much different. He

has been lashing out intemperately against Opposition parties and also against the Chief Ministers belonging to the Opposition parties. The calculated assault mounted on the *Indian Express* was intended not only to silence the *Indian Express* which has been crusading against corruption in high places, but also to warn the Press as a whole that critics of the Establishment had better beware.

No Qualms about Emergency

Shortly after he had assumed office, Rajiv Gandhi justified imposition of the Emergency in 1975, and threatened to impose it again if need be. In principle, therefore, he has no qualms about inflicting on the country a second such nightmare. There are, however, in this context, two significant differences between 1975 and 1987, and these impose severe limits on any similar course of action. First, the Constitution has been amended and an Emergency cannot be imposed on grounds of 'internal disturbance' as was the position in 1975. More importantly, twelve states are in the hands of non-Congress Governments. It will be nigh impossible to implement an Emergency unless these Governments are first removed. Against this background, the Prime Minister's threats to dismiss State Governments whom his Home Ministry certifies as 'anti-national' sound extremely ominous.

Chaos all over the Country

It is true that the Congress (I) was elected for five years. But that victory was more of an accident than a rational judgement by the electorate. He was 'Mr. Clean' then; today he has mud all over his face from Bofors and Fairfax. He said he would solve the Punjab problem and bring peace to that embattled state. But the situation in that state is far worse than it was when he assumed the country's stewardship. Murder and mayhem continued to stalk the state, and

killings show no sign of abatement. The demand for Khalistan has no general support, but at the same time, it can no longer be dismissed as a slogan. Only the other day, a congregation convened by the United Akali Dal, the larger segment of the Akali Dal, felt bold to pass a resolution demanding Khalistan. Darjeeling also has been going through a bloodbath and secessionists are having a field day. When one takes into account the large number of innocent lives lost in the recurring communal riots in Gujarat and UP and caste riots in Bihar, one would easily conclude that more people have fallen victim to senseless violence in these three years than in any corresponding period since Independence. This Government has brought ruin and devastation to this fair land of ours and the longer it stays in power the nearer the nation will be brought to the brink of a holocaust.

Fresh Mandate to be Sought by Government

There is need for all democrats, therefore, to remain vigilant about the designs of this Government. The BJP, on its part, will intensify the efforts to mobilise public opinion against the Government's failures and misdeeds, build up *Lok Shakti* against its *Raj Shakti*, and press for its resignation, and a mid-term poll. While it will welcome the support of other democratic parties in this effort, it will continue to expose the devious and anti-national role of the two Communist Parties. These parties have formally supported the demand of other Opposition Parties that the Rajiv Government must seek a fresh mandate. But when this Government faced a real crisis four months back at the time of the Presidential poll and could have been forced to resign, the two Communist Parties "at the behest of their foreign masters," rushed to Rajiv's rescue and bailed him out of the crisis. In the course of this sustained campaign of political education in the BJP's offensive the strategy will thus be two-pronged—firstly, against the Congress (I) misrule and secondly, against the Communist Parties, deviousness and extra-territorial loyalties.

B. Political Situation

Drift into Disaster

The Bharatiya Janata Party notes with dismay the country's drift into disaster under the leadership of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Although the Government has more than enough forces in the Punjab, it has failed to restore law and order in the state. Indeed, of late, there has been a calamitous collapse of authority. It would seem that this Government has neither the will nor the capacity to restore order and re-establish normalcy.

At the same time, in the name of the Punjab situation, it has rushed the fifty-ninth amendment through the Parliament. The only effect of this amendment would be to enable the Government to acquire emergency powers through the back door, in all the states—all in the name of the Punjab crisis.

Misadventure in Sri Lanka

Its mishandling of the Sri Lanka situation is costing us blood and treasure that is going to shock the country. At the same time, it has cost us the goodwill of the Sinhalese and the Tamils alike. Meanwhile, developments in Batticaloa, under the very nose of the IPKF, threaten to give a new and dangerous communal turn to Sri Lanka politics. As a result, we have a potential Lebanon on our hands in Sri Lanka.

Threat to the Constitution

The Prime Minister has threatened the non-Congress Chief Ministers with dismissal on grounds of 'anti-nationalism'. He has addressed district officers in the states over the head of Chief Ministers. He has imposed governors on non-Congress states, without so much as consulting state Governments. The behaviour of some of the governors as blatant agents of the Congress Party has shocked these states and rocked even the Parliament. The PM has staged midnight coups even in Congress-ruled states. By all these misdemeanours, he has violated our Federal system both in letter and in spirit. The Constitution of India is not safe in his irresponsible hands.

Weakening of Institutions

The Parliament, the Judiciary and the Press are the three watchdogs of the people. The PM has weakened all these institutions. He neglects the Parliament by his absence. He and his colleagues in

the Rajya Sabha brought the Vice-President to tears by their conduct, and caused him to offer to resign from his office. The judicial system has been so pummelled that there was an unprecedented strike right up to the Supreme Court Bar level. The Press was so blatantly harassed, for example, in the case of the *Indian Express*, that even the Press Council of India was constrained to censure the Government.

All these things of omission and commission of the Government have brought the country to the brink of disaster. The Government's connivance at the mob violence of November, 1984 created apprehensions about the unity and integrity of the country, and thus made the people vote for it. It aids and abets communalism and separatism to divert public attention from the issue of corruption in high places, to that of communalism in low places. The country waits with trepidation to see as to what dirty trick it will stage next to swing yet another election. We will not be surprised if it first allows widespread lawlessness to spread, and then crushes it with a heavy hand to show how brave it is—or even creates a crisis-situation to exploit patriotic feelings—just to steal another election.

Mr. Clean Turning Mr. Disaster

We are extremely sorry to say that the PM who had been touted as 'Mister Clean' by clever PR men, has now emerged in his true colours as 'Mister Disaster'. He is giving the country a scandal a day. The country is being ruled today by faceless men with multiple mysterious foreign links. He has forfeited the confidence of the country. The people are yearning to demonstrate their loss in his Government at the earliest opportunity. The BJP is pledged to carry on a relentless campaign against the mounting tally of this Government's sins in a manner so as to ensure that whenever the opportunity comes, the ballot box reflects the people's anger a *la* Haryana. To this end, the BJP will continue to cooperate with other nationalist and democratic forces.

□

National Executive

Jamshedpur

01-03 July, 1988

Bofors Scandal

No Amount of Jugglery Can Hide the Truth

The latest revelations on the continuing Bofors issue, and the Prime Minister's reactions to them, are part of a year long attempt at suppressing the greatest arms scandal since Independence. The Prime Minister's reaction to these documents is pointless, in fact ridiculous. He has said that these reports confirm that no politician is involved in this pay-off, that these revelations 'corroborate' the findings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and that as these were possibly part of the Swedish Public Prosecutor's investigations, they must be believed. It does not strike him as odd that nevertheless the Government has asked the CBI, to investigate something which, going by his remarks, required no further examination. The CBI in turn, without charging any one, has advised the Government about further action to be taken. It is strange, to say the least, that the CBI has now become a body for advising the Government on executive action of all kinds.

PM only a Tool in the Hands of Arms Peddlers

The BJP holds that unless answers relating to this scandal are provided satisfactorily, the moral climate in the country will continue to deteriorate. It is no longer a question of the political fortunes or misfortunes of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The present Prime Minister has become an abject tool in the hands of international arms-producers and peddlers. The country cannot permit such a situation. The BJP, therefore, demands that this continuing scandal be cleared once and for all. This will not be possible until all aspects of it are answered satisfactorily. A series of questions arise in this context.

A Series of Unanswered Questions

The country would like to know why our Prime Minister, when in knowledge of facts to the contrary, wilfully and knowingly continued to assert, after April 24, 1987, that 'no payments' had been

made. Why, thereafter, did his Government allow Mr. Win Chadha to leave the country? Why, again, did the Government blunt its negotiating leverage with Bofors AB by announcing through the mouth of the Prime Minister, despite written advice to the contrary from the Ministry of Defence, that the contract with the Bofors cannot be cancelled as it would affect the country's security? Why did the Prime Minister in July, 1987, yet again overrule the Defence Ministry that Bofors Officials, already summoned to India to give all facts, be advised not to come? Why did the Prime Minister state, on numerous occasions, and publicly, that 'no Indians were involved' in receiving payments, even before the JPC had submitted its report — a statement proved false by the latest revelations? Why did the Prime Minister demean the status of the high public office that he holds by obtaining certificates of character for himself, and others, e.g., Messrs Bachchan and Hindujas from Bofors, when in fact, our Ambassador in Stockholm had gone on record as saying that this Company had "misled us on so many occasions that we can no longer trust them?" Why did Prime Minister Gandhi and his Government not conclude necessary and suitable agreements, for one year and a half, with the Federal Government of Switzerland, so that all information about the bank accounts relating to these front companies could be officially obtained? As the JPC was a captive organ mouthing tutored versions, why did our Government not insist upon an examination by this Committee, of three principal witnesses and of two critical documents: first, Martin Ardbo, the key man in this entire deal, secondly, Ringberg, the Swedish Prosecutor about whose credentials belatedly our Prime Minister is now so impressed, and thirdly, Shri Bhupat Rai Ojha, our Ambassador in Stockholm during the critical period, and an official who was directly involved with all the post-scandal discussions with Bofors? Why, then, did our Government, or the JPC, not seek co-operation from Mr. Ringberg, or offer it to him? Indeed, Mr. Ringberg has gone to the extent of publicly stating that his requests for such co-operation met with no encouragement. Why did our Government and/or the JPC fail to examine the Minutes of the meeting held in Stockholm between April 20 to 22, in which Bofors first made an admission of 'Payment'? Why, again, did our Government not seek a copy of Ringberg's report about which our Prime Minister now so misleadingly and felicitously makes encouraging remarks? Is it then

correct that our Government suggested to the Swedish Government that their (Swedish) request, made to the Swiss Justice Ministry, about more details of the case be permitted to expire as a result of which Sweden, instead of providing more specific information as sought by the Swiss, inexplicably withdrew the request?

Reports of Investigating Agencies be Made Public

In the light of the latest revelations, the country would like to know the basis on which our Prime Minister has already concluded that no politician is involved and that the JPC's findings stand vindicated. Why did he prevaricate, in the face of irrefutable evidence, by launching unnecessary CBI enquireis? It is vital, therefore, that the Government of India immediately make public the earlier findings of the CBI and of the Enforcement Directorate on this issue as partially and unsatisfactorily made available to the JPC.

The BJP further makes the following demands:

1. A new Joint Parliamentary Committee, with a chairman from the ranks of the Opposition be constituted to find out the political connections of the Swiss Bank account beneficiaries exposed by the recent disclosures.
2. Public prosecution should be immediately initiated against the identified Indian parties – Messrs Chadha and Hindujas.
3. Immediate instructions be sent to our current Ambassador in Stockholm to make a formal request to the Government of Sweden to re-open the entire enquiry.
4. Request be made to the Federal Government of Switzerland for immediate divulging of full facts behind these bank accounts.

□

National Executive

Rohtak

17-19 April, 1987

A. Punjab Situation

Dictated by Extremist's Terms

The Punjab situation has belied all hopes of betterment and has taken a turn for the worse. Under the name of social and religious reforms, a violent campaign has been started by the extremists. Alcoholic vends, meat and cigarette shops and hair cutting saloons are being daily burnt and closed at gun-point. Practically all the shops dealing in these items have been closed in the countryside and in the outlying parts of the cities. The Punjab Finance Minister, who is also Excise Minister, has conceded that about 20 per cent of wine shops have been closed. The matter does not rest there. Extremists have ordered teachers and students to wear a certain type of dress. Even the ladies have not been spared; they have been asked to shun cosmetics and sarees. Marriage parties are not to exceed eleven. This pseudo-purism is a calculated move to demoralise the state administration further; already it is the extremists whose writ runs in the state. To give just one example, the meat-sellers do not go to the Administration to seek protection; they approach the extremists to allow them to ply their trade and offer them large donations in return.

Fresh Migration from the Countryside

The abject failure of the Government to face this challenge firmly has engulfed the state in fresh waves of uncertainty and fear. Not only have the shops of these traders been closed, people from the countryside have also started migrating afresh.

Terrorism and Lawlessness

Even all Party Rallies have not been able to bring relief to the state. Indeed, terrorism, lawlessness and secessionism have been growing all this time. How wide and deep the terrorist network has gone is evident from the fact that the time-bomb planted at the

New Delhi Railway Station would have done incalculable damage to life and property, if the timing device had not been disconnected within two minutes of its scheduled explosion.

The situation is too serious for any complacency. Khalistani slogans are being raised at large congregations under the pretext of 'Amrit Prachar' and anti-national and secessionist speeches are being delivered throughout the state. Anti-national Khalistani slogans are being openly raised by truckloads of people on the streets and from inside the Gurudwaras, and the Government feels helpless in the matter.

The Akali Party has lost control over all big Gurudwaras and it cannot hold any congregations there. On the other hand, extremists have secured control over these Gurudwaras, including the Golden Temple.

Punjab Problem a Challenge to National Integrity and Sovereignty

It is wrong to say that the Punjab problem is a purely political problem. It was a political problem till a few years back; today, it is not. It is not a simple law and order problem either. It is a challenge to the country's unity, integrity and sovereignty, and so must be met as such.

The BJP puts forward the following demands:

1. The Akali Government must go. The Barnala Government is incapable of dealing with the present situation. One reason for this is that not only the Administration but even the Ministry harbours elements who support or sympathise with the terrorists and secessionists. An urgent purge of all such elements is imperative. This cannot be done under an Akali Government. The present Government, therefore, must go.
2. New Delhi must accept full responsibility for the Punjab situation. It must implement without any further delay the Parliament's resolution in respect of a security belt along the border. The recent arms haul captured included a large number of highly sophisticated weapons with Arabic markings. The border, therefore, must be effectively sealed.
3. Army must be deployed wherever necessary. Wherever the

police and para-military forces prove inadequate to deal with the terrorist menace, there should be no hesitation in deploying the army.

4. Issues like the problem of Jodhpur prisoners should be dealt with expeditiously. Those who are innocent must be released; those charged with specific offences must be prosecuted; and those who are believed to have anti-national designs, may be detained under appropriate security laws. But the present policy of drift and indecision must end.
5. The Mishra Commission's report on the post-Mrs. Gandhi's assassination violence is an unabashed attempt to whitewash and cover up the sins of the ruling party. The BJP reiterates its demand that those responsible for that carnage be identified and punished. It was more than the President could stand. And so, on March 9, he wrote a formal letter to the Prime Minister, quoting chapter and verse, to point out, "the factual position is somewhat at variance with what has been stated by you." It was a polite way of saying that the Prime Minister had not only ignored him, he had also lied to the Parliament and the country. The whole thing amounted to blatant violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution. The publication of this letter on March 13 had reduced the credibility of this Government to zero. But what has followed, has only pushed it to sub-zero and subterranean levels.

Mounting Evidence on Kickbacks

Evidence is mounting that the ruling party is using the economy, particularly its growing foreign element, as a milch cow for squeezing maximum monetary advantage out of it. The money so squeezed,

through kickbacks on foreign business and defence contracts is being siphoned away in private and secret foreign accounts.

With the economy weakening all the time, something like Rs.30,000 crore of Indian money has fled the country, much of it being salted away in secret numbered accounts in Switzerland and elsewhere. Thanks to hefty commissions on foreign deals, even the World Bank is perturbed over the exorbitant costs of imported fertilizers and power plants. We suspect that Rajiv Government's—and its high cost has to do more with the opportunities such deals present for making money through kickbacks and other commissions, rather than, legitimate or otherwise, in national development.

Finance Ministry Shifted to Private Power Brokers

It now transpires that Shri VP Singh had been moved from the Finance Ministry, not because he was needed to face Pakistan in the Defence Ministry, but because he had dared to institute inquiries into the black billions of politicians and their business friends held abroad. It was to protect these guilty men that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had shifted Singh from Finance to Defence in January last. He had condemned his partymen as power brokers. And now it is clear that he is the broker of brokers.

The charge against Shri VP Singh is that he engaged an American agency—Fairfax—to unearth these financial crimes. The BJP is all for Swadeshi—in thought, word and deed, including economic intelligence. But it hardly lies in the mouth of men who fancy everything that is foreign, even a foreign information agency. If Finance Minister Shri VP Singh thought that Fairfax might help catch the crooks in Indian public life, he cannot be faulted on that account.

P.M. — The Great Destabiliser

Mr. Gandhi has started talking of the 'foreign hand' destabilising his Government. This foreign hand bogey has been repeatedly raised whenever the Government is in trouble because of its own misdeeds. The truth is that Mr. Gandhi is his own worst enemy. He himself is unprincipled and unstable and he is not able to hold even his party and his ministry together. And now he has introduced foreign money in a big way to prevent the Indian economy and poison the Indian polity, and subvert democratic elections. He is the Great Destabiliser.

And now come two stunning pieces of news. The West German

Government informed our Ambassador in Bonn two months ago that HDW of Kiel had paid the equivalent of Rs. 30 crore in foreign exchange to some influential Indian agents for the purchase of some submarines at highly inflated rates. And Radio Sweden broadcast from Stockholm on April 16 the news that “the arms firm Bofors won Sweden’s biggest order (Rs. 1450 crore worth of Howitzers) by paying bribes to Cong (I) politicians through secret Swiss bank accounts.” The bribe money is reported to be Rs. 20 crore paid during the last two months of 1986.

With these horrendous revelations, which seem only the tip of the iceberg, Mr Rajiv Gandhi has lost his moral authority to rule the country. Elementary decency demands that he resign forthwith. The one and only service he can now render the country is to go – and sin no more.

The BJP hereby resolves to launch a crusade against corruption in public life, and organise a campaign demanding the resignation of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

B. Rajiv Must Go

A Leader who Cannot Lead

Just six months ago, at our National Executive meeting in Jammu, the Bharatiya Janata Party issued a 50-point charge sheet of the follies and failures of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. The charge sheet concluded with the words that here is a Government that cannot govern and a leader who cannot lead, and that the moment of truth was not far away. But no one had imagined that the moment of truth would arrive so soon, and that it would destroy the Government’s credibility so completely.

Things Falling Apart

The President has found the Indian Post Office (Amendment) Bill too objectionable on grounds of censorship to sign. Two senior Cabinet Ministers have resigned in disgust. The head of the Indian Foreign Service was removed at a Press Conference to the shocked disbelief of the world. Relations have deteriorated with Pindi and Dhaka, Colombo and Jaffna, Beijing and Washington. The ruling

party has been soundly defeated in Kerala and West Bengal, with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi himself conducting a corrupt and communal campaign in the two states. The mishandling of the situation in Punjab and the unrest in Darjeeling have openly lent strength to separatist demands like Khalistan and Gorkhaland. Things have been brought to a pass where “things fall apart and the centre cannot hold.”

Blaming the Opposition of No use

It has been widely known that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has been ignoring and insulting the President of India all along. But he had the temerity to tell the Parliament that reports of his ill-treatment of the President were a figment of Opposition’s imagination, and that he had been informing and consulting the President on all important issues.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

24-26 July, 1987

Corruption in High Places

Rajiv Govt. – Neck Deep in Corruption

The country today is in the grip of a serious multidimensional crisis of unprecedented proportions. Never before in the history of independent India has any Prime Minister confirmed the worst allegations and suspicions about his/her probity as Rajiv Gandhi has by his own conduct during the past few months. Every day, evidence is mounting that Rajiv Government is neck deep in corruption, that illicit funds running into hundreds of crores of rupees, have flown from Stockholm and elsewhere, into coded accounts in Switzerland, and that the bosom friends of Mr. Gandhi have purchased huge and expensive properties here, in Switzerland and elsewhere, with money materialising from inexplicable sources. Though the Prime Minister has been all along assuring the country that there were no middlemen in the Bofors deal, in which, incidently, he was the Chief negotiator on behalf of the Government. The Swedish Audit Bureau reports on Bofors confirm that agreement existed concerning the settlement of commission in the arms deals and that huge amounts were paid subsequently to, among others, Bofors' previous agent in India.

Bofors Scandal Unmatched in History

The nation was shocked to discover that the scandals unravelled so far were only the tip of the iceberg, and that the Mundhra, Tulmohan Ram and Kuo Oil deal scandals – which had rocked the Nehru and Indira Gandhi Governments – would all pale into insignificance when the corrupt deals of the Rajiv Government come to full light. And there is apparently no transaction or contract, commercial or relating to defence, in which the ruling family and its mafia are not interested or involved, like the Marcos family in the Philippines, who have reportedly amassed Rs. 15,000 crore in the last ten years. Furthermore, all deals can be ultimately traced to one source, the Family, including the biggest and the latest, which was signed with Bofors when Rajiv Gandhi himself was Defence Minister.

Huge Cover-up Attempted by the Prime Minister

People were stunned to find that the Prime Minister had been bending words, distorting facts, changing versions, removing ministers, transferring officials and unabashedly misleading the Parliament and the country even on crucial issues of national defence and security. Apprehensions are growing that a Prime Minister like that can go to any length to save his own skin and wealth.

Resorting to Fascist Methods

In any other country, a Prime Minister whose probity was in question, would resign, or be promptly forced to resign, pending enquiries into scandals; but here is Mr. Rajiv, against whom evidence of a strong prima facie case exists, who is not only continuing in office but is also trying to subvert the democratic process by resorting to fascist methods. The ruling mafia is now unleashing violence on its critics including the men who, until only a few weeks ago, were ministers in their own Union Cabinet. Fascism is the last refuge of scoundrels and it is apt to raise its ugly head whenever the ruling clique finds itself exposed and runs the risk of losing power. The BJP warns that it will never allow this nation to fall into the hands of fascist thugs, as has happened in many countries of the Third World, and pledges itself to fight to the last in keeping alive the flame of democracy.

Rajiv Govt. a Danger to the Nation

The happenings of the past few weeks and the refusal of the Rajiv Government to come clean, constitute sufficient warning that this Government will have no qualms about throttling democratic institutions in the country. A Government that can loot thousands of crores of rupees from the poor peasants and workers, and transfer them to the safe vaults of foreign banks, can also deprive them of their democratic rights. The corrupt Rajiv Government is a danger not only to the economy but also to our democratic policy and the security of the country.

BJP to launch a campaign against corruption

In the opinion of the BJP, the corrupt Rajiv Government has lost all legitimacy to rule; it must go. The Party reiterates its resolve to fight against corruption in public life, and for a value-based polity. The BJP calls upon the nation to launch a crusade against corruption in high places and directs its workers to organize a vigorous campaign demanding the resignation of Rajiv Gandhi. The Party would extend its full co-operation, both inside and outside the Parliament, to all efforts for cleansing the public life of the corrosive influence of stolen money and for removing the corrupt Rajiv Government.



National Executive

Udaipur

09-11 October, 1987

Political Situation

Shocking Disclosures

This month the Rajiv Government completes three years in office. A year ago, the National Executive met in Jammu and reviewed the events since the assumption of office by Rajiv Gandhi and took note of the people's growing disenchantment with his Government in the form of a charge sheet. Later, in its national meeting at Vijayawada, the Party also demanded a thorough investigation of the Indian black money in foreign countries amounting to thousands of crores of rupees deposited in the coded Swiss accounts and elsewhere. Since then, the state of the nation has deteriorated rapidly, the political crisis has deepened even further, particularly in the last six months, following the shocking disclosure of facts which have created suspicions about the Prime Minister himself and his cohorts inside and outside the country, with regard to a series of defence deals with foreign arms suppliers.

Deterioration in Assam and Punjab

When Rajiv Gandhi came to power, he promised to solve the Assam and Punjab problems, curb the separatist elements, provide a Government that works faster and above all a clean administration. Instead, his Government has turned out to be more inefficient and corrupt than any in the past. Infiltration in Assam continues unabated, and Punjab continues to burn and bleed.

The situation in Punjab today is far worse than what it was when Shri Rajiv Gandhi came to power. Expedient adhocism and total lack of direction have been the bane of Rajiv's Punjab policy, and this has brought Punjab virtually to the brink. The Panthic Committee has announced from within the precincts of the Golden Temple that its goal is the establishment of Khalistan. The announcement is a virtual declaration of war on India's integrity and on the Indian Constitution. It is a challenge to the nation in general and to the Sikh

community in particular.

Security Belt along the Border: An Immediate Requirement

Congress leaders have been publicly admitting that terrorists take shelter and training in Pakistan and bring sophisticated arms from there. The BJP demands that there should be no more delay in creating a security belt along the western border. Also, there should be no hesitation regarding deployment of army in areas where para-military forces and police are not able to deal with the terrorist menace.

The BJP is of the considered opinion that an all out effort should be made to isolate the terrorists from the masses, and create defence preparedness in the villages and the cities to protect them from terrorist onslaughts. Release of the innocent detainees from Jodhpur jail is not only just but would also be helpful in this process of isolating the terrorists.

Corrupt Govt.

From all accounts, it is evident that the Rajiv Government is neck deep in corruption. In any other country, a Prime Minister whose probity was in question would have stepped down on his own or would have asked to be cleared by a proper enquiry commission. Rajiv Gandhi has done neither. Instead, a toothless Committee of Parliament has been set up without any effective powers, and headed by an individual who himself was a member of the Government and a party to the deal with the notorious Swedish Company. The Government is keen to use this Committee as a cover-up instrument. The Bharatiya Janata Party, along with other opposition parties, has rightly refused to associate itself with it.

It may be recalled that, as a result of the trials and evaluations held since 1979, the Army had, by February, 1984, shortlisted the French, the British and the Swedish guns in that order of preference. It continued to hold the French weapon superior to the Swedish one till as late as September, 1985. However, in February, 1986, the decision was changed in favour of the Bofors. Several questions since then remain unanswered and several faces behind the deal remain unnamed.

This meeting again calls upon the Government to divulge the names of all those who have received kickbacks or commissions or

other considerations in any form, from the Swedish company.

Vulnerability of Rajiv Govt.

Ever since the Bofors scandal came to surface and the possibilities of a united opposition action to get rid of a corrupt Government got being explored, the ruling mafia became jittery. The simmering discontent in the Congress (I) and the internecine faction fighting made the position of the Rajiv Government extremely vulnerable. It is significant that at a time when there was a universal demand for knowing the truth and punishing the corrupt, and when the silhouette of an action plan was just emerging on the horizon, the Communists decided to keep away from the rest of the opposition. They boycotted the Suraj Kund Conclave on a pretext which is both unconvincing and fatuous.

Communist opposition to Nationalist Forces

In the opinion of the BJP, the Communists' response to the present crises can best be understood in terms of their past conduct. During the independence movement, they were unleashing a war of attrition on Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji Subhash Bose. They openly collaborated with the British in subverting the 1942 movement and supported the Muslim League in its demand for Pakistan.

In the post-independence era too, the Communists never missed any opportunity to undermine the consolidation of national democratic forces. In 1962, when the entire nation rose as one man to resist the Chinese invasion, the Communists refused to accept that China had committed any aggression. Later, not only did they oppose the J.P. Movement but the CPI became the most eloquent supporter of the Emergency regime of Smt. Gandhi. By withdrawing support at a very crucial juncture they were instrumental in the downfall of the Janata Government and the return of Smt. Gandhi in 1980.

More recently, they subverted the chances of a united opposition candidate winning in the Presidential poll, and thus rescued the Rajiv Government from the gravest crisis of its tenure.

Anti-National Approach Rationalised by the Communists

Having recognised that any mass agitation at this hour can spell disaster for them, the ruling Congress (I) leadership is making frantic efforts to divert the people's attention from the main issue of corruption by raising non-issues. It suits the Communist game as well to support a weak and corrupt regime at the Centre on the one hand and to keep the democratic opposition disunited and confused on the other. Communalism is a cancer eating into the vitals of the nation. The problem has to be debated, discussed and resolved. But Communists have initiated this discussion now only as a red herring to shift the focus of public attention from the issue of corruption in high places, and thus indirectly to bale out the Government from a tight corner. The tactic is quite similar to the one they used in 1942 when in order to rationalise their anti-national, pro-British stand, they argued that the immediate issue before the people was not freedom, it was fascism. The BJP takes this opportunity to sound a note of caution to the people and believes that they would see the pitfalls of this strategy.

The BJP is determined to eradicate the communal virus from the body politic of our country. It has successfully rebuffed the communal policies of the CPM Government in Tripura where orders were issued for the recruitment in police on the basis of religion and also for distributing scholarships on the same grounds. Whatever gimmicks the Communists might take recourse to, the people know that no movement in the country, be it in Gujarat or in Bihar, or countrywide as during the Emergency, has failed for want of participation by the so-called Left.

Need for the Government to Come Clean

A corrupt Government is worse than a bad Government. It is not a Government at all and its members are like blood-sucking leaches. A high level of integrity is the first requirement of the Government of a poor country. Without it, nothing will work, and the entire political process will be debased and will come to a grinding halt, as it is threatening to do in India. An administration that takes a cut on

every rupee that is collected and spent in the name of Government, whether in arms deals or industrial projects, or in mitigating the hardships and miseries following droughts and other calamities, cannot be trusted with national resources. It is for this reason that we call upon Rajiv Gandhi and his Government to come clean before the people – the very people in whose name and on whose behalf he claims to rule the country.

Time for this Corrupt Regime to Go

Three years of the Rajiv Gandhi's rule have gravely impaired the moral fabric of Indian society. It is also for this reason that we want the Rajiv Government to step down and clear the way for a fresh election and a new Government with a fresh mandate. The time has come for a mass upsurge against the corrupt regime. It is in this spirit that the BJP welcomes the call given by the Opposition Conclave at Suraj Kund last month for a thorough cleansing of the political process and for fresh elections. The Party believes that it is a step in the right direction. The BJP reiterates its firm resolve to continue the struggle to dislodge the unscrupulous and corrupt regime.



National Executive

Chandigarh **03-05 January, 1986**

A. Shah Bano Case

Evil Campaign Against Supreme Court

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive strongly condemns the virulent campaign launched against the Supreme Court by the Muslim League and the Jamaat-e-Islami following the Court's judgement in the Shah Bano Case.

A Just and Sensible Verdict

The verdict of the Court is pre-eminently just and sensible. It ordered a husband to pay to his erstwhile wife a pittance of a financial allowance. The husband was rolling in wealth and the wife in abject poverty. She had faithfully served the husband for decades and bore him many children. She was callously cast away for no reason whatsoever. No relative, near or distant, nor any charitable organisation had noticed her existence or rendered her any help or solace. The order of the Court came to her as a great relief. The judges who delivered this judgement deserve encomiums and the acclaim of all right thinking people whatever religion they profess.

Central Minister's Shocking Conduct

The National Executive feels shocked that a Minister of the Central Government, Mr. Z.R. Ansari, should have, on the floor of Parliament, denounced not only this judgement but even the judges who delivered it. The tone and tenor of his speech were highly objectionable. The fact that notwithstanding his intemperate tirade against the Judiciary, he continues to be the ruling party's principal spokesman on the issue only confirms the suspicion that Mr. Ansari's was only a command performance.

Prosecution of Offenders Required

The National Executive deplors the conduct of those who organised a procession in Bombay in which slogans of 'Supreme Court Murdabad' were shouted, and the effigy of Ex-Chief

Justice Chandrachud, was publicly burnt. The crowd included a Congress(I) minister of the state and an ex-Union Minister. If the rule of law is to be maintained, the offenders must be prosecuted and punished.

Prime Minister's Involvement in Communal Politics

In his address to the Momin Conference organised by the Congress(I), Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has indicated that the Government is considering amendment of the law to meet the objections raised against the Supreme Court judgement.

Shah Bano secured relief from the Supreme Court by virtue of Section 125 of the Criminal Procedure Code which entitles a 'wife' neglected by her husband to secure a proper maintenance allowance from her husband. In this provision, wife includes a divorced woman following any religion.

The amendment now contemplated by the Government would aim at precluding Muslim women from invoking this provision.

Proposed Amendment a Retrograde Move

The Bharatiya Janata Party fully stands by Article 125 of the Constitution which guarantees freedom of conscience and religion to all citizens. But it rejects the Muslim League view that this judgement is an interference in the religious affairs of the Muslims. In fact, the National Executive regards this move to amend Section 125 Cr. P. C. as retrograde, anti-woman and a surrender to obscurantism and bigotry. It also goes counter to the spirit of the Indian Constitution one of whose Directive Principles requires the State to move towards a Uniform Civil Code. Indeed, from a party contemplating such surrender, all claims to modernity and perpetual references to the country's advent into the twenty-first century sound absolutely hollow and fraudulent. The Bharatiya Janata Party demands that the amendment proposal be abandoned forthwith.

B. Follow-up of Punjab Accord

Terrorism and Violence to End Forthwith

The settlement of the Punjab problem between the Late Sant Harchand Singh Longowal and the Government of India is now getting to be six months old. The Bharatiya Janata Party is happy that following the accord, the democratic process has been restored in the state, and communal tension has abated. It must, however, be acknowledged that incidents of terrorism and violence continue to occur. The authorities must take adequate steps to put an end to these.

Justice for All

The core purpose of the Accord was, and remains, complete national integration and perfect social harmony. These cannot be achieved without perfect justice to all communities. The Bharatiya Janata Party urges the Akali Dal Government to so conduct itself that no citizen gets any feeling that he is discriminated against, or unfairly treated. It is imperative that the rich Punjabi identity is preserved and all disputes that threaten it are amicably resolved.

Water Sharing to be Fair and Equitable

A major objection of the Bharatiya Janata Party to the Accord has been with regard to the provision relating to the sharing of river waters. In the tripartite talks of 1983, the Akali Dal itself had agreed that the 1955 agreement under which Rajasthan receives its share of Ravi Beas waters, would not be reopened. There was no justification, therefore, for any reference being made in the Accord to Rajasthan. Also as drawn up, the Accord had created serious misgivings in the mind of the Haryana farmer about his future.

According to the Agreement, the Satluj-Yamuna-Link Canal is to be completed by August 15, 1986. But statements made by the ruling party leaders in Punjab about the alignment of this

Canal have created apprehensions in the minds of the people of Haryana.

The Centre's Mysterious Silence

The war of words over the river waters and territorial disputes, now being waged between the Chief Ministers of Punjab and Haryana, has led to mounting tension. It is amazing that even while a climate of confrontation is rapidly building up between Haryana and Punjab, New Delhi is maintaining a mysterious silence.

No Progress on Transfer of Territories

Under the Accord, Chandigarh was to be transferred to Punjab on 26 January, 1986, and in lieu thereof, certain Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab were to be transferred to Haryana simultaneously.

These areas were to be identified by a Commission before 31st December, 1985. But even after the last date has elapsed, there is no word on the subject from the Mathew Commission.

Other territorial claims and counter-claims were supposed to be settled by another Commission. But almost six months later, this second Commission has not even been appointed.

The Dangerous Drift

The Bharatiya Janata Party urges the Central Government to take all necessary steps in furtherance of the Accord, and also to intervene to have issues clarified and doubts dispelled without delay. The present drift is dangerous. In Particular, the Bharatiya Janata Party makes the following demands:

1. The report of the Mathew Commission should be expedited and the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab, and of areas in lieu thereof to Haryana, should take place simultaneously, as provided in the Accord.
2. In order to dispel suspicions that have arisen in the minds of the people of Haryana with regard to the Satluj-Yamuna Link Canal, Central Government officials and the officials of the Haryana and Punjab Governments should visit the Canal site and make an on-the-spot survey. All necessary steps must be taken to ensure that construction of the Canal is completed by 15 August, 1986, as scheduled, and that

the people of Haryana feel reassured in this regard.

3. Under the Accord, the claims of Punjab and Haryana with regard to river waters were to be referred for adjudication to a Tribunal presided over by a Supreme Court judge, and this Tribunal was to give its decision within six months. Even though five months have elapsed since the signing of the Accord, the Tribunal has not even been appointed. The Bharatiya Janata Party demands that this must be done immediately.
4. The Bharatiya Janata Party holds that natural resources like river waters are national resources, which must be shared by the states for optimal use in the national interest. This, we feel, must be the guiding principle before the Tribunal entrusted with the task of determining the respective shares of Punjab and Haryana.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

09-11 May, 1986

Political Situation

The Illusion that Has Vanished

During the early months of 1985, the public relations experts employed by the Prime Minister and his close political advisers were projecting Mr. Rajiv Gandhi as a new Messiah who would sweep clean all that was foul and filthy in the past. By plain media manipulation a larger-than-life portrait was generated, and the people fed on the hope of a modern, clean and effective Government.

The Bharatiya Janata Party notes that the illusion has vanished and the expectations of the people cruelly frustrated. The entire Rajiv phenomenon with its climax and anticlimax telescoped in a brief span of 18 months is a classic illustration of what publicity experts and public relations men can do and also what they cannot do. They can get a person catapulted into the office of Prime Minister but cannot make him deliver the goods. They can generate wild expectations but cannot bring any fruition or fulfilment.

PM's Inability to Grapple with National Problems

Surrounded by an impenetrable security wall and segregated by a determined group of political cronies, the Prime Minister views the country through eyes other than his own and displays either total blindness or vacillation and confusion when it comes to grappling with the gigantic problems piling up before the country.

The state of the Union is alarming and the BJP must draw attention to the Government's dismal failure in vital matters. The Government shows neither perception nor prescription; neither understanding nor action. This Government was elected principally on the issue of national unity. But never before has national unity been under such grave peril as today.

The Punjab continues to seethe with terrorism and violence. The accord is in doldrums. The territorial demands and counter-demands have not stopped fraying tempers. Haryana is impatient about its water needs. The completion of the link canal is nowhere in sight.

The Central Government's responsibility in Punjab continues.

But it has totally failed even to contain violence, which is taking a heavy toll of innocent lives every day.

In the state of Jammu and Kashmir, anti-national elements have been on the rampage indulging in violence and vandalism.

Rebels in the North-East

Five of the seven states and Union Territories in the country's North-Eastern region are in the grip of rebel groups determined to tear the country apart. These rebel groups reportedly met at a no-man's land on the Indo-Burma border last year and floated the idea of setting up an autonomous state comprising the terrain between the Brahmaputra and the Chindwin (Burma) rivers. The plan is to establish what is called 'The Brachin National Union' to fight for an 'independent country' comprising Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, tribal-dominated areas of Tripura, some areas of Assam and the entire Chittagong Hill tracts of Bangladesh. Demand for an independent Kolhan State is being raised in Bihar.

Communal Tensions Building Up

Communal tensions are building up all over the country. Infiltration across the border continues in Assam, but Bangladesh has pressurised us into abandoning the construction of a protective fence on our own territory. The onus of implementing the Assam accord rested with the Central Government, but no concrete steps have yet been taken in this regard. The writ of the Government just does not run and our sovereignty in that area cannot assert itself. There is large-scale infiltration into the country through Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Bihar, Bengal, Assam and the North-Eastern States, which poses a serious threat to the integrity and unity of the country. In several of these border states, smuggling and spying has assumed grave dimensions.

Lawlessness in UP and Bihar

Law and order presents a dismal picture throughout the length and breadth of the country. Private armies and armed gangs are sprouting up all over. These armies should in fact be banned. Parts of Bihar and UP have become areas of total

lawlessness. The police have become a law unto themselves. Private scores are settled by mayhem and murder at police stations and in false encounters. In many places, the just struggle of Scheduled Castes is crushed in the name of suppressing anti-social elements. The judicial system is paralysed and is crumbling. The authority of the courts is undermined by incessant attacks mounted by petty ministers, shielded by Parliamentary immunity and instigated and approved by the Prime Minister.

Institutions Deliberately Debilitated

All democratic institutions in the country are being deliberately debilitated. The institution of Presidency has already been devalued. The Prime Minister and the other Central ministers systematically attack the Press. Vital decisions, including fiscal decisions, are taken behind the back of Parliament. Governors are shifted from place to place and changed from time to time to show their utter dependence on the Prime Minister. Constant change of Central ministers makes the Government utterly ineffective.

Corruption at an All-Time High

Corruption has reached an all-time high. While industrial houses are raided, ruling politicians amass vast fortunes by blackmail, commissions and kickbacks. Defence and other purchases abroad are the most copious source of illegitimate colossal accumulations of credits in foreign banks. Despite adverse court verdicts, Jagmohans and Arjun Singhs continue to enjoy patronage and protection.

Communal Divide Encouraged

The communal divide is systematically encouraged and sought to be consolidated by the ruling party for political reasons. In Kerala,

the Muslim League is running the Government. In Andhra, the Congress did not hesitate in supporting the Muslim Majlis during the recent Corporation elections. It is really the Government of the Muslim League of which Shri Karunakaran of the Congress (I) is the nominal leader. The Rajiv Government, overriding the well reasoned decision of the Supreme Court, a large body of enlightened opinions, including those of Muslims, and the views of most Congressmen, has enacted a retrograde law of doubtful validity which will encourage divorces, increase the number of uncared for children, vagrancy and social miseries, ignoring the constitutional mandate requiring the enactment of a Uniform Civil Code. Thereby, the division between Muslims and non-Muslims has been widened and to an extent consolidated.

This Government's claim that it would usher in the 21st century is by now a cruel joke. Every sensible person knows that the 21st century will arrive only when the remainder of the 20th will roll by into the past. Neither the Prime Minister nor his Government will hasten its advent by a day or even a second. But the surrender to the obscurantist forces led by the Muslim League on the Shah Bano case demonstrates the Prime Minister's capacity to retreat into the 7th century in furtherance of petty political self-interest.

Better Government for the Country, the Need of the Hour

Our experience for the last 18 months shows that the present Central Government lacks maturity and is incapable of delivering goods. There is a wide gap between its profession and practice. Even the much publicised trips to tribal areas by the Prime Minister have turned out to be pure publicity gimmicks which have left the tribals more miserable and frustrated than ever before.

This country does deserve a better Government. The Bharatiya Janata Party pledges itself to work for such a Government by a sustained and vigorous campaign of political education in regard to the failings of the present Government.

□

National Executive

Gwalior

18-20 July, 1986

A. Mizoram Agreement

A Surrender to Insurgency

The Bharatiya Janata Party considers the signing of this extraordinary accord by the Government of India with the Mizo rebels as a surrender to insurgency.

The Mizo accord is yet another example where separatism has been promoted by the ruling party in the name of preserving diversity. The accord in fact strikes at the very root of the basic characteristic of Indian culture and history that the country's integrity can only be preserved by recognising the fundamental unity underlying the diversity.

More Autonomy than J & K

The Mizo National Front is to lay down arms and foreswear any pretensions to independence. And in return, this former district of Assam, with a population of less than five lakh, is to be constituted into a separate state which, according to Mizo leader Shri Laldenga, would have more autonomy than even Jammu & Kashmir. Rebels, including those now in custody on charges of murder, are to be released. In addition, the Government of India would pay for the 'resettlement and rehabilitation' of the rebels. Pensions and perks are to be paid to the families of the rebels killed in action. And compensation is to be paid for any land or buildings used by the Security Forces, or crop damaged, in action. Mizoram is to have a State Assembly, a University and a High Court and special financial assistance as a 'special category state'. On top of this, Mizoram will be free to carry on border trade with foreign countries—and the innerline regulation, whereunder no non-Mizo from any other part of the country will be able to enter Mizoram without a special permit, will be made permanent.

Premium on Rebellion

While the Bharatiya Janata Party is all for peace and reconciliation in Mizoram and other disturbed areas, it also stands for the protection of tribal rights, customs and traditions, it is entirely opposed to the concept of peace at any price. We do not see any reason in entering into an accord with a rebel who, aided and abetted by foreign powers, has been virtually waging a war for the past twenty years against India. Such premium on rebellion is basically wrong and we do not see why the Mizo rebels should be rewarded with statehood having a special status.

No Need for a Separate High Court

We do not see why Mizoram should be given a separate High Court, when all the North-East today has one united High Court – at Guwahati – with only circuit Benches in Nagaland, Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura. A separate High Court for Mizoram can only eventually lead to separate High Courts for all these mini-states. The same is true of a separate university for Mizoram.

‘Border Trade’ a Cover for Clandestine Activities

Much more objectionable is the permission to Mizoram to conduct border trade with foreign countries. All these years, Mizo rebels have received arms and sanctuary from these countries. The excuse of ‘border trade’ could be a convenient cover for clandestine activities leading to continued de-stabilization of the North-East.

Threat to Secede

The Mizo rebel leader’s position is that Mizoram should get statehood, the bulk of Indian troops should withdraw, and a general amnesty must be declared before they lay down their arms. In one of his recent statements, he threatened that if the ‘Constitutional arrangement’ does not come through, ‘we shall secede’. But the PM says the guerillas must surrender first ‘within the time-frame stipulated in the accord’. However, the ‘Memorandum of Settlement’ does not stipulate any time-frame.

Visions of a Greater Mizoram

It is significant that Mizo rebels did not agree to make it a special responsibility of the Governor to maintain law and order – a

clause included in the earlier Naga agreement. They even went on to demand a Greater Mizoram, claiming Mizo-inhabited pockets in Assam, Manipur, Tripura and Nagaland, forgetting that Mizoram also has pockets inhabited by Nagas, Manipuris, Tripuris and Assamese. However, Government of India, instead of firmly rejecting their claim – strongly opposed by Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland and Assam – merely referred them to Article 3 of the Constitution and said meekly that it “cannot make a commitment in this respect.”

Abject Surrender to Mizo Rebels

The way the rebels paraded the streets of Aizawl in rebel uniforms and flaunted their illegal arms, does not augur too well for peace in that part of the country. On top of this there are reports that about 250 rebels under the leadership of ‘Col. Lalrauna’, do not propose to lay down their arms. Since Mizo rebels have so far been helping rebels in Manipur (PLA), Tripura , (TNV) and Nagaland (NSCN) it would have been appropriate to associate the Chief Ministers of these three states with Mizoram negotiations and Mizo commitments. But New Delhi in its naivete kept them out – even as it had kept Haryana and Rajasthan out of Punjab talks, to what disastrous results, we all know to our cost today. Instead, Government of India involved two ruling party leaders in these negotiations, further obliterating the essential dividing line between party and state.

The abject surrender to Mizo rebels can only give added comfort to extremists in the Punjab and elsewhere. The manner in which the accord has been signed has once again demonstrated that even vital national interests are not safe in the hands of the inexperienced Prime Minister.

In the opinion of the Bharatiya Janata Party the interests of the nation demand that—

1. This accord be scrapped forthwith
2. The democratically elected government in Mizoram be strengthened to accelerate the pace of economic development and to deal firmly with the insurgents, and
3. While taking adequate steps for preserving and protecting Mizo customs and traditions, the process of assimilating the Mizo people into the national mainstream be hastened.

B. Kashmir Situation

Deteriorating Situation

The situation in Jammu and Kashmir, despite the dismissal of all defectors' Government led by GM Shah and the subsequent imposition of the Governor's rule, is deteriorating day by day. The uneasy calm—that descended on the state after the traumatic experience of the worst ever communal violence resulting in the destruction of nearly 50 Hindu temples—is merely an interregnum, a lull before the storm. Even after five months of these harrowing incidents which stunned the entire nation, the administration has failed to inspire confidence and apprehensions regarding their personal security and protection of holy places continue to persist in the minds of the victims.

Massive Infiltration of Pak-trained Terrorists

Reports about massive infiltration of Pakistan-trained terrorists from the border districts of Poonch, Rajauri and Kupawara, the network of guerilla training schools in the sensitive parts of the valley, and the holding of congregations with venom spitting speeches from the fundamentalists even in the remote corners of the state are pouring in from all quarters. The anti-national and secessionist activities are rapidly mounting in the state, the incidents of insulting the National Flag, raising pro-Pakistan slogans and intimidating and

harassing of nationalist elements are of common occurrence.

Rise of Anti-national Forces

Elements well recognised for their traditional hostility towards the state's accession to India, such as the Jamat-e-Islami and its students, wings, the People's League, are openly continuing their hate-India campaign. The terrorist groups of Al Jihad and Al Mujahid are spreading their tentacles mainly in the valley. The extremist group of Sikh Saffron Tigers is also reported to be secretly active. The overt and covert actions by these groups have created an anti-India atmosphere in which everything which symbolises Indian nationalism is under attack. It has to be recognised that due to the geo-political position of Kashmir, the interaction between international and external forces on the one hand and the local secessionist elements on the other, has always been in existence. That these linkages are being further expanded is confirmed by the report of collaboration between Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front and Khalistan Council of Jagjit Singh Chauhan. It has to be kept in mind that these forces have always been in search of a suitable opportunity for loosening the bonds between Kashmir and India by exacerbating communal tensions and political instability, of promoting separatism through religious fanaticism and by demoralising every one who espouses the cause of unity and integrity. The recent happenings in Punjab and the failure of the Government to curb the secessionists has further emboldened them.

Congress(I) Playing Dirty Politics

It is the bounden duty of the Union Government to protect India's Sovereignty from any onslaught, particularly when the Congress(I) was returned to the Centre on the plank of preserving the unity and integrity of the country. But instead of discharging this constitutional obligation, the Congress(I) is busy playing dirty politics with a view to capturing power in Jammu & Kashmir and is unabashedly patronising the rabid communal elements. The most fiery speeches inciting disharmony in the valley come from Kazi Nissar of Anantnag whose Congress(I) connections are well known. He is shaping into a Kashmiri version of Bhinderanwala.

Cong(I)'s Links with Communal Elements

The Congress(I) links of those who spread the false rumours of killings of Muslims in Jammu which ignited the combustible atmosphere already surcharged with communal passions, are well known. Because of the facts that many Congress(I) and National Conference activists who indulged in the violence were either not touched or let off without any prosecution, the Shah Government failed to institute an enquiry into these incidents and later on even the Governor bluntly refused to do the same, there is a widespread belief in Congress(I) complicity in masterminding and organising the heinous attacks on temples. It is also obvious that the Governor's rule under section 92 of the J&K Constitution was preferred to the President's rule under Article 356 of the Indian Constitution with the sole aim of precluding Parliament from discussing these and other matters regarding Kashmir which would have thoroughly exposed the Congress(I) designs.

Governor's Rule Not Leading to any Improvement

When Governor's rule was declared in Jammu and Kashmir, people had thought that matters would improve. But they did not. It was expected that the few major tasks to which Governor Jagmohan would devote himself with a sense of urgency would be, to cleanse the valley of anti-national and pro-Pakistan elements, to restore communal harmony and confidence in the minorities, to weed out the corrupt and pro-Pak officials from the administration, and to redress the long-standing grievances of the Jammu division regarding discrimination against them in the services, education and economic development. Nothing has since been done in this respect and the anti-national activities are continuing openly under the very nose of the Kashmir police and all those who stand for Indian nationalism do not find it possible to live with honour and dignity. Fresh attacks on two temples have taken place in July and distribution of anti-India literature and display of provocative and anti-national posters continues unchecked under the Governor's rule. The frustration of Jammu people remains as it was.

Design to Install a Congress Government

The Governor's main aim today is to somehow instal a Congress(I) Government in the state. Soon after the state came under his rule, the Congress(I) started toying with the idea of forming a Government with the help of National Conference defectors completely ignoring the charge sheets against them as ministers in the Shah Government. Public opposition to this forced them to abandon the idea. After a brief spell, they are now hobnobbing with Farooq Abdullah against whom they had levelled all sorts of charges, including that of being anti-national.

Democratic Forces Expected to Oppose Cong(I) Plans

The Bharatiya Janata Party would like to emphasise that the present Jammu and Kashmir Assembly has lost all moral authority to rule. The Party wants to sound a note of warning that if any attempts are made to foist a Congress(I) Government on the state either by accommodating the defectors or by engineering fresh ones, or by hobnobbing with National Conference, the state of Jammu and Kashmir would suffer irreparably. The Party hopes that all secular and democratic forces would oppose such tactics. The Party feels that in the backdrop of the current situation prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir and for the promotion of national unity and integrity it is imperative that:

1. Article 370 of the Indian Constitution be removed.
2. The Jammu and Kashmir Resettlement Act, 1982 be repealed by an Ordinance.
3. The Jammu and Kashmir Assembly be dissolved and fresh elections held.
4. Thorough combing be done to detect and expell the Pakistani infiltrators and terrorists.
5. Thorough screening of the Kashmir Police be done and elements with proven links with the anti-national forces be weeded out.
6. Adequate relief, rehabilitation and protection be

provided to the victims of February violence and continuing similar incidents. The Government should institute an enquiry to pinpoint the responsibility of these incidents.

7. Regional discrimination in the state be speedily removed and constitutional safeguards be provided to protect the interests of all the regions in the state.

C. Punjab Situation

Continued Terror and Trauma

The Bharatiya Janata Party views with increasing anxiety the continued terror and trauma through which Punjab is passing. Daylight murders are taking place with the killers invariably making good their escape. Hindus have left the Batala Sub-Division of Gurdaspur and the Taran Taran Sub-Division of Amritsar in large numbers after notices were issued to them by terrorists to leave within a stipulated period, on pain of death, and when the threat was made good by several murders, although the Police had been informed of the situation. Earlier, Batala and Fatehgarh Churian were subjected to a week long siege (Gherao), preventing anything from reaching these towns. All this while, the police looked on passively when it did not actively collude with the terrorists.

Government Response Inadequate

Thanks to the pressure built up by the Bharatiya Janata Party through its countrywide campaign, demanding deployment of the Army in the border districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Ferozepur, the Government has partly conceded the demand by entrusting the maintenance of law and order in the two districts to CRPF and BSF respectively. This has led to some improvement. But the situation is nevertheless serious, with more and more people in the Punjab coming to feel that the Government's response does not measure up to the secessionist threat. This is a grave challenge to the unity and integrity of the country.

PM's Juvenile Approach to Serious National Problems

The Barnala Government is trying weakly to stem the rot. But the Akali dissidents have done grave disservice to the country by identifying themselves with the terrorists. However, the biggest sinner in this gory drama is the Government of India. By saying that he is willing to negotiate with dissidents and even terrorists, the PM has put a premium on terrorism. There are reports that the PM's principal lieutenant Mr. Arjun Singh, is already confabulating with dissidents and terrorists. On top of this, the way the PM has appointed and terminated Commission after Judicial Commission—the last one being asked to identify 70,000 acres of land for Haryana within twelve hours—he has not only brought the Government into contempt, but has brought the whole institution of judicial commission into ridicule. We are sorry to say that this Government is signing agreements in haste, and then regretting them at leisure. However, this juvenile approach to serious national problems is costing the country very dearly. The BJP urges upon the Government to refer all territorial disputes arising out of the Rajiv-Longowal agreement to a single commission for final settlement.

Threats to Hindus in Punjab Urgent Need to Stop

The Bharatiya Janata Party very much regrets the movement of Hindus out of Punjab and that of Sikhs in the reverse direction. This is a dangerous development which can only help the terrorist plan of transfer of population. As such, it must be foiled. The BJP calls upon the Government and the people to create conditions in which this unfortunate trend is stopped immediately and completely. We condemn the neglect of refugees so far and demand that the Government look after these migrants until conditions normalise and they go back to their respective homes.

Politicians Planning Dangerous Games

The Bharatiya Janata Party is of the firm conviction that the only true and abiding guarantee of peace is the mutual trust of the people at the village level. This trust has been a historic fact. But the dangerous games that politicians are playing today are putting a serious strain on these sacred bonds.

The Bharatiya Janata Party calls upon the Government and the people to do everything in their power to save the situation. It particularly urges upon the BJP workers to spread the message of love and amity throughout the country. To this end the Bharatiya Janata Party –

1. resolves to convene Ekata Sammelans in all districts of the Punjab to unitedly resist terrorism and separatism, to foster feelings of love, amity and security;
2. reiterates its demand to deploy the Army in the border districts to further improve the situation there; and
3. urges upon all men of goodwill, and particularly the BJP workers, to foster feelings of love and unity, raise people's morale and render all possible help to migrants until they return home.

□

National Executive

Gwalior

17-19 October, 1986

Regional Imbalance in Jammu and Kashmir

Imbalance in Development

The BJP National Executive views with concern the serious imbalances that have grown in the matter of development of the three regions of the J&K state – namely, the Kashmir valley, Jammu and Ladakh.

Injustice to Jammu and Ladakh

The Executive recognises the deep sense of injustice that prevails among the people of Jammu and Ladakh because of the discrimination they have had to suffer during the past several decades at the hands of the State Government. The basis of this discrimination has been regional-cum-communal.

The BJP, therefore, puts forward the following demands:

1. Regional and District Development Boards be set up for all the three regions so as to ensure quick and speedy development of these regions:
2. Equitable arrangements be made for the allocation of funds to these regions and for providing facilities for vocational and technical education.

The BJP also demands that the President invoke his powers under Art. 370 of the Indian Constitution, read with Section 33 of the J&K Constitution, and issue necessary directions to the J&K Governor so that these regional and district Development Boards may be constituted. The Governor may also be directed to ensure that there is just and equitable representation of these three regions in the public services of the state.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

4-6 January, 1985

Bhopal Gas Tragedy

The tragedy which engulfed tens of thousands of innocent citizens of Bhopal on the night of December 2-3, was of the dimension of an epidemic inflicted by nature. It was a chronic example of the masses living at the mercy of an absolutely incompetent administration and a totally corrupt political leadership.

The story of Union Carbide Plant began in 1969 which was permitted to be set up in close vicinity of residential areas of Bhopal in utter disregard of all norms and environmental considerations, presumably because inhabitants of the adjoining slums were poor people, whose value the ruling party recognizes only on one day, the election day.

In 1975, the Department of Town and Country Planning Environment gave Union Carbide notice to shift the Plant out of the city. But despite all the powers enjoyed by the Government during the Emergency, the notice was not enforced.

On the other hand the conscientious Secretary of that Department to pay for 'indiscretion'.

There have been repeated fore-warnings of what was coming in 1981. One employee of the plant died due to poison gas while in 1982 two lost their lives and 23 became unconscious. Bhartiya Janata Party and other Opposition representatives raised the issue in the State Assembly. Every time the Minister gave loud assurances of there being no danger he even quoted his having visited the factory three times. When asked about what had happened to the 1975 shifting notice he announced grandiloquently that it was Rs. 25 crore plant, and not a 'piece of stone' which could be just moved away from its site.

The whole episode bristles with so many questions that we have to await the results of the judicial enquiry to know, we hope, the whole truth. Who permitted the production of Phosgene? Why was MIC being produced beyond what was required for pesticides? How was this surplus being used? Why was the Indian subsidiary allowed to ignore the warnings of its principals in regard to lax

security measures? What were the departments of Labour & Industry doing all these years? The resignation of the State Labour Minister or the farce of the arrest and VVIP treatment of Mr. Anderson, are not going to deceive anyone. The disgusting fact is that on the dark day of death, ministers and high officials had fled Bhopal. Shri Arjun Singh, who is directly and squarely responsible for gross negligence, if not actual collusion, should quit forthwith.

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive would like to place on record its appreciation of the services rendered by some outstanding public servants like the Station Master, the Commander of the Army, the District Officials who stuck their posts or duty at considerable risk to life.

The Bharatiya Janata Party notes that gas victims are getting 3 Kgs. of grain and nothing else. They should be supplied vegetables, condiments, cooking oil, fuel etc. also. They should also be provided clothing and cash allowance. Disabled persons must be given reasonable living allowance.

It has also been noted that most of the sufferers have not received any compensation. A compensation of Rs. one lakh must be paid to each sufferer. Also they should be exempted from court fee in damage suits. Above all Government must have all chemical plants properly inspected to prevent any poisoning or pollution.

□

National Executive

Bhopal

19-21 July, 1985

Internal Situation

Punjab Still Far from Being Normal

In its Lok Sabha election campaign of December 1984, the Congress (I) had promised the people a speedy solution to the Punjab tangle, and an early return to normalcy. Indeed, the issue of national unity, viewed against the backdrop of the Punjab situation, was the principal plank on which the Rajiv Gandhi Government was returned to power.

The BJP National Executive expresses its deep disappointment that though more than six months have elapsed since the assumption of office by the present Government, the situation in Punjab is far from normal. A solution to the state's problems is nowhere in sight.

Terrorists More Active

Terrorists, who had been lying low in the latter half of 1984, have regrouped themselves during these six months, and have resumed their nefarious activities in India, as well as abroad – the two worst manifestations of their evil deeds being, first, the series of transistor-bomb explosions which rocked the capital and several adjoining states in the month of May, and secondly, the Boeing disaster suspected to have been caused by the terrorists.

Policy of Opportunism

Terrorism in Punjab has acquired menacing proportions not because of any inadequacy of laws as Government would have us believe, but essentially because of the policy of opportunism, drift and inaction pursued by the Government for years. The fact that leaders of the ruling party themselves have had close links with terrorists has further complicated the situation.

Congressmen's Links with Terrorists

Bhinderanwala's meteoric rise to power with official patronage may be an old story; but the people of Punjab have been shocked

to know that even under the new Rajiv dispensation, no less a person than a State Congress(I) Chief, Randhawa and State Youth Congress(I) leader, Bajwa, have been found as being mixed up with terrorists. Both have, therefore, been removed from their posts.

A Thorough Probe Required

The BJP National Executive demands that Punjab Congress (I)'s nexus with extremists and terrorists must be thoroughly probed.

Akalis Equally Guilty

If the Akalis had shown guts to stand up against the extremists or, at least, to delink themselves from them, and had not allowed them to convert the Golden Temple into an armed citadel, the Punjab story might have been quite different, the sins of the Congress Party notwithstanding. Unfortunately, like the Congress (I), the Akalis also have been guilty of rank opportunism, and besides, of lack of courage.

Need for Immediate Dialogue

Lately, Shri Longowal has made some very welcome statements against terrorism. But his continued insistence on the acceptance of the Anandpur Saheb Resolution, and his refusal to come to the negotiating table unless certain pre-conditions are met have created a stalemate. The Executive urges the Government and the Akali leaders to resume a dialogue without setting any pre-conditions.

While the Punjab problem has been a continuing one, two major developments have taken place during Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's tenure which have seriously impaired the fabric of the country's unity.

Anarchy in Gujarat

For five months now, Gujarat has been in a state of anarchy. An announcement to increase the backward classes reservation from 10 per cent to 28 per cent made by the Solanki Government on the eve of Assembly elections touched off an anti-reservation agitation. Internal feuds of the Congress (I) contributed first towards making the agitation violent and later towards giving the situation a dangerous casteist and communal twist. Police repression against the people in general, and against women in particular, sharply aggravated the situation. When this was exposed by the press and opposition parties, the Government's wrath turned towards the press and the opposition. Pressmen were beaten up, and press establishments burnt down, and opposition leaders were manhandled, detained or implicated in false cases.

The net outcome of all this has been that a state which until 1984 was regarded as relatively the best administered state in the country has become engulfed in violence and lawlessness which shows no signs of abatement even after the principal culprit has been removed from the scene.

Rajiv Gandhi's Short-sighted Policy

Prime Minister Mr. Gandhi cannot be absolved of responsibility for the mess in Gujarat. It was he who gave unreserved support to Mr. Solanki and started the canard that opposition parties were responsible for the situation. It must have been obvious to him when he visited Ahmedabad towards the end of March that opposition parties had nothing to do with the anti-reservation stir and that it was Solanki who had totally bungled the situation. A change of party leadership at that stage would have defused the situation. But the Prime Minister too acted in a partisan and short-sighted manner, chose a policy of deliberate drift, and allowed incalculable damage to be caused to peace, stability, economy and social harmony in the state.

Border War between Assam and Nagaland

The second grave development of these past six months is the interstate border war at Merapani. The details about the episode are incredibly shocking. Two state governments,

the Nagaland Government and the Assam Government, both belonging to the Congress (I), have been engaged in a virtual war in which the toll of life and property has been really staggering. According to press reports, the loss of life and property has been as follows:

Police personnel killed 31; civilians killed 31; houses gutted 1284; houses partially destroyed 452; heads of cattle killed 5000; citizens rendered homeless 60,000. Besides, 2 High Schools, 4 Middle Schools, a large number of Primary Schools, 4 mosques, 20 temples, 272 shops, 1 Thana, 1 PWD Rest House, 2 Panchayat Bhawans, 5 border outposts, and 3 check-posts of Forest Department were burnt and looted.

In this episode, though the Assam Government is not entirely free from blame, the Nagaland Government has behaved as if Nagaland is a sovereign state, and its rulers are sovereign rulers. Amidst thumping of desks from the Treasury Benches, Chief Minister Jamir said in the State Assembly on June 25,

“We have taught (the Assamese) a lesson, and we shall do it again if they behave like this in future.”

Gross Violation of the Constitution

Police forces are meant to maintain law and order within a state. By using the police force against another state to settle real or imaginary border disputes the two Governments have been guilty of gross violation of the Constitution. So far as the Nagaland Police is concerned, it has in these clashes actually used 3-inch mortars, rocket launchers and grenades-weapons which no police set-up is equipped with.

Central Govt. – a Mute Spectator

That the Rajiv Government has allowed all this to happen without raising even a little finger, makes a mockery of all its loud-mouthed declarations about national unity, and its claim of being a Government “that works faster.” If these two Governments had been non-Congress (I) Governments, both would have immediately been dismissed; and by a touchstone, the sack would have been well deserved.

National Unity a Mere Slogan

For the Congress (I), national unity seems only a slogan to be used to garner votes wherever convenient. Therefore, it has no hesitation in having as allies parties like the TUJS which are undisguisedly secessionist in approach. Congress (I)'s coalition partners in Kerala – the Kerala Congress and the Muslim League – have been making statements these days which clearly militate against national unity and national interest. A Kerala Congress minister, who later had to resign, has threatened a Punjab-type agitation in Kerala. The Deputy Chief Minister of Kerala, who belongs to the Muslim League, has publicly denounced the Supreme Court Judgement ruling that a divorced woman also is entitled to maintenance.

Congress without Political Integrity

On the political integrity front, the Congress (I) has been tomtomming a lot about the anti-defection law enacted by Parliament. The Act could be passed with expedition because the opposition parties readily supported it. In Bihar, recently, the ruling party itself has had no qualms about violating the law by inducting an independent legislator into the Congress (I) and making him Chief Whip. The Congress (I)'s credentials with regard to defection and probity in public life are also under crucial test in Haryana and Jammu and Kashmir. Both these Governments are Governments to defectors and do not have any popular mandate. There are serious allegations of corruption against both these Governments. In Jammu & Kashmir state, there has been a disturbing spurt in anti-national activity. The people of both these states must be given an early opportunity to elect their rulers afresh.

Corruption in Haryana

In so far as the Haryana Chief Minister is concerned, the Opposition has given to the Prime Minister a well documented charge sheet about his corrupt doings. The Prime Minister has publicly declared that he is having the matter looked into. The National Executive demands that pending completion of the enquiry, Mr. Bhajan Lal should be asked to step down.

□

National Executive

Gandhinagar 08-09 October, 1985

Threat to the Constitution

The National Executive of the BJP records its appreciation of the painstaking report produced by the Working Group set up by the Party President to review the Party's working during the past five years.

The Executive endorses the core recommendations contained on pages 20-21, and commends to the Party's National Council the following resolutions:

The National Council hereby resolves:

1. That **Integral Humanism**, propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, shall be the basic philosophy of the party.
2. That the party restates its basic commitments as follows:
 - (a) **Nationalism and National Integration**
 - (b) **Democracy**
 - (c) **Gandhian approach** to socio-economic issues leading to the establishment of an egalitarian society free from exploitation
 - (d) **Positive Secularism**, that would mean *Sarva Dharma Samabhava*
 - (e) **Value based politics**
3. That the party restates its objective as follows:

“The Bharatiya Janata Party aims at establishing a democratic state which guarantees to all its citizens, irrespective of caste, creed or sex, political, social and economic justice, equality of opportunity and liberty of faith and expression. The Bharatiya Janata Party is pledged to build up India as a strong and prosperous nation, which is modern, progressive and enlightened in outlook and which proudly draws inspiration from India's age-old culture and values, and thus is able to emerge as a great world power playing an effective role in the comity of nations for the establishment of world peace and a just international order.”

Accepting the Recommendation, the National Council adopted the above resolution at its meeting held on October 11, 1988.



National Executive

Indore

04-05 January, 1984

A. Partisan Misuse of Power

Bank Loans to Handpicked Persons

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party takes strong exception to the function taking place this evening at the Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, under the auspices of nationalised banks where over 40,000 bank loans meant for the weaker sections will be disbursed by Mr Rajiv Gandhi, the Congress (I) General Secretary, to persons handpicked by the ruling party.

No Proper Procedure

Extending loans to weaker sections is a commendable task, and is an ongoing policy with all the banks. But doing this without inviting applications, and without going through a proper procedure, can only result in cheating thousands of deserving people of their due.

Shameless Misuse of Official Power

The Executive regards this as a shameless misuse of official power for party ends. It feels shocked that the Reserve Bank of India and the management of nationalised banks should be colluding with the ruling party in this blatant subversion of constitutional and democratic norms.

Subversion of Constitutional Norms

One of the hallmarks of a democracy is the scrupulous distinction maintained between the Government and the ruling party.

During the past one decade, this dividing line is being progressively obliterated. This function symbolises the total effacement of the dividing line and constitutes a serious assault on our democratic Constitution.

President's Required Intervention

The National Executive wishes to draw the pointed attention of the Rashtrapati, who is the custodian of constitutional norms, to this scandalous development and seeks his immediate intervention in the matter.

B. Assam

Illegal Immigration

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its deep concern at the continuing state of instability and civil disaffection which persists in the strategically important state of Assam. We hold that if the basic problems in Assam, i.e., uncontrolled illegal immigration and continued non-detection of infiltrators, are not solved, very serious harm will be caused not only to that sensitive region but to the whole country. Indeed, this problem of illegal immigration is no longer confined to the North-East, but has spread also to states like West Bengal and Bihar.

Adoption of a Deliberately Retrograde Law

The Illegal Immigrants (Detection by Tribunals) Bill, 1983, was recently steam-rolled through the two houses of Parliament. The Bharatiya Janata Party regards this law as a retrograde step. This Bill has been brought about without consultation either with the opposition parties or with the All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP). We would like to caution the Government about the serious implications of this Bill. This Bill will tend to perpetuate the problem rather than solve it. Prima facie, the provisions of this Bill violate the Constitution, the Citizenship Act, the Foreigners Act and other similar laws. By executive action, citizenship has been granted to all the pre-25 March, 1971 entrants. Detecting illegal immigrants is the duty of the

Government, not of private citizens. By this Act, the executive has shifted this responsibility essentially to the citizens. This is not only a serious abnegation of responsibility, it amounts to deliberately accentuating strains and strife among the people. Further, by providing that only citizens residing within 3 miles would be entitled to report about illegal immigrants only exposes the utter insincerity of the Government. This provision virtually reduces the law to a farce.

Continued Infiltration

The Bharatiya Janata Party feels extremely distressed that the border in the eastern region remains unguarded, and that infiltration continues unabated. It urges upon the Government to immediately implement the agreement arrived at during the tripartite discussions that effective steps would be taken to seal the borders.

Government Urged to Resume Talks

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its deep shock at the reports of uncontrolled and arbitrary violence on peaceful citizens of Assam by the police and other agencies of the state. The Party reiterates its unequivocal condemnation of terrorism or separatism. But elements indulging in violence feel encouraged when the Government refuses to seek solutions to problems through negotiations. If extremism is raising its head in Assam, the responsibility lies principally on the Government, which refuses to talk to the movement leaders.

The Bharatiya Janata Party urges upon the Union Government to resume talks without delay and strive for a lasting solution to the problems in that state.

C. Punjab Situation

A Worsening Scenario

The Punjab situation has gone from bad to worse. It has reached a crisis point. Violence and terrorism have been fanned out from the Punjab to reach neighbouring states and even Delhi itself. There are brazen threats and treasonable statements made with impunity by extremist elements. The Babbar Khalsa spokesmen have boasted that they murdered many Nirankaris and that they will continue to do so in the future. The All India Sikh Students' Federation has categorised Hindu imperialism as the Sikh Panth's enemy No. 1. They spared neither the Nirankaris nor Radhasoamis nor the Namdharis. The Akhand Kirtani Jattha has claimed that nothing less than a Sikh State will bring peace to the region. And that self-styled Saint, Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwala, continues to issue inflammatory and treasonable statements, secure in the belief that the Government will not lay hands on him.

Collusion Between Congress (I) and the Extremists

It is not surprising that terrorist violence and secessionist talk have reached such a crescendo. The Government is not only watching the scene helplessly, it is appearing to connive even with a section of the extremists. In a shocking disclosure of how she thinks, the Prime Minister, during an interview to a Bomaby weekly implicitly defended Bhinderanwala by saying that he alone was not responsible for terrorism. She went on to describe much of the terrorism in Punjab as having arisen from individual acts, whatever that might mean. This justification of Bhinderanwala's inflammatory and provocative statements, which are in open violation of law, by the Prime Minister herself lends strength to the general conviction that there is collusion between the Congress (I) and the extremist elements, which are bent upon creating communal violence. It is tragic that in the quest of petty electoral gains, the Prime Minister and the ruling party should play with the nation's security and the fate of the Punjab.

Failure of Akali Dal to Condemn Violence

The crisis is compounded by the total failure of the Akali Dal to condemn violence against innocent people and the flagrant misuse of the Golden Temple complex. The Akalis, by their sins of ommission,

are unwittingly aiding those committed to drive a wedge between the communities and between Punjab and the rest of the country. From press reports, there appears to be clear evidence that there are elements within the Golden Temple complex who are indulging in gun-running and plotting acts of terrorism all over the state.

Central Government's Failure to Curb Anti-National Activities

The Bharatiya Janata Party is convinced that the acts and utterances of anti-national extremists are not endorsed by even a fraction of the total Sikh population. However, the continuing policy of drift and conspiracy being followed by the Central Government can create a situation which will get out of control. The BJP demands that the Government immediately take necessary steps to counter these anti-national activities and to put under arrest all those secessionist elements who brazenly defy the law. Already a situation has been reached where the people of Punjab have lost confidence in the ability of the present Central Government to safeguard their lives and honour and preserve the security of the nation. The BJP deplors the failure of the Akalis to condemn and purge from their ranks all extremist elements. It is no longer a matter of doubt that the Golden Temple complex is being used as a hideout by criminals and murderers. But the Akali leaders continue to deny this patent fact. Despite the fact that all the opposition parties have urged them to suspend the agitation, the Akalis have paid no heed. If the Akalis want to regain credibility, it is time for the leadership to rise to the occasion, show some courage and backbone and meet their responsibility to society and the state.

BJP's Resolve to Help the People of Punjab

The crisis in Punjab today is the result of the criminal opportunism of the Congress (I), the treasonable activities of the extremists and the pusillanimity of the Akalis. The Bharatiya Janata Party is resolved to combat this crisis and to defend with all its strength the unity and harmony of the nation. In this hour of their trial and tribulation, the Bharatiya Janata Party assures the people of Punjab that the whole nation stands behind them.

□

National Council

Indore

06-08 January, 1984

Political Situation

Congress (I)'s False Propaganda

During the past few months, the Congress (I) has been projecting itself as the sole custodian of the country's unity and integrity, and has been telling the people that its ouster from office would spell the country's disintegration.

Congress Responsible for Disturbing Developments

The Bharatiya Janata Party regards the Congress (I)'s claim as utterly spurious and reflective simply of its arrogant intolerance of opposition parties, a characteristic of all authoritarian rulers. In fact, the BJP is of the view that if today the country's unity has really become imperilled by disturbing developments in the north-east and the north-west, in Assam, in Punjab, or in Jammu and Kashmir, the blame lies squarely on the ruling party which has been inclined to take all decisions purely from the point of political and electoral advantage, unmindful even of national interest.

Massive Alien Infiltration

It is this consideration which makes the Government turn a blind eye to the massive infiltration of Bangladeshis, not only into Assam and Tripura, but also into West Bengal and Bihar, a development which is jeopardising the country's economy no less than its security. Also, the Government is unwilling to do anything to prevent auctioning of minority property by the Bangladesh Government.

Mrs. Gandhi's Utter Failure

Mrs. Gandhi first became Prime Minister in 1966. Except for a brief intervening period of two and a half years, she has been at the helm of affairs continuously for nearly 17 years now. It is ridiculous for her to be looking around all the while for scapegoats to blame

for her own failures. The people have twice given her a massive mandate. But her Government's record of achievement has been uniformly bleak.

This month, the Congress (I) Government at New Delhi completes four years of its second term. These four years have been particularly barren. There is not a single achievement which this Government can claim credit for. The common man's misery has multiplied manifold – particularly because of the back-breaking inflation and the complete breakdown of law and order. Corruption, which has now acquired legitimacy, is completely undermining the economy. The 'Government that works' slogan of 1984 is one which Congressmen feel embarrassed even being reminded of. No wonder, the speeches delivered and the resolutions adopted at the party's Calcutta session conspicuously omitted even to mention this promise. Indeed, these speeches and resolutions contained little other than demagogic diatribes against the opposition, and paeans of sycophantic praise for Mrs. Gandhi and her family.

Progressive Erosion of Institutions

The biggest achievement of the Janata Government was the restoration of democracy. From the standpoint of institutions like the Parliament, the Press, and the Judiciary, which are the pillars of democracy, the 1977-79 phase was a golden phase. After the return of Mrs. Gandhi to power in 1980, the country has been witnessing a progressive erosion of these institutions. Institutions like the Election Commission also are being systematically denigrated. The Government refuses to implement several very valuable recommendations made by the Election Commission and opposition parties aimed at curbing the pernicious role of money power, and abuse of official machinery. The ruling party's innate allergy to democracy, and its desire to foist on the country a dynasty untrammelled by any checks and restraints, keeps manifesting itself in various ways.

Probability of Emergency being Imposed Again

The most disturbing document to emerge from the Calcutta session is the General Secretaries' report. This Report has unabashedly extolled the Emergency. It would be in place

to recall that during the campaign for the 1980 Lok Sabha elections, Mrs. Gandhi was generally apologetic about the Emergency. The impression given to the electorate was that Emergency was an aberration never to be repeated again. This Report of Congress (I) General Secretaries only proves that the imposition of Emergency was not just a panicky reaction. It was a conscious decision of which the ruling party still feels proud. In fact, this Report amounts to an ominous warning that if the ruling party is faced with any real threat of ouster (as it was in June, 1975, after the Allahabad High Court verdict), it would have no qualms about throwing democracy overboard a second time. This is a warning which all democrats in the country would do well to heed.

Intolerance of the Opposition

One of the worst manifestations of Congress (I)'s undemocratic intolerance of the Opposition is in the field of Centre-State relations. If today, in some states, there are non-Congress (I) Governments in the saddle, it is by virtue of a popular verdict. But the ruling party at the Centre is just not prepared to tolerate them. A ceaseless effort is on to topple them by hook or by crook. The Moily tapes scandal has only laid bare how unscrupulous the ruling party can be in the pursuit of this objective.

National Democratic Alliance

At the National Council session in April last year, the Party President had called for the formation of a joint front of nationalist, democratic parties.' Four months later, the Lok Dal and the Bharatiya Janata Party came together to form the National Democratic Alliance. The NDA has been working with perfect harmony and cooperation for the last six months. In the latest round of by-elections, even though

the results have not been upto the expectations, the dedication and zeal with which the activists of the two parties worked for each other has given immense strength and confidence to both the constituents of the Alliance.

Congress Targeting the NDA

It is noteworthy that at its Calcutta session, the ruling party's attack on the Opposition has been directed principally against the NDA. No epithets have been spared in reviling the NDA. In a way, this reflects the Congress (I)'s own assessment of the relative strength of the various opposition combinations. In sharp contrast, the criticism of the Communist parties in official documents is conspicuously lukewarm. This has a clear political significance which democratic parties must take due note of. The CPI is sharply riven into two camps on the question whether the party should revert to its pro-Mrs. Gandhi Emergency role or not. Of late, there is a perceptible softening towards the Congress (I) even in the CPI (M) Camp.

Move to Strengthen the NDA

Even when the National Democratic Alliance was launched six months back, the Alliance leaders had declared that they would welcome other nationalist and democratic parties also joining hands with them. They have recently reiterated this stand. The BJP National Council endorses this approach, and earnestly hopes that other parties would respond positively.

On its part, the Bharatiya Janata Party resolves:

1. The Party will draw up a charge-sheet against the Congress (I) in respect of the three major counts referred to above, namely :
 - (a) Damage to national unity;
 - (b) Betrayal of the 'Government that works' mandate, rampant corruption and inflation, and the resultant misery caused to all sections of the population, more particularly to Harijans minorities, women, and other weaker sections; and
 - (c) Subversion of democracy and democratic institutions. A series of mass demonstrations will be organised all over the country in this regard.
2. Even while maintaining its separate identity, the party

will continue to strengthen the National Democratic Alliance. It will exert to draw up a concerted election startegy with other nationalist and democratic parties.

□

National Executive

Ahmedabad

31 March-2 April, 1984

Corruption

The International Monetary Fund has in its latest report, provided information that pricks, and bursts a favourite propaganda balloon of the ruling party which has been claiming a highly efficient management of the national economy as one of its major achievements. But the Fund assigns India the highest place in the volume of black money circulating in the economy. Its proportion is put at 50 per cent compared to 10 per cent in UK, and 15 per cent in the United States. Figures for the Iron Curtain countries are naturally not available. The nexus between black money and corruption is a self-evident economic truth. That the country has been virtually adjudged the most corrupt country must cause anguish and humiliation to all self-respecting Indians though it might gladden the hearts of corrupt Congressmen who have brought the country to this sorry pass.

The National Executive of the BJP is deeply exercised about this distressing phenomenon and wishes to present its analysis and remedies for national discussion and adoption.

In the opinion of the National Executive of the BJP the primary cause of corruption is the electoral system. Colossal sums are required for greasing the electoral machine whether it be for elections to Parliament, State legislatures or lesser instruments of local self-government. In key constituencies the expenses are said to be of the order of over a crore of rupees. The ruling party habitually flaunts its vast resources on the eve of elections. It uses them in a manner which is both corrupt and obscene and finally distorts, and frustrates the popular will. These vast resources are obviously collected by misuse of governments powers. Between two elections, the government, its offices and influential party officials use their entire time and energy in collecting funds for the Party. Thus fund collection is only a camouflage for organised bribery; corrupt sale of official favours for price settled and paid. A good part of bribes is retained by him who collects and only the balance goes to the Party. The latter being an accomplice defends the former and the government itself becomes a vast conspiracy for the mutual suppression of corruption and crime.

The enforcement of corruption laws is an inevitable casualty. The requisite political will just does not exist. The corrupt officer indulges in corruption in the comforting belief that he is not doing anything different from his superiors. The anti-corruption bureau of the police force wastes its energy and resources on crimes so insignificant as to be almost excusable.

These vast sums of money are drawn mainly from two sources; the world of business including industry and the under-world of organised crime. A state of unholy matrimony has come to exist between the corrupt businessman and the corrupt politician. The former has to generate black money to finance the latter's election and the latter has to promote the former's wholesale violation of law by which the black money is generated. Tax evasion, adulteration of food stuffs, galloping prices, smuggling and the rise of a murderous Mafia, are only some of the evils that threaten to overwhelm our social and economic life. Biggest criminals are now either with the ruling party or are enjoying its protection.

These conclusions are supported by a mass of evidence of a conclusive character. Reference may well be made to two cases both furnished by unimpeachable judicial record. The Supreme Court in its famous judgment in the Sanchaita Scheme Case pointed out how three men of no substance starting with a capital of Rs. 7000 had turned millionaires. In one benami account alone some thirty crores had been laundered and withdrawn. The money admittedly was black money and belonged to a political party. It could only be the ruling party. A respectable magazine openly alleged that the money was being controlled by a Cabinet Minister.

Mrs. Gandhi's government and the Reserve Bank did not undertake any investigation or take charge of documents despite expression of hope by the Supreme Court. The bizarre corruption was overlooked and its exposure prevented.

Cases were pending against the notorious Galadhari brothers for large-scale smuggling carried on by them for more than a decade to the ruin of the national economy. Mrs. Gandhi visited the Gulf countries. One of the absconding accused organised a 'Son of India Exhibition'. Within a week of Mrs. Gandhi's return to India instructions were issued for withdrawal of the long pending cases. Statements were made that the Galadhari

brothers would invest Rs. 135 crores in some new industries in Hyderabad. Not a pie has been invested, but the cases were withdrawn and the accused are now highly welcome visitors to the corridors of power. Obviously their investment was different from the one ostensibly promised.

Less important causes of corruption are the somewhat irrational tax structure and the low salaries of public officials in the face of a galloping cost of living. It is well known that tax returns are usually mythical documents. A part of the tax evaded is then kept apart to grease the palms of inconvenient officials and corrupt politicians. Even in 1964 the Santhanam Committee reported: "We were told by a large number of witnesses that in all contracts of construction, purchases, sales and other regular business on behalf of government, a regular percentage is paid by the parties to the transaction and this is shared in agreed proportions among the various officials concerned.

Where there is power and discretion, there is always the possibility of abuse, more so when the power and discretion have to be exercised in the context of scarcity and control and pressures, to spend public money.

Failure of integrity is not uncommon among ministers and absolute integrity on their part is an indispensable condition for establishment of a tradition of purity in public services."

The area of corruption was rising even then. After the advent of Mrs. Gandhi the graph presents an alarming picture. It is a threat to the very security of our political structure. Most democratic governments in Asia and Africa have vanished because of intolerable corruption. Most army coups have justified themselves by promises to eliminate civilian corruption.

The emergency was imposed in 1975 to prevent exposure of sordid corruption of the ruling regime whose exposure was poised

to throw it out of power. Comparable conditions have come to exist again and the threat of authoritarianism is no less potent.

To eliminate corruption some steps have to be urgently taken or initiated. The nation is irrevocably committed to the concept of a welfare state. The National Executive of the BJP believes, consistently with its conception of Gandhian socialism, that economic power must be decentralised, and official and ministerial opportunities to collect money by conferring official favours must be reduced to a minimum. Only controls to preserve standards of purity and excellence of products to safeguard foreign exchange position of the country to maintain essential supplies and services to the community and to ensure social justice, and reduce disparities, can be justified.

Another and perhaps a more urgent step is the reform of our electoral system. Only specified and controlled publicity must be allowed to candidates and party expenses must be curtailed and borne by the State. Machinery can be devised by the Election Commission by which all candidates are treated equally and equitably in all matters including access to mass media controlled by Government.

The Tax structure must be rationalised for providing sufficient incentives to savings and avoiding harassment to honest tax payers. Perks must be rendered tax free. Service conditions of officials including those in the Judicial services be so designed as to minimise temptations to illicit income on the side. Sustained propaganda must be directed against known offenders. They must be publicised and socially ostracised. They should be made unwelcome in any decent company. Women's organisations must be recruited to help in this campaign.

The People's 'Right to Know' (on the lines of the Freedom of Information Act in the United States) must be recognised and enforced by law. Evidence of corruption often lies concealed in government files, which are kept away from public gaze by being classified as Secret or Confidential. The pre-Independence Official Secrets Act of 1911 - a measure designed by the British to maintain their colonial ' regime - is retained intact by the Congress government despite criticism by prestigious intellectuals and the Press Council of India. The corresponding British statute has also been drastically changed, after the Franks Committee report. Notwithstanding anything contained in any law no document shall be exempt from

production in any public inquiry if it contains or is reasonably suspected to contain any evidence relevant to the proof of corruption. The institution of Commissions of Inquiry is a very useful and powerful instrument for the discovery of truth particularly about the character of politicians. Unfortunately, Mrs. Gandhi and the ruling party have ruined the efficacy of this instrument for selfish reasons and to avoid the consequences of adverse findings. The institution has to be refurbished and restored to its full public utility. The Act must be changed to make the following provisions:

- (a) The presiding judge should be nominated for every Commission by the Chief Justice of India in consultation with a panel selected from the retired Chief Justices of India and Lokpal, if any.
- (b) Any one indicted by the Commission shall, at the discretion of the Commission, be disqualified from holding any public office, for a designated period.
- (c) Every Commission should have the power to punish for contempt of itself like a Supreme Court.

□

National Executive

Ahmedabad

31 March-02 April, 1984

Assault on Local Democracy

The National Executive of the BJP expresses its grave concern at the growing tendency among the Congress(I) state Governments to deprive citizens of their right to govern their local-self-government institutions through their elected representatives. It is a matter of fact that the Congress(I) state Governments have declared a war on the local bodies throughout the country. Today, seventy-five per cent of Panchayats, Municipal Committees stand dissolved or superseded and only about a dozen of the sixty odd municipal corporations are being governed by the people's elected representatives.

Supersession of Bombay Municipal Corporation

The National Executive is shocked at the manner in which the Government of Maharashtra has superseded the century-old Bombay Municipal Corporation. It was done unabashedly even though all preparations for the elections had been already made and a provisional programme announced by the Municipal Administrator. The fact that the BMC Act had to be amended before the Corporation could be superseded because the original BMC Act did not have any provision for supersession shows to what length the Congress (I) can go to achieve its partisan ends. Still more painful is the fact that instead of holding elections to the already superseded Municipal Corporations and Councils in the state, the Government of Maharashtra chose to continue for one more year the bureaucratic rule in these institutions. It is obvious that the Congress(I) party does not wish to face any elections before the Lok Sabha poll, because it is afraid of the impact a defeat in the civic elections would have on the Lok Sabha verdict.

The National Executive is of the considered opinion that this tendency to wreck these local bodies, which are the cradles of democracy and training grounds for democratic values and practices, must be curbed.

The National Executive demands that all state Governments must take immediate steps to conduct Municipal elections wherever

these bodies are in bureaucratic hands.

Constitutional Sanction: a Must for Local Bodies

The National Executive also demands that the Constitution should be suitably amended to give constitutional sanction to the existence of local bodies and to protect them from arbitrary supersession. Also, as suggested by the Election Commission, the elections of local bodies also should be held under the overall supervision of the Election Commission.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

22-24 June, 1984

A. Punjab Situation

Drift and Deterioration

The Bharatiya Janata Party views the Punjab scene today with mixed feelings of relief and sorrow. It is relieved that the overt terrorist activity has been curbed. But it is also sorry to note that things were allowed to drift and deteriorate to a point where Army action alone could salvage the nation from a near-fatal situation.

In this hour of national catharsis, cleansing of the soul, the BJP bows its head in the memory of the hundreds of innocent people who lost their lives during the last four years. The BJP salutes the soldiers who fell while clearing the Durbar Saheb of the lawless elements violating its sanctity.

Need for Deep Introspection

The tragedy that has just been enacted is an occasion for deep introspection. The Sikh Panth was born to protect Hinduism and the venerable Sikh Gurus sacrificed themselves and their dear children to protect Hindu honour. The Sikh contribution to the strength and prosperity of India is magnificent, and the nation is truly grateful. Yet the politics of Punjab discloses deep distrust, hostility, divisiveness and pettiness. The cult of violence has been embraced and practised, dealing a severe blow to national defence and solidarity.

Need for Strengthening Nationalist Feeling

The Army action may have curbed violence but what needs to be transformed are the emotions and feelings of the people involved. This can only be done by fostering a sense of single citizenship of a strong United India, and subordinating all regional and communal demands to the supreme needs of the Republic of India. This in turn can be accomplished in an atmosphere of love and friendship and an intellectual realisation that nothing that weakens the nation can ever bring any good to a section thereof.

Mrs. Gandhi's Responsibility

The BJP holds Mrs. Gandhi's Government squarely responsible for the tragic happenings in Punjab. Shri Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwala and his band of youngmen breathing violence and hatred were entirely her creation. As late as on the eve of the Army action, her son and General Secretary of her party said publicly that Bhinderanwala was a man of religion, and not a terrorist.

Bhinderanwala in League with Congress

The ruling party has been playing politics with the explosive situation all the time. While the Akali leadership showed lack of courage and even disregarded the joint Opposition request that Akal Takht should issue a *hukumnama* against the murder of innocents, the Congress set up Bhinderanwala to queer the Akali pitch. Akali leaders began to compete with him in obduracy and unreasonableness. It is noteworthy that in the 1980 general elections, Bhinderanwala campaigned for Congress (I) candidates and in the SGPC elections, Congress (I) men worked for Bhinderanwala's men.

Deliberate Policy of Drift

The Punjab problem was, and is, basically political, and there was, and is, a political solution for it. But the Congress (I) adopted a deliberate policy of drift, delay and attrition, just to ensure its own hegemony in the state. It failed to clinch issues when agreement was in sight last year. In the process, an avoidable situation became unavoidable and the Army had to be called in. Had action been taken last year, when DIG Atwal was murdered on the steps of the Golden Temple, the mischief could have been nipped in the bud, without using the Army, without suffering or inflicting heavy casualties, and

without subjecting the country to all these shock waves.

SGPC's Share of Responsibility

The SGPC cannot escape responsibility for letting the criminals and terrorists hide in the Durbar Saheb, converting it into an arsenal and staging murder and mayhem. In this sinister situation, some misguided Jawans even deserted their posts of duty and raised anti-national slogans. At the same time, heaps of foreign arms were seized in Durbar Saheb. The whole thing is a reflection on the SGPC, the Akali Dal and the Government alike.

In this moment of bitter truth, the SGPC and the Akali Dal must look within and see how their separatist politics has exposed the entire Sikh community to a tragic trauma.

Unity and Sanity Displayed by the People

However, the great big hopeful fact of the situation is the unity and sanity displayed by the people of the Punjab. The masses have maintained peace and amity among themselves in town and village inspite of grave provocation and false propaganda. Nor is this to be wondered at, considering the fact that Sikhism was born to protect Dharma, and Hindus and Sikhs have had the sweetest of relations down the centuries. The future of the Punjab must be built on the bedrock of this unity and sanity of the people.

The Bharatiya Janata Party, therefore, demands

1. that the Durbar Sabebe should be speedily opened to devotees;
2. that the damage caused to the holy Akal Takht must be repaired in a befitting manner in accordance with the Sikh practice; the BJP calls upon all sections of society to participate in Kar Seva wholeheartedly;

3. that the Government must take steps to ensure that no mandir, mosque, church, gurudwara or other place of worship will ever again store arms or harbour criminals;
4. that the White Paper which the Government proposes to publish should not be confined just to the Army action and its aftermath, but should comprehensively cover all developments relating to Punjab during the last four years;
5. that a high power inquiry be instituted to report on the circumstances in which terrorism and secessionism were allowed to acquire dangerous dimensions in the state, on how sophisticated arms, including foreign arms, found their way into Gurudwaras, how a few thousand Jawans deserted the Army, and the role of foreign powers in all this;
6. that Press censorship may be lifted in the Punjab immediately;
7. that all innocent losses of life, limb and property must be suitably compensated for; and
8. that early steps should be taken towards resumption of negotiations with regard to the pending disputes relating to territory, river waters etc.

B. Assam

Govt's Failure to Initiate a Dialogue

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive expresses its grave disquiet at the continued neglect of Assam and its problems by the Central Government. This is best evidenced by the apathetic attitude of the Government agitation in these intervening months during which there was no worth while contact. This period ought to have been utilised by the Government constructively. A purposeful dialogue should have been started with the leaders of the AASU and AAGSP for a political resolution of the problems of that state. The Government's failure to do so has now resulted in the resumption of agitation in that troubled state.

Unchecked Continuance of Infiltration

It is noteworthy that despite the claims of normalcy, Section 144 has been in force in Assam for the last five years.

Free assembly continues to be denied to the citizens of the state. The tribunals constituted for the purpose of identifying illegal immigrants, whose very institution the BJP had opposed as being both mis-leading and counter-productive, are not at all functioning. Work on the erection of barbed wire fence, along the Bangladesh-Assam border, is now at standstill. Indications are that this necessary step has now been abandoned by the Government. The problem of illegal infiltration into that state continues unchecked. Charlands continue to be occupied illegally, and encroachment on reserve forest lands also continues without let or hindrance. In fact, agencies of the state are working overtime to regularise such illegalities.

Criminalisation of Politics

Instead of attending to these issues and working purposefully towards achieving a more active participation and involvement of the people of Assam, yet another blatant and callous assault was made on 15th June on the basic civil liberties of the citizens of Assam. Extremely disturbing reports have been received about forcible opening of shops etc. Agencies of law and order are once again behaving in a lawless manner. The use of NSUI boys for this is tantamount to criminalisation of politics. If peaceful means of protest are countered by arbitrary and mindless violence of the state, then this can only result in an even greater alienation of the people from it. Much more disquieting is the encouragement to extremism and violence that such actions inevitably provide.

Electoral Rolls in Need of Immediate Revision

Countrywide elections are due by January, 1985. In Assam, despite claims of peace and tranquility, and despite the Election Commission's pressing request on the subject, no action has been initiated for a proper scrutiny and revision of electoral rolls. Assam cannot be expected to remain unrepresented in Parliament for a second successive general election. That would be a mockery of our democratic functioning. Equally, the electoral rolls of 1979 cannot once again be imposed on this state. Even though the BJP does not subscribe to 1971 as being any kind of a cut off year, for practical considerations

only, the rolls of 1971 can constitute the basis for revision. But there has to be a fresh revision. This is the consensus view of all political parties including the Congress (I).

Talks to be Resumed

Even now, it is not too late. The Government must act decisively and with the necessary political will to resolve the many complex problems afflicting that state. It needs to be reiterated that the role of Assam in the entire North-East is of central importance. The vital importance of this region cannot be overlooked. The Bharatiya Janata Party, therefore, urges upon the Government to resume talks with the leaders of the Assam movement without any further delay. Should such an initiative be forthcoming from the Government, then, simultaneously, the leaders of the movement should give up the path of agitation. The primary responsibility for initiating a process of reconciliation and for political resolution of the problems rests with the Government. Not to do so would be to compound the mistakes that were made in Assam in 1983.

□

National Council

Pune

12-14 October, 1984

Political Situation

Congress (I) Guilty of Jeopardising National Unity

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Council holds the Congress(I) Government guilty of jeopardising national unity, subverting democracy, creating conditions of near-anarchy and corroding the moral fibre of the society.

Both in the north-east and the north-west, Congress (I)'s partisan policies have led to violence, terrorism and even secessionism. In Punjab, while one section feels alienated, the other feels insecure. History cannot forget, or forgive, the fact that Bhinderanwala was a creation of the Congress (I). It is the Congress (I) Government which has been principally responsible for inducting and promoting terrorism in Punjab's public life. Even now, there is no effort at a political settlement of what is basically a political problem. A political solution alone can restore peace and prosperity to this sensitive border state. Of course, elements preaching secession must be identified and isolated. It must be made clear to all that there can be no compromise with the country's integrity, and that the demand for Khalistan will not be tolerated. Bharatiya Janata Party is of the view that there is no justification for the continued detention of the leaders of the Bharatiya Janata Party and Akali Dal and other political or religious leaders against whom there are no charges of violence or subversion.

Continued Franchise to Infiltrators

The Assam situation continues to be grave. In fact, the policy of deliberate drift pursued by the Government in respect of foreign nationals can prove as dangerous for the country's unity as the Government's policy in Punjab has been. The Election Commission as well as almost all political parties have favoured acceptance of the 1971 rolls as the basis for revision. But the Congress (I) is opposed to the proposal. They are keen to ensure continued franchise to lakhs of infiltrators

who have come between 1971 and 1979. Tribunals have been set up to detect foreigners. But, in the first seven months of their working, the twenty Tribunals set up, have declared just one person as a foreign infiltrator! Indeed, these Tribunals are a cruel joke on the people of Assam.

The ruling party's refusal to accept the Election Commission's recommendations about electoral rolls can only lead to a second time denial of representation to Assam in the Parliament. It seems, the Government has learnt no lesson from the traumatic holocaust which its policies inflicted on Assam last year.

Meanwhile, in the state Opposition party governments have been toppled to instal puppet regimes.

Flagrant Violation of Guidelines

In Sikkim, the Chief Minister was dismissed by the Governor even though he enjoyed majority support in the Assembly. In Kashmir, a midnight coup was engineered in the Governor's Palace to topple Dr. Farooq Abdullah. In both the cases, the guidelines laid down by the Speakers' Conference in 1968 and the Governors' Conference in 1972, were flagrantly violated.

However, the most sinister Operation Topple came in Andhra Pradesh. Here, the Governor, acting as an agent of the Congress (I), unconstitutionally dismissed NTR, Chief Minister, and installed the leader of the Congress (I)-Defector combine in office. The whole of India was shocked. The Press spoke out with indignation. The Andhra people rose to a man. The heroic struggle of the Andhra people for democracy hit the world headlines. People's power, demonstrated in Opposition unity, defeated this dirty conspiracy. The entire thing revealed, as in a flash, the depths to which the Congress (I) could descend, and the heights to which Opposition unity can carry the people's power.

The Bharatiya Janata Party salutes the people of Andhra for their historic struggle and congratulates them on their glorious success. It was their struggle, and their success, that preempted more operations topple in Karnataka and West Bengal.

Widespread Violence

Even the maintenance of law and order has become a serious casualty in India today. Widespread violence prevails in Mizoram,

Tripura, Manipur and Nagaland. In Orissa, twelve engineering college students of Burla, Sambalpur District, were murdered and their bodies thrown in a local power channel. When the people observed a protest Bandh, six more people were shot down.

Atrocities on women and other weaker sections, such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, have increased manifold during these past years. Even journalists have been victims of officially patronised goondaism.

In Gujarat, the Solanki Government presides over the dangerously explosive situation that recently erupted in the massacre of peasants in village Mangadh, District Bhavnagar.

In parts of the country, Congress (I) men have organised riots to divide the people. This is what they did in Baroda, Bhiwandi and Bombay. Of late, they have been particularly busy organising riots in non-Congress (I) states like Andhra. and Karnataka. And so, we had much violence in Hyderabad and Hubli, Bijapur, Belgaum and Bellary.

Nexus With the Underworld

Indeed, one of the principal reasons for the collapse of law and order in the country is the unholy nexus which subsists today between the ruling party and the underworld. According to a UP Minister, more than fifty per cent out of 8,000 administrators of co-operative societies nominated by the state government are either convicts or history-sheeters, or with criminal antecedents!

Perhaps, nothing revealed the true nature of the Congress (I)'s 'culture' today so much as the recent meet of its student front at Nagpur. Trains carrying NSUI 'delegates' came to be known as 'Loot-Mar Express'. Even the Red Light district found the Congress (I) hordes too bestial for them and downed their shutters for the duration. Today, the party stands before the country in all its

nakedness as a Government of the criminals, by the criminals and for the criminals. Only a decisive defeat of such a party can restore law and order, justice and decency in the country.

Congress (I), the Biggest Destabiliser

The Congress (I) tries to scare the people with nightmares of instability. The fact is that the Congress (I) itself is the biggest destabiliser of the Indian polity. Apart from the continuing efforts to topple non-Congress (I) governments, it has been shuffling its own Ministries, and portfolios of its own Ministers – both at the Centre and in the states like so many packs of cards. Some Congress (I) states have had as many as four Ministries in as many years.

Erosion of Democratic Institutions

However, even more serious is the erosion of our democratic institutions. The Centre has been denying states even the legitimate rights and powers conferred on them by the Constitution. Parliament and State Legislatures are being consciously devalued and debilitated. The Central Government has prostituted mass media for party and personal ends. It has been running down the Press. It has destroyed the autonomy of universities. And now, it is busy subverting the Judiciary. By dangling the sword of penal transfer over the head of judges and by keeping acting Chief Justices for long periods, the Government has already succeeded in seriously eroding the independence of the Judiciary and poisoning the wells of justice.

In Himachal Pradesh, the Assembly Speaker, whose performance as an able and conscientious Presiding Officer had earned rich encomiums from all quarters, was removed simply to provide one more place for the 36 Congress (I) MLAs, 28 of whom are already Ministers or enjoy ministerial status as Chairmen of some Boards.

All in all, we have just had the worst five years in living memory. It is clear that Mrs. Indira Gandhi cannot give us unity and stability, law and order. Her continuance in office can only breed greater disunity and insecurity, increasing lawlessness and corruption.

Ouster of Congress Government, a Crying Need

Gandhiji once said that if Congressmen continued to misbehave, a time would come when the people would hound them out of public

life. Today, that day has come. The country must realise the gravity of this situation, and throw out this Government. Then alone will it be possible to fulfil our dreams of yester years and build India into a land of Peace, Prosperity and Justice.



National Executive

New Delhi **14-15 November, 1984**

The Need of the Hour

Critical State of the Nation

Indian polity today stands at a critical crossroads 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 casteist passions, and a serious erosion of institutional strength. Nearly half of our citizens continue to groan under the dehumanising yoke of abject poverty aggravated by spiralling prices. Urban chaos and rural neglect have degraded the quality of our citizens' life.

Erosion of Moral Authority

The shocking assassination of the late Prime Minister and the subsequent occurrences are the most horrifying and telling symptoms of the erosion of moral authority and a total decay of the ruling party.

No New Initiative by the Govt.

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 re-establishment of a national consensus a primary task. Today's challenge cannot be met by yesterday's Government.

Need for a New Leadership

The need of the hour is a new policy, a new Government, a new leadership.

In the new polity, we stand committed to value-based

politics, to democracy, and to positive secularism.

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 the criminal.

National Consensus through Reconciliation

To this task, the Bharatiya Janata Party commits itself. It offers to participate in, and jointly undertake, any initiative for achieving a new national consensus through reconciliation.

It 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 artisans and the women of India.

Firm Commitment to Rural Development

Agriculture is the backbone of our nation. 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.

Endeavour to Build a New India

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 Bharatiya Janata Party accepts the challenge of the day, commits itself to meeting the need of the hour, invites all citizens to share these concerns and aspirations, and to join with us in our quest for a new polity, a new government and a new leadership.

□

National Executive

Jaipur

12-13 February, 1983

Communal Harmony and Social Cohesion

Congress Allowing Communal Virus to Spread on its Soil

The National Executive has heard the reports regarding the continued communal violence in Baroda for the past several months and the events in Kerala which have resulted in engulfing the state in the grip of communal violence and colossal loss of property in Trivandrum. While in Baroda, the Executive was informed, the situation was the result of a communal faction fight of the ruling Cong (I), about Kerala it was reported that the holocaust continued in the state capital and the Front Government headed by the Cong (I) remained a passive spectator and failed to preserve communal amity in the state where no communal riots taken place during the past five decades. The National Executive was also informed about the perfunctory manner in which the Cong (I) Government in Maharashtra had handled a delicate question of lessons in textbooks which resulted in a widespread misunderstanding and tension even in the academic circles. Leaders from Bengal described how on 5 and 6 February in the Kashipur area of Calcutta, the public wrath against anti-social groups was allowed by the police to assume communal dimensions. The Jahangirpuri incident in Delhi was cited as the latest example of how the communal virus has been allowed to spread its tentacles in the country's capital during the past three years of the Cong (I) rule.

Some members referred to the growth of caste tensions in certain areas and the failure of the administration to provide safety

and succour to the weaker sections. The National Executive thereafter adopted the following resolution.

A Call to BJP Workers

The National Executive is seriously exercised over the growing communal and caste tensions in different parts of the country, often leading to violence both against person and property. The long and almost uninterrupted Congress rule has miserably failed to establish peace and harmony amongst diverse elements of India's population, leaving the nation divided and weak.

Ruling Party's Blackmail Tactics

The ruling party seems to have acquired a vested interest in fostering and nurturing these tensions— an old trick which it has inherited from India's colonial rulers and perfected for its own political purposes. All these years, it has frightened and blackmailed large sections of minorities into its camp. Its proclaimed secularism is only a smokescreen that conceals diabolical and deep-seated communalism and caste exploitation.

No religion encourages or condones hatred or violence against one's fellow beings. India's Constitution promises equality and security to all its citizens irrespective of religion, caste or language.

What BJP Workers should Strive to Accomplish

The Party calls upon every member of the BJP to strive to the best of his ability to accomplish, by precept and example, by word and deed, what the governments have failed to achieve over the past few decades. In particular he must:

1. keep a watchful eye on every tension building up or situation developing which is likely to endanger communal peace and harmony;
2. take immediate and appropriate steps to defuse the tension and neutralise the situation; and
3. plunge courageously into the defence of the life and property of innocent people and make utmost personal sacrifice to this end.

Nationalism to Be Promoted

A Hindu, Muslem, Christian or whosoever maimed or killed is an Indian disabled or lost. The life and property lost is not just

a Hindu loss or Muslem loss but a national loss. Any atrocity on a Harijan is a crime against God and Indian humanity.

Bearing this in mind, the promotion of communal and social cohesion and harmony and the protection of the weaker sections are to a member of the BJP an Article of Faith.



National Council

New Delhi

15-17 April, 1983

Political Situation

Miserable Failures of the Ruling Party

The BJP National Council views with grave concern the rapidly deteriorating political situation in the country and holds the ruling party principally responsible for the present state of affairs.

In 1980, the Congress (I) had staged a comeback to office on the basis mainly of three promises: maintaining law and order, controlling inflation and ensuring political stability. On all the three counts, the present Government has failed, and failed miserably.

Never during these 36 years of Indian independence has the law and order situation been as bad as it is today. In some parts of the country, conditions of near anarchy prevail.

Despite flamboyant claims to the contrary, prices continue to soar. From a less than 1 per cent price rise in 1978-79, it has shot up to 10 per cent in 1982-83. The economy generally is in shambles.

As to political stability, the less said the better. The fierce factional feuds going on in the ruling party have made all Congress (I) governments in the states totally insecure and unstable. During the last three years, Andhra has had four Chief Ministers, Maharashtra has had three Chief Ministers, and Rajasthan, UP and Himachal Pradesh had two each. Not a single Congress (I) Chief Minister is sure that he would continue in the saddle for his full term.

It is the Congress (I) that was voted to power on a mandate of stability. But it is the non-Congress (I) Governments of Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Andhra and, relatively speaking, even Karnataka, which stand out as islands of stability in an ocean of Congress (I)

instability.

Even more serious than these failures is the Government's failure to safeguard the unity of the country. Indeed, the internecine fights going on within the ruling party have not only hurt the Government but also done serious damage to national unity.

Warring Cliques of the Ruling Party

Two years back, when the Gujarat medicos launched an agitation on the issue of reservation in medical colleges, rival factions of the ruling party had no qualms about converting the situation into a fratricidal civil war between the Scheduled Castes and the Non-Scheduled Castes, and taking it to the countryside where no one was at all concerned with medical colleges. Lately, there have been recurring communal riots in Baroda; an inquiry committee set up by the Gujarat Congress(I) itself is understood to have concluded that warring cliques of the ruling party led by two ministers of the state government have been mixed up in these riots.

It is noteworthy that during these last three years the atrocities on Harijans and other weaker sections have multiplied manifold. Pipra, Parasbigha, Deoli and Sarhupur are only a few of the more notorious episodes.

Congress (I), Creating a Mess in Punjab

The worst upshot of Congress (I)'s internal squabbles is the explosive situation that has developed in the Punjab. Till a few years back, the Khalistan demand was deemed to be the voice of a handful of eccentrics settled abroad. Today, if this campaign for a separate Sikh State has acquired dangerous dimensions, this is in no small measure due to the Congress (I)'s internal feuds. The campaign is now bolstered by the unceasing acts of terrorism and violence executed in the name of Dal Khalsa. It is an undisputed fact that the Dal Khalsa itself is the Congress(I)'s creation, and that contending groups of the Congress(I) have been using the extremist elements to fight one another and the Akalis.

Akali Dal is also Responsible

However, for the situation in the Punjab, the Government alone is not to be blamed. The Akali Dal is no less responsible. Of course, the Akalis do not talk about Khalistan, but they keep stressing that Sikhs are a separate nation. Even when they plead for a larger share of river waters or press their claim for Chandigarh, they keep complaining about injustice to the Sikh nation. When, on top of this, Akalis maintain a studied silence as Dal Khalsa elements go berserk, killing innocent citizens, assassinating editors opposed to Khalistan, hijacking planes, looting armouries, bursting bombs and indulging in arson, Akali bonafides even in respect of pronouncements regarding Khalistan become suspect in the eyes of many.

Government Need for Resolving Outstanding Issues

In so far as the specific dispute over river waters or territory between Punjab and Haryana is concerned, the tripartite talks held in January had considerably narrowed down the differences among the contending parties. There is a need to resume these talks at the earliest. We urge the Government to take the initiative in this regard.

Meanwhile, the BJP calls upon the Akali leadership to display statesmanship, condemn unequivocally all terrorist and separatist activity and reiterate that Sikhs are an integral part of the Indian nation.

BJP's Condemnation of Violence in Assam

In the North-East, Assam has just gone through a ghastly blood-bath which can be compared only with the partition killings of 1947. The BJP National Council unequivocally condemns the violence that has taken place in the state, whether it is violence committed by the state against citizens, or violence committed by one citizen against another or one group against another. The whole nation is naturally aghast at what has happened. And they would like to know who is responsible.

BJP's Demand for Judicial Enquiry

The Government has lately unleashed a clever propaganda campaign trying to link up this violence with the agitation and blaming the AASU or their supporters for these happenings. Let no one be misled by this mendacious propaganda. The Assam

movement has been going on for more than three years now. Except for some stray happenings, the agitation has throughout been peaceful. Considering the mass support the agitation has enjoyed and its sweep and intensity, this is remarkable. It is only during the last two months that this senseless violence has erupted. This in itself is proof that this violence has stemmed not from the agitation, but from the forced elections. These elections were held against the wishes of the people of Assam, against the wishes of several national parties and against the advice of the Election Commission. The BJP demands that a judicial inquiry be instituted to inquire into the entire tragedy, and to pinpoint responsibility.

Election only a Farce

The Assam election of 1983 will remain the bloodiest election in all history. It has been more of a farce than an election. It has given birth to a totally unrepresentative assembly, and a rootless Government. The only excuse the Government had for going through this farce was that a constitutional obligation had to be fulfilled. Now that the obligation has been fulfilled, let this Assembly be dissolved. Let talks with the movement leaders be resumed. The tripartite talks held earlier had identified a large area of agreement. There is no reason why the remaining differences cannot be sorted out and a settlement arrived at.

A gigantic problem that faces Assam today is the problem of relief and rehabilitation. The Central Government must attend to this task directly and urgently,

Enactment of a Dangerous Law

The situation in Jammu and Kashmir state also is disturbing. The people of Jammu and Ladakh are extremely sore at the

discrimination they have to suffer at the hands of Srinagar. Six months back, the ruling party in the state used its majority to pass a dangerous law named the Jammu & Kashmir Resettlement Act. The Governor himself observed that the Act made it “possible for spies, saboteurs and foreign agents to come and settle in our state as a matter of legal right.”

The communal motivations of the National Conference were obvious. But what was surprising was New Delhi’s acquiescence. The passing of the Bill could have been easily prevented if the Bill had not been returned to the Assembly, and had been referred to the Supreme Court for opinion straightaway. In a way, both the passing of the Bill and its reference to the Supreme Court seemed calculated acts of collusion intended to prepare the path for an electoral alliance between the Congress (I) and the National Conference.

Congress Party Interested only in Power Politics

The Congress (I) Government’s handling of the J & K Resettlement Bill provides yet another example to show how little concerned the ruling party is about national unity and security and that its principal obsession is political power. Everything else, whether it is democracy and democratic institutions, whether it is economic well-being of the common man or whether it is national unity and integrity – all else is subordinate to considerations of power-politics.

Regional Backlash

It is ironic, therefore, that the Congress (I) should be trying to project itself as a champion of national unity and the sole protector of the nation against forces of regionalism and disintegration. The ruling party’s claims in this regard have become particularly strident since its defeat in Andhra at the hands of the Telugu Desam. It certainly does not lie in the Congress (I)’s mouth to be railing against regionalism and regional parties. No one can forget that in Maharashtra, in Kerala, in Tamil Nadu and more recently in Tripura, the Congress (I) has been the biggest patron of regional parties. Also it should be appreciated that when you try to concentrate all power in New Delhi, and that too within one family, there is bound to be a regional backlash.

Sarkaria Commission

The National Council is surprised that though nearly one month has elapsed since the announcement of the Sarkaria Commission, neither its terms of reference nor its precise composition is yet known. We wish that when the Sarkaria Commission deals with the problem of decentralisation it does not concern itself only with the devolution of powers only as between the Centre and the states but also considers the question of decentralisation as between the state and the local bodies.

Inter-State Council

The BJP National Council feels that it is high time Article 163 of the Constitution is invoked and a constitutional forum created in the shape of the Inter-State Council to deal with the problems arising between the Union and the states and between one state and another.

Election Reforms

Yet another problem that calls for urgent attention is the cleansing of the political process. The Chief Election Commissioner has repeatedly urged banning of defections. Recently, he has expressed distress over the corroding influence of money power in elections. He has suggested a series of election reforms, including proposals to stop abuse of official machinery. The BJP demands that the Government must implement these recommendations without delay.

□

National Executive

Lucknow

21-23 October, 1983

Centre-State Relations

BJP's Stand for a Strong United India

The BJP is irrevocably committed to the ideal of a strong United India. It is also committed to the view that the basic features of its Constitution cannot be altered or destroyed by use of the amending powers of Parliament. Therefore, while fully supporting the demand for a review and reformation of the Centre-State relations, it does not favour changes outside those basic parameters. Thus, the BJP is opposed to the proposal made by some other opposition parties that the Centre's jurisdiction should be confined to just four subjects—Defence, External Affairs, Currency and Communications—and that in all other matters the states should be autonomous.

Decentralisation : An Absolute Necessity

The BJP is of the opinion that a vast country like India needs regional governments to administer its affairs and attend to its complex and varying problems. Even to strengthen democracy decentralisation of political power is imperative. The existence of states cannot, however, be allowed to dilute the sense of 'Indianness' and total loyalty to a single entity identified in national consciousness as 'Bharat Mata.' States must be recognised as vital political units, but there is no question of their becoming centres of parallel or conflicting loyalty.

No Weakening of States

The BJP is, however, sorry to note that the Centre has all along weakened the states in gross violation of the letter and spirit of our Constitution. States have been starved of funds. State ministries have been dismissed even while they enjoyed Assembly majority support. On other occasions, minority governments have been installed in party or group interest. The office of Governor has been devalued and reduced to that of a minion of the Centre. Governors have been

shuffled around like a pack of cards. State governments have been treated no better than municipalities.

BJP's Suggestions

This is an unacceptable position. The BJP urges its rectification in the true spirit of the Constitution. To this end it makes the following suggestions :

1. The office of Governor must be restored to its intended dignity and impartiality. This can be done by adhering to the following guidelines :
 - (a) The Centre must appoint the Governor in consultation with the state.
 - (b) Governors may not be retired prematurely, or continued indefinitely, or switched to and fro, without the approval of the state government (s) concerned.
 - (c) Governors must act with complete independence in the matter of reporting failure of the Constitutional machinery under Article 356 of the Constitution.
2. States must be provided with enough resources to discharge their responsibilities to the masses. To this end the following steps may be taken:
 - (a) Central excise, corporation tax and customs duties should be included in the Divisible Pool—and the states' share should be raised substantially.
 - (b) Fair and rational principles should be laid down for payment of royalty for exploitation of natural resources in a state, whether for coal in Bihar or oil in Gujarat and Assam or lignite in Tamil Nadu.
 - (c) State loans, which have mounted because the Centre has inequitably dealt with the states, must be written off.
3. The states have also justly complained of the flagrant and repeated abuse of Article 356 of the Constitution; arbitrary appointment and transfer of High Court judges; unilateral constitution of the Planning Commission; and Central misuse of Radio and TV. The President must invoke Article 263 of the Constitution to constitute the Inter-State Council to take care of these and other issues between state and state, and Centre and state(s) on a continuing basis.

4. On the subject of Centre-State relations, ensuring the strength of both, the BJP would also like to suggest the following:
 - (a) Reorganisation of some unwieldy states into smaller, more manageable states for better administration and quicker economic development.
 - (b) The process of power devolution should not stop at the state capitals but should reach the grass roots level. Civic bodies should be given a statutory position in the Constitution. Arbitrary dissolution of civic bodies should be forbidden and their election held regularly. Like states, civic bodies also should be provided with adequate resources to enable them to discharge their obligations.
5. The BJP will make a comprehensive study of this problem and proceed to present its views to the Sarkaria Commission, and, for this purpose, appoints a sub-committee consisting of Sarvashri K.S. Hegde, Ram Jethmalani, Shanti Bhushan, Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Makarand Desai, Shanta Kumar and Satish Agarwal (Convener). It will present its report by 31 December, 1983.

□

National Executive

Lucknow

21-23 October, 1983

The Punjab Situation

Playing Politics with the State

Even after President's Rule was introduced in the Punjab, and the whole state declared a Disturbed Area, violence continues to rock the state and shock the country. The attack on the Ramlila in the Union Territory of Chandigarh, the derailment of Sealdah Express and the bombings in Delhi itself, show how wide and deep the rot has gone. Had New Delhi dismissed the ministry when we had asked for it last year, the state could have been spared much of the subsequent violence. The decision even now to dismiss the ministry but not to dissolve the Assembly would indicate that the Centre will continue to play politics with this border state.

Utter Failure of the Government

The Akali Dal launched its Morcha avowedly to press its political and religious demands. But extremist elements, foreign agents and anti-social elements and sundry criminals, have played havoc with the peace and prosperity of the Punjab. People are afraid to move about; trade has been crippled; industrial growth has come to a dead stop. More than 150 murders have taken place but the Government has failed to book a single murderer. It seems to be as unwilling, as it is unable, to apprehend the guilty. It is significant that the CBI Report on the murder of Shri Atwal, D.I.G., has been suppressed. The Bharatiya Janata Party demands the publication of this and other reports on organised violence in the Punjab.

Akalis Equally to Blame

The BJP is sorry to say that the Akali leadership has been equally guilty in the matter. It has been reluctant to delink itself from the separatists and the extremists, and to condemn the senseless violence that has been going on. Of late, there has been some welcome change in their attitude towards violence. The Akal Takht particularly owes it to the holy tenets of Sikhism to condemn the murders of the innocent people, including Nirankaris, and the lawlessness that has swept the state.

Ruling Party's Links with Known Criminals

Now that the Ministry has been dismissed and the administration entrusted to seasoned civilians, we hope that law and order will be restored and the guilty punished. While the sanctity of the holy places of worship must be scrupulously maintained, identified and known criminals must not be allowed to frustrate law enforcement by seeking sanctuary within the holy precincts. There is reason to believe that the ruling party, by reasons of its political links with known criminals, is refusing to bring them to book by using the pretext that they are hiding inside places of worship. It is significant that Shri Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwala, who has been spewing poison all this time is living openly in Guru Nanak Nivas, outside the Golden Temple, but the Government has not touched him. Equally significant is the fact that when the AICC (I) Session at Bombay discussed the Punjab, there was no denunciation of Bhinderanwala's activities.

Need for Withdrawal of Akali Dal Morcha

It is of imperative importance that law and order is maintained in the Punjab, and normalcy restored. We urge upon the Akali Dal to make a positive contribution towards this end by withdrawing its morcha because it is on the excuse of this morcha that violence has been unleashed in Punjab. Now that the Sarkaria Commission has been appointed to go into the question of Centre-State relations, and President's rule has been imposed on the state, their major demands have been met. Withdrawal of the morcha would create a climate in which the territorial and river water claims and counter-claims can be considered dispassionately.

Need for the Revival of Tripartite Talks

The Bharatiya Janata Party also calls upon the Centre to revive the Tripartite Talks, which were proceeding satisfactorily when they were suddenly terminated to influence the elections in Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir in a particular partisan manner.

Call for Strengthening Peace and Amity

The Bhartiya Janata Party takes this opportunity to congratulate the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab for maintaining communal harmony at people's level even while some politicians and criminals have been trying to set fire to the state. The BJP calls upon all men of goodwill in the Punjab, and particularly its workers, to strengthen this peace and amity in every town and hamlet for the peace and prosperity of the state.

□

National Executive

Lucknow

21-23 October, 1983

Tallow Scandal

The tallow scandal has shocked the nation, and sent waves of indignation and revulsion all over the country. The BJP National Executive shares this feeling of national indignation, and strongly condemns the perpetrators of this evil deed.

Ruling Party Spreading Lies

The Executive deplors the misinformation and lies being spread deliberately by the Government regarding the facts of the beef tallow scandal. That for the sake of individual profit and bribery, the official machinery colluded in the heinous crime of feeding beef and pork tallow adulterate with Vanaspati Ghee to unsuspecting citizens is criminal enough. But, for the Government and ruling party to spread barefaced lies in an effort to cover up the official guilt and complicity and shift blame on the Janata Government compounds the crime.

Since 1964, tallow has been imported in this country for use in certain chemical industries. It was not put on the OGL list during the Janata Government as has been fraudulently claimed by the Congress (I). It was misused for adulteration in various parts for the first time in 1981 after the Congress (I) came to power.

High Level Involvement

After the scandal came to light, the Government should have ordered a thorough inquiry into the affair. Instead, it tried to cover it up by lies and evasions. Obviously, the Government's conduct

suggests that people high-up in the political hierarchy are involved in the payoffs in this scandal.

BJP's Demand for a Judicial Inquiry

The BJP demands a judicial inquiry by an independent retired judge to probe this entire affair so that the guilty persons, however highly placed they might be, should be brought to book. Public sentiment on such sensitive issues can be trampled by the Government only to its own peril.

□

National Executive

Bhubneshwar

12-14 February, 1982

A. Relations with other Opposition Parties

BJP Resolves to Retain its Separate Identity

For several months now, efforts have been going on to unify the non-communist opposition parties and make them fuse into one party. From the very inception of these efforts, the BJP had stated clearly that it was not willing for any merger, and that it favoured, instead, a strategy of cooperation.

Party President, Shri AB Vajpayee, apprised the Executive of the communication he had received from the Janata Party President, the letters he had exchanged with the Lok Dal President and the developments that had taken place in this context.

The BJP believes that credibility is the real issue confronting the opposition parties. Let all opposition parties exert to build up credibility for themselves by working at the grass roots and fighting for the people's cause.

With a mini-General Election round the corner, the opposition parties would be serving the cause of healthy democracy best by concentrating their attention on working out a concerted electoral strategy which can help reflect the people's discontent in the ballot box, rather than carrying on unending talks about unity which creates more disunity than unity.

The National Executive of the BJP would like to reaffirm its stand thus:

1. The BJP is resolved to retain its separate identity.
2. The BJP favours concerted action by the opposition parties inside legislatures and outside on specific issues relating to people's welfare and democracy.
3. The BJP favours electoral arrangements with other opposition parties aimed at ensuring the defeat of Congress (I) candidates.



National Executive

Delhi

13-14 April, 1982

A Dangerous Law in J & K

A Mischievous Piece of Legislation

The National Executive of the BJP has examined the provisions of the Jammu and Kashmir Grant of Permit for Resettlement in, or Permanent Return to, the State Act 1982.

The Act is politically a very mischievous piece of legislation. It short-circuits the control of the Central Government over immigration into India from outside India—a subject which is reserved for the Central legislature under Entries 17 and 19 of the Union List in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India. At a time when relations with the Government of Pakistan are not too cordial and there is standing danger of saboteurs, fifth columnists and disruptionists entering Indian territory to create disorder, communal disturbance and general instability, the power to permit a large scale infiltration of people from Pakistan is fraught with dangerous consequences for the stability and security of India.

The law in question does not serve any legitimate interests of the State of Jammu & Kashmir or of India as a whole. To make a law for persons who have been away from India for three decades during which period they have sworn loyalty to a foreign government is wholly unnecessary. To extend benefit to the dependants, widows or wives of such persons is outrageous. These classes obviously have had no emotional or political loyalty to India. This part of the law is, moreover, outside the ambit of the second provision to Article 7 of the Constitution of India and is plainly unconstitutional and void.

Rank Communalism

The BJP draws public attention to the double standards adopted by the Government of Jammu & Kashmir. It has failed to confer the residence and settlement benefits upon thousands of refugees who have permanently been uprooted from their original homes and have

come to live and die in India. The action of the J & K Government unfortunately smells of rank communalism.

Unconstitutional and Anti-National

The BJP will launch a strong agitation to arouse public opinion against the measure. It calls upon the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir not to assent to the Bill because it is obviously unconstitutional and anti-national.



National Executive

Surat

02 June, 1982

Lawlessness in the Punjab

A Non-Functioning Government

The BJP feels serious concern at the state of affairs in the Punjab. It is a matter of shame for the Government that places of worship are defiled after duly published ultimata, important public figures are gunned down and the accused roam the streets with impunity, while the proverbial long arm of the law remains paralysed for months and years. It is nothing short of a national disgrace. At no time have a handful of political perverts held the society to ransom in such a cavalier manner. Never has the all powerful CBI felt so powerless to book offenders and a Chief Minister made such a pathetic 'appeal' to a person believed to be involved in murders to 'make himself available' for interrogation. At no time have the authorities cancelled – for good reasons – licences for arms but failed to follow up the decision and pitifully watched hundreds of armed persons defiantly parading in the capital and elsewhere spreading panic, without the slightest fear of being booked. Never has a small community been projected as a separate nation so persistently demanding an independent state for reasons clear to nobody. And, never have two important personages belonging to the same monolythic party as the Chief Minister of a state and the Union Home Minister passed the buck of elementary duty back and forth, thereby driving the border state to the brink of fratricide. What wonder then, that the average citizen has started asking in sheer desperation if we have a Government at all !

Ruling Party's Failure to Prevent Communal Divide

It is an unedifying achievement of the ruling party that the Sikh and non-Sikh sections of the Hindu society who have a common cultural heritage, who adore the great Gurus alike and are bound in relations of kinship and marriage, should have been pushed, as it were, into two enemy camps, each eager to make a mountain of every mole-hill. The absurdity of the situation can be gauged from the fact that the Dal Khalsa indulge in cow slaughter in cynic disregard of Sikh history starting with the martyrdom of Guru Arjun Dev who

took *jalasamadhi* (self-immersion) when he was ordered to be bound in cow-hide. Cow slaughter was the only offence calling for death penalty in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's code and the important term of peace with the Shah of Afghanistan (after Hari Singh Nalva's victorious march to Kabul) was a ban on the slaughter of cows in that country. That forty-nine Kukas gladly stood before cannons to be blown off for their attempt to stop it may not mean much to these pseudo-heroes but devout Sikhs have prayed every morning for "Strength to protect the cow and the poor". As if to complete the evil design, cigarette pieces have been thrown in the Gurudwaras and other acts done to injure the sentiments of the Sikhs. The BJP unreservedly condemns mischiefmongers on both the sides. It believes that they have only disgraced the religion they profess to serve because just as no true Sikh can defile a temple, every true Hindu holds a Gurudwara in as great respect as he has for any temple. What has perverted the minds of these puny musketeers?

Congress Leaders' Encouragement to Extremism

While the seeds of separation were sown by imperialist British rulers, since Independence a game of competitive radicalism has been going on within the Sikh community in which the most radical and the most unreasonable group has been making the widest appeal. With the emergence of Shrimati Gandhi's personality cult and her attempts at establishing a dynastic rule, merit and integrity were given the go-by and her satraps started stoking the fire of division for settling mutual scores or reaping quick dividends. No amount of vociferous protests or looks of injured innocence can obliterate the fact that Sant Bhinderanwala has grown into a Frankenstein through the indulgence and support of Giani Zail Singh and S. Darbara Singh. What else is the meaning of eleven out of the list of

seventeen persons given by Harsimaran Singh as his contacts and sympathisers being close to the Union Home Minister? That he was involved with the extremist elements since 1977 is no coincidence. The manner in which he fanned the fire of obscurantist fundamentalism and won the title of 'Mahan Sikh' during his Chief Ministership of Punjab also has its meaning. He and Jathedar Santokh Singh took the help of Dal Khalsa against the Janata Party. They egged Bhinderanwala and supported the latter against the Akalis in the March, 1979 SGPC elections. During the Sant's recent visit to Delhi, prominent Congressmen vied with each other in organising receptions for him. Ganga Sing Dhillon, America based source of much mischief, was only turned back and not arrested when he arrived in India.

Politicians Pampering Anti-National Elements

With a rabid, anti-national (though insignificantly small) group being thus pampered by the priest-politicians in power, the fair-minded Sikhs have been perplexed, the administration paralysed and the law-abiding citizens left at the mercy of the gunmen. So completely has the Bhinderanwala gang bullied its way through a plane-hijack, daylight murders, and now sacrilege of places of worship that the law and order machinery has become a laughing stock. It is not only that Congress (I) people have no moral strength to condemn others after having inspired and rewarded a similar hijack by their own men. The fact of the matter is that within two years of being elected on a promise 'to govern', the ruling party has all but abdicated its most primary responsibility of enforcing the law and protecting the life and liberty of the citizen in the Punjab. In any civilised society, such a government forfeits its right to exist. The lack of response from the state government to the request of the CBI and frantic pleading of the Lt. Governor of Delhi to apprehend the persons identified for the Nirankari Chief's (and later Lala Jagat Narayan's) assassination have no meaning except that there is just no government in the Punjab. The arrest of Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwala after he was 'escorted' from Sirsa to Mehta Chowk, had all the attributes of a farce but for its unfortunate bloody end. The cancellation of the arms licences of the Sant's followers remained on paper as

the rulers shivered in their shoes, incapable of enforcing the decision. While the Sant's mini-army was roaming the Punjab, the Union Home Minister was chuckling at the ineffectiveness of his own party's Chief Minister little knowing that the latter would shortly have the corresponding pleasure of enjoying his discomfiture after telling him to show his hand when the brigade reaches Delhi—arms and all. Proclaimed offenders continue to mock at the law enforcing machinery from the safe sanctuary of the Gurudwaras and in premises connected with the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The banned Dal Khalsa continues to run an office and reportedly operates a mini-transmitter. So much so that the police and military personnel could not enter the Mehta Chowk Gurudwara to investigate the mysterious explosion. The sanctity of religious places cannot justify their extraterritoriality.

Mrs. Gandhi's Being Least Concerned

None of the above developments appeared to cause any concern to Mrs. Gandhi. She did hold a dialogue with the Akalis but, presumably being interested only in a political understanding with them, did not take any objection to the blatantly secessionist content of the Anandpur Saheb resolution. The country's integrity apparently weighed less with her than her party's prospects. The demand to give Punjab a Kashmir-like status with very limited jurisdiction for the centre is too dangerous to be entertained and the resolve to use 'all possible means' to achieve the objectives is too ominous to be ignored.

Home Minister's Allegation of a Foreign Hand

The Home Minister has alleged a foreign hand behind the movement of Khalistan. The charge, if and to the extent true, hardly

covers the custodians of the country with glory. In any case, the people should be taken into confidence about the matter.

The Akalis owe it to the country no less than to themselves to explain their silence about the plane-hijack and the murder of Nirankaris and Lala Jagat Narayan.

BJP's Demand for Dismissal of State Govt. and Removal of Home Minister

The BJP is of the considered view that the country cannot afford to allow any more monkeying with the great state of the Punjab or the precious lives of its people. It demands that the Ministry be dismissed for its stark failure in the discharge of its constitutional responsibility and the state be brought under President's rule and Giani Zail Singh be removed from the Home Ministry at the Centre. It also demands that a white paper be published on Khalistan placing before the country a complete picture of the threat it poses as well as its sources of strength. The credibility of the whole administration has been reduced to such a pitiable nullity that nothing short of this can even hope to restore the people's faith in the Government's earnestness to fulfil its obligations.

BJP's Call for Unity and Brotherhood

The BJP appreciates the Punjabis' refusal to be provoked by anti-national mischief makers. It appeals to them to remain above divisive parochialism and preserve the spirit of unity and brotherhood at all costs. It calls upon its workers in particular to rededicate themselves to making Punjab an even more glorious haven of love and peace and an epitome of compassion and brotherhood—qualities so richly enlivened by saints like Guru Nanak and so heroically fought for by warriors like Guru Gobind Singh.

□

National Council

Cochin

15-17 April, 1981

Political Situation

The National Council of the Bharatiya Janata Party, having carefully and objectively reviewed the current political situation, wishes to draw the nation's attention to the deplorable performance of the Government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in every sector of our political life.

Assam

The most important problem is the hitherto unresolved problem of Assam. The Party at its Convention in Bombay held in December last reminded the Government that the problem was the creation of the Government itself. The Government was guilty of the criminal neglect of the country's borders. Its party leaders had encouraged unlawful immigration into the country to serve their sordid political interests.

It is a matter of national anguish that during the last six months, all that Mrs. Gandhi's Government has succeeded in doing is to install a Government of defectors which has already suffered a major defeat on the floor of the State Assembly. Democratic norms have been thrown to the winds, and novel and evil precedents are being set up which will further weaken the democratic fibre of the nation. It is a communal Government which will only deepen the crisis. No serious attempt has been made to come to grips with the essence of the problem, nor does the Government seem to realise the implications of its reluctant public confession that illegal immigrants exist on the soil of Assam, that their number is considerable and that there are no signs of further immigration having stopped.

After losing several precious months and allowing things to drift dangerously to the precipice, the Government has now announced that talks with the movement leaders will be resumed in the month of May. The National Council congratulates the Assam students on their peaceful and patriotic movement and welcomes the proposed resumption of talks, but warns the Government against trying to use negotiations only as a dilatory tactic. As a token of its earnestness to find a solution to the foreign nationals problem, let the Government of India seal the frontiers forthwith, start the process of

identifying foreigners, disenfranchise and diffuse or deport them.

Separatist Demands

The National Council expresses concern over the separatist demands being raised in some parts of the country, particularly the Khalistan demand. The BJP condemns such demands as irresponsible and disruptive.

Law and Order

The law and order situation continues to worsen from day to day. The Government, which had promised to bring prosperity to every house, has instead succeeded in bringing crime to every doorstep. Robberies on trains and thefts of public property have become a regular affair. A large number of criminals enjoy political protection and immunity from prosecution. The manner in which cases have been withdrawn against important politicians has created an impression that membership of the ruling party provides immunity from punishment for crime.

Corruption is growing at a galloping speed. No wheel of the Government moves without the grease of graft. Police have become totally lawless and the involvement of police in crimes has become a matter of daily routine. The main task of the police seems to be to suppress legitimate democratic agitations. The firing in Nippani on agitating farmers, which deserves to be condemned, is a glaring example of the police atrocities of the worst kind. Naturally, the police has no time to attend to ordinary crime even if in some rare cases it has the inclination to do so.

Assaults on Judiciary

The Government seems to have concluded that a strong and independent judiciary is the last bulwark of freedom, and an inconvenient obstacle in the way of establishing a totalitarian form of Government. Judges are, therefore, being humiliated and systematically bullied. No effort is spared to demonstrate that the Executive is superior to the Judiciary. Instead of attending to important affairs of state and the problem of the eradication of poverty of the people, the Government is determined to denigrate and finally demolish the Judiciary.

The recent circular issued by the Law Minister asking the Chief Ministers to secure from all Additional Judges in various High

Courts their preference about the places where they would like to be posted, is a clear threat to the Judges that their tenure is subject to the Government's power of transfer and that judges must behave to avoid provoking its exercise. The Government is out to destroy the Directive Principle in the Constitution that the Judiciary must be independent of the Executive. The National Council demands that this circular be withdrawn.

The National Council of the BJP calls upon the Government to refrain from these insidious attacks on judicial independence, to leave the appointment, posting and promotion of judges in the hands of the superior judiciary, and finally, to curb its tendency to exalt the Executive over the head of the Judiciary.

Presidential System

Authoritarian and anti-democratic trends are becoming more and more pronounced. Assaults on the Constitution and the Parliamentary form of Government continue unabated. Important leaders of the ruling party have mounted a systematic campaign for a switchover to an unspecified and unidentifiable presidential form of Government.

The Chief Minister of Maharashtra has recently published at government expense a compilation of his speeches and press interviews containing some manifestly absurd arguments for the suggested switchover. While Mrs. Gandhi publicly continues to disown any intention to change the form of Government, she is actively encouraging her colleagues to keep the campaign alive. Ominously, Mrs. Gandhi herself shows dissatisfaction with the Parliamentary form of Government and a determination to make suitable changes in it. Her language and attitudes are clearly reminiscent of her pronouncements during the Emergency. It is well to recall that they resulted in a total distortion of the Constitution by the notorious forty-second Amendment.

The National Executive of the BJP is opposed to any switchover to the Presidential system. It is firmly of the opinion that it is not the Parliamentary form of Government that has failed, it is the people in power who have brought discredit to the system.

Postponing By-elections

A large number of constituencies are unrepresented in the various State Legislatures as well as in Parliament. The law requires

that by-elections must be held within a reasonable time. The ruling party having so speedily lost its credibility with the electorate is in no mood to face the electorate by holding by-elections. Dates of by-elections were fixed for certain constituencies but these have been postponed on more than one occasion. No satisfactory public explanation is forthcoming from the Election Commission or from the Government. The National Council is convinced that the Government is pressurising the Election Commission into ignoring its plain duty as well as its constitutional functions. The National Council calls upon the Election Commission to hold the elections in all unrepresented constituencies including Delhi Metropolitan Council and to fill up the vacancies without any loss of time.

Equally depressing is the attitude of the ruling party to local self-government. All over the country, Corporations, Municipalities and other organs of local self-government have been put out of commission. Elections have not been held for unconscionably long periods. The motivation is the same, namely, the ruling party is reluctant to face the electorate. The National Council of the BJP hereby calls upon the Government to restore to the people the right to manage their civic affairs all over the country.

Abuse of Detention Laws

The National Council of the BJP has noticed with dismay the gross misuse of the National Security Act and other laws of preventive detention to deal with inconvenient political opponents. Judgments of High Courts and the Supreme Court demonstrate beyond doubt the careless and callous manner in which the draconian laws are being administered and the people's liberty is being threatened and often taken away without the authority of law.

Every civilised country considers the power of preventive detention without trial, except in times of grave emergency, totally contrary to the concept of rule of law. The enactment and

enforcement of these laws is a blot on our legal and political system. The National Council calls upon the Government to repeal these anti-democratic laws.

Abuse of Official Media

The Government's determination to suppress legitimate dissent is evident from the manner in which the news media, particularly Television and All India Radio, are being managed by the Government. These official media have been converted into instruments of party propaganda for the projection of a personality cult. The Opposition views are either suppressed or distorted.

There is also voluminous evidence that the Government is pressurising newspaper managements to get rid of brave and honest editors and news correspondents who retain their moral courage to criticise the Government. For the first time in thirty-three years, an import levy has been imposed on newsprint. This is a tax on information and utterly retrograde. It only highlights the present Government's innate animosity towards the Press. The BIP demands that the tax be withdrawn.

The National Council hereby calls upon the Government to confer autonomy on the Radio and the Television and to stop tinkering with the management of newspapers.

Supreme Court Bench

The National Council has taken note of the proceedings of the recent conference of lawyers of South India held in Cochin on the 12th of this month. The National Council fully endorses the demand made at the conference that a bench of the Supreme Court of India be located at a suitable place in the South, preferably at Bangalore. This will be a tremendous facility for citizens in the South who find it extremely expensive to reach Delhi. Besides, it will remove a simmering sense of grievance which persists among people in the South about the North having more than a fair share of the services provided by the country.

Internal Feuds in the Ruling Party

During the four months since the National Council last met at Bombay, the political crisis in the country has further deepened. Internal feuds of the ruling party have become grave in the states, and have begun seeping to the Centre. In some political circles, the

abrupt sack of Shri V.C. Shukla has been interpreted as a move to nip in the bud an incipient revolt in New Delhi.

BJP's Emergence as a Glimmer of Hope

Following the disintegration of the Janata Party and subsequently the abysmal failure of the Congress-I Government, public faith in political parties became seriously impaired. It was against a very gloomy background that the plenary session of the BJP was held at Bombay. The singular success of this session made the BJP emerge on the political scene, in the words of late Shri M C Chagla, 'like a glimmer of hope'. Critics and admirers alike of our Party took note of the session, described it as a landmark in recent political history and conceded that the BJP had an immense potential for the future.

The Bombay Session was held after the Party had completed its organisational elections. One of the major shortcomings of Indian political parties has been their neglect of political organisation. Many of them function essentially as election platforms. Even the ruling party at the Centre, the Congress-I, has had no elections since more than a decade, to be precise, since after the 1969 split. All its committees are nominated ad-hoc committees. Ad-hocism was the bane even of the Janata Party.

The BJP's success in ending this ad-hocism and setting up an organisational infrastructure from the Panchayat level to the level of Parliament has had a catalytic impact on the general political scene. Other parties also have been forced to turn to political organisation and at least to pretend to go through the motions of a membership campaign, of committee formation and holding of sessions. The Congress-I also has announced a timetable for elections. Thus indirectly too the BJP has been able to render a signal service to the health of the entire political system.

BJP's Unequivocal Commitment to Democracy

The National Council is happy to note the rapid headway which the BJP has been making in the Southern states. It would particularly like to salute the Kerala cadres of the Party who have been valiantly resisting the murderous assaults being made on them day after day by the Marxists. The BJP is unequivocally committed to democracy. Members of the Party are proud of the contribution it has made in the struggle against authoritarianism both during the Emergency and after. As part of the Janata Party, however, the Party had experience

of having Marxists as comrades-in-arms for some time. The Party cannot forget that the CPI (M) stabbed the Janata Party in the back and in collusion with the Congress-I itself pulled down the Janata Government and thus paved the way for the return of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

No Collaboration with CPM

Any offers of collaboration against 'authoritarianism' have to be understood, however, in the context of what CPM means by the term. Is foisting a government like that of Smt. Anwar Taimur, covered by it or not? Is attempting to liquidate political opponents through armed attacks with the collusion of the administrative machinery – as has been going on in Kerala – a permissible exercise? The BJP has no illusions about the ideological conflict between its basic commitments to national integration, democracy and Gandhian Socialism as against one party dictatorship aimed at, and a 'multinational' India believed in by the CPI (M). Hence the question of collaboration with the CPM does not arise.

Central Government's Toppling Game Not Acceptable

The National Council would like to make it clear that our stand about the Marxists does not detract from our opposition to the Central Government's attempts to topple all the Non-Congress Governments—in J&K and West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, no less than in Kerala. The National Council is convinced, however, that so far as Kerala is concerned, if the Marxist Party continues to be in-charge of the Home Portfolio, the spree of violence let loose by them will keep erupting again and again. This can only provide New Delhi with a plausible excuse to dismiss the state government. The National Council, therefore, feels that it would be in the interest of the state, as well as the coalition Government in the state, if the Home Portfolio is entrusted to some Non-Marxist constituent of the Front.

□

National Executive

Simla

27-29 June, 1981

A Grave Threat to Democracy

A Rigged Victory

The Congress (I) victory in the recent by-elections is essentially a manipulated, rigged victory. This is no longer just an opposition allegation. It is a fact officially confirmed by the Election Commission's decision about Garhwal.

Never before in India's electoral history has there been such a shameless abuse of official machinery as has taken place this time. It was not the Congress (I) party which was fighting these elections. The Opposition parties had to contend with the combined strength of the Central and state governments, their vast army of officers, their aircrafts and vehicles and other resources and their combined powers of partonage and pressure. Many District Magistrates, Tehsildars etc. had allowed themselves to be transformed veritably into Congress volunteers, taking orders from the party campaign managers.

Booth Capturing

But the most disturbing feature of these elections was the booth-capturing that took place under official aegis in several constituencies. For quite some time now, this malady of booth-capturing has been causing concern to all the well-wishers of democracy. But the booth capturing known to the country till now has usually been the handiwork of casteist dadas and casteist gangs commanded by the dominant caste at a given booth. Pernicious though the practice is, there has always been a hope that adequacy of police measures and electoral reforms would help curb the menace. But when booth capture is planned and organised by the ruling party and implemented either with the active collusion of the police and district authorities, or with their connivance, the problem acquires a far more serious dimension. It strikes at the basis of democracy – a free poll.

A Rehearsal of Coming Events

The BJP regards the recent by-elections as a rehearsal of what the ruling party would like to do at a general election. The Election Commission's verdict on Garhwal may no doubt be a damper for Congress(I)'s intentions and plans, but a lot needs to be done at the level of public opinion to spike effectively this new threat to democracy, as sinister in its import as the Emergency of 1975.

The Election Commission has ordered a repoll in Garhwal. But the malpractices referred to in the order reveal only a tip of the iceberg. There is an imperative need to expose fully all that the ruling party and the Government have done to subvert these recent elections. The BJP would like an independent non-official Commission of Inquiry to make immediate investigations in this regard and publicise its results. We welcome the decision taken by Citizens for Democracy, the non-political organisation founded by late Shri Jai Prakash Narayan for the defence of civil liberties and democratic rights, to undertake an enquiry in this regard.

Dynastic Dictatorship

Mrs. Gandhi seems all set to convert the Indian republic into some sort of dynastic dictatorship, euphemistically described by ruling party spokesmen as a Presidential form of Government. An independent Judiciary, a free Press and an alert opposition are obstacles in the way of these designs. A free electorate is a still greater hurdle. Mrs. Gandhi cannot forget the electoral chastisement administered to her in March 1977. The 'Operation Poll-rigging' attempted in these recent elections is aimed at pre-empting the possibility of any repetition of 1977.

Need for Electoral Reforms

The BJP calls upon all political parties, groups and individuals committed to democracy to understand the gravity of this threat, and devise a concerted strategy to meet it. On its part, the BJP has decided to launch a countrywide 'Free and Fair Poll Campaign', in the course of which apart from exposing the ruling party's designs to subvert democracy, the party will mobilise support for a comprehensive scheme of electoral reforms, which should include, *inter alia*:

1. measures to curb the corroding influence of money power

- in elections;
2. steps to prevent the abuse of official machinery to promote the electoral interests of the ruling party; and
 3. suggestions to reshape the present electoral system to make the system more representative of public opinion, more responsive to political changes, less prone to casteist manipulations, and more favourable for the politicisation of the electorate.

Need for Immediate Elections in Delhi

Without any justification the Government has been putting off elections to the Delhi Metropolitan Council time and again. The BJP demands that the continuing denial of democracy to the citizens of the capital must end and elections must be immediately held.

In Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, elections are scheduled to be held next year. Actually, the Governments in these states are the Governments of defectors, with no legitimacy to rule even for a day. The earlier these elections are held the better for all.

It is ominous that the principal campaign managers in Garhwal were the Chief Ministers of Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. The Election Commission's verdict is against the Cong. (I); but it is also a personal indictment of these two Chief Ministers.

We demand that before elections are held in these two states, these two governments must resign.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

23 April, 1980

Political Situation

On Political Situation

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party met at New Delhi and reviewed the political situation in the country.

The glaring feature of the political scene is the recurrence of the conditions which led in 1975 to the strangulation of democracy and establishment of a dictatorship. After nine years of rule Smt. Indira Gandhi's Government, despite the camouflage of a massive propaganda smoke screen, was cracking up under the strain of its own incompetence and corruption. Its misdeeds and inadequacies were beginning to be exposed. She chose to meet the democratic challenge by suppressing dissent and tailoring the Constitution to her personal and dynastic needs.

PM Fails to Keep Her Promises

In the last elections to the Lok Sabha, her party has been returned on the tall promises of enforcing law and order, bringing down prices of essential commodities and generally observing democratic norms. On all the three fronts, she has signally failed which brings to the surface her streak of intolerance and dictatorship.

Deteriorating Law and Order Situation

The National Executive of the B.J.P. views with grave concern the deteriorating law and order situation in the country.

This is the direct result of some people with powerful political connections having purchased immunity from the enforcement of law and the operation of the judicial process. The former has become corrupt and selective and the latter is losing public confidence. Prosecuting agencies have become parties to hushing up of crimes. The manner in which the few honest officials in the police force and other sections of the bureaucracy have been shuffled about and humiliated has sapped all administrative efficiency and independence. Officers who, until the other day, were accused of grave delinquency have been entrusted with vast legal powers to affect the fortunes and destinies of honest citizens. No wonder, the crime graph has shown a steep rise, and serious daylight murders, train robberies, dacoities, and assaults on women and Harijans have become matters of daily occurrence. There is no efficient investigation of grave crimes whereas the petty ones use up all the energy of the police force because that brings some political advantage to the Government.

Whitewashing of Black Deeds

The Executive hereby records its appreciation of the excellent service rendered to the nation by the Commissions of Inquiries appointed by the Janata Government. Each of the Commissions presided over by eminent judicial personalities like Mr. Justice Shah, Mr. Justice AC Gupta and Mr. Justice Jagan Mohan Reddy unearthed crimes and misdemeanours to which Mrs. Gandhi, her Government and her son were parties. Instead of taking a serious note of their findings, the Government is trying to suppress the reports by putting them out of circulation. This is an attempt to tamper with historic truth and is a ludicrous attempt to whitewash its black deeds.

Exercise of Extraconstitutional Power

The notorious extraconstitutional sources of power are again in evidence and their operations are even more unashamedly carried out. The Prime Minister's son addressing meetings of high police officials and extending assurances to them as if he is the Government in power is only one instance.

Need to Stop Repression and Start Negotiations

The situation in Assam has taken a very grave turn. The issue ought to have been resolved by harmonising the legal obligations arising from the Constitution of India, the Indian Citizenship Act and the Foreigners Act on the one hand, and on the other the humanitarian obligations of this country to grant asylum to all those who seek refuge in this country from prosecution in their original homes. The artificial cut off lines fixed by the considerations of electoral benefit to the party in power are bound to be resented by all patriots. It is tragic beyond measure that the only answer the Government has is one of force represented by the enforcement of the Military Powers Act and the Disturbed Areas Act. The Government needs to be warned that the use of army and other strong arm measures to repress a peaceful movement will only escalate the already acute tension created by the Government's insensitive and inept handling of the situation. The Government's show of force and attempt to solve the problem by unlawful intimidation of the All Assam Students Union, the Gana Sangram Parishad and other organisations is unworthy of any civilised government. Those who are dubbed as agitators have the law on their side. Their contention that the infiltrators who have clandestinely obtained a foothold in the state are liable to be deported is in accordance with the law as it is. A solution to the problem should be sought by negotiation and persuasion and not by coercion or repression. The army must be withdrawn forthwith and all repressive measures must be revoked. Raising bogies of RSS encouragement and foreign involvement is only a method of concealing the Government's incompetence and lack of any rationale. It does no credit to the genius of the Indian nation.

The Government's attitude is a symptom of a deeper disorder which it obviously suffers from. The Government is totally blind to the aspirations, expectations and grievances of the people. At the same time, it is too incompetent, arrogant and undemocratic to wield any instrument except that of force. The recent unprovoked assault on lawyers in Gwalior and unarmed sightless unfortunates in Delhi are symptoms of that very malady.

Need to Resist Authoritarian Trends

The National Executive unequivocally condemns these actions and calls upon all groups and individuals wedded to freedom and the rule of law to come together, resist and frustrate all authoritarian trends and live up to the glorious traditions of our democracy. The National Executive specifically calls upon intellectuals, lawyers, writers, journalists, and youths to join in this great venture.

Amongst the instruments of repression used by the Government is detention without trial. The BJP considers detention without trial, except in times of a genuine and grave national emergency, to be uncivilised, undemocratic and inconsistent with the rule of law. The BJP will mobilise public opinion to bring about an annulment of such laws.

Judiciary Must not Capitulate to the Executive

The National Executive has noticed with dismay alarming evidence of judicial capitulation to the Executive. An honest and upright judiciary is the backbone of democracy. The people will resolutely defend the honour and privileges of any judge who comes in for any hostile discrimination for fearless discharge of his duties. At the same time, the people expect judges not to do anything that brings disgrace to the judicial office.

Democracy is in Peril and Must be Defended

The National Executive is deeply distressed at the politics of destabilisation and rank opportunism which the ruling Congress (I) Party has made the dominant norm of 1980. It is encouraging the cult of defections and political horsetrading by laying open its doors to every kind of political defector and opportunist. The conduct of the ruling party is calculated to destroy public integrity, to discourage democratic dissent and retard the growth of a strong Opposition.

India's democracy is thereby gravely imperilled. The National Executive is convinced that the task which all democratic opposition parties have seriously to apply themselves to is the preservation of freedom, democracy and the Constitution.



National Executive

New Delhi

04 September, 1980

Miserable Failure of the Ruling Party

The three main planks of the Congress-I's Lok Sabha poll campaign were: law and order, curbing inflation and communal harmony. On all the three counts, the ruling party has proved a miserable failure.

Eight months ago, Mrs. Gandhi was swept back to power with a massive majority in Parliament. It appeared that the political situation had been thrown back to 1971, but events have overtaken the assessment. Within months, the situation has become so explosive and so unpredictable that one cannot visualise with certainty a scenario even for the next six months.

Show of Totalitarian Teeth

Each day brings us news in which the ruling party shows its totalitarian teeth more and more clearly. Important members of the party have been openly advocating promulgation of financial emergency. One Chief Minister has come out in favour of MISA. There has been a demand for curbing the powers of the judiciary and the press, and for restrictions on trade union rights.

Judiciary Being Weakened

The judiciary is being gradually and systematically weakened. Judges due for promotion in the high courts are being kept back because the ruling party does not find them congenial. Vacancies are not being filled up because compliant judges are not available for the jobs.

Press is Gagged

The Press is being insidiously gagged. Free expression of views and dissemination of news is being curtailed partly by rewards and partly by intimidation. Independent Press Correspondents are being elbowed out.

Suppression of Legitimate Dissent

Anti-democratic laws are being enacted both at the Centre and in the states. Laws of Preventive Detention without trial, repugnant to the Rule of Law, are being used to suppress legitimate dissent and normal democratic activity.

Govt. Fails to Perform

The myth about Mrs. Gandhi being an able leader who can solve the country's problems has by now been totally exploded. The fast deteriorating law and order situation, the rapidly rising crime-graph, the resultant sense of insecurity everywhere and to cap it all, the shocking spate of atrocities on women and Harijans have convinced everybody that this regime is just incapable of delivering the goods.

Demoralisation of Official Machinery

One of the main reasons for the present administrative paralysis is the utter demoralisation of the official machinery that has taken place in recent months. Services are being politicised, more particularly the police and intelligence. Tens of thousands of government employees have been transferred by the Central and state governments not for any administrative considerations, but simply as part of a policy of deliberate harassment of those unwilling to be political tools of the ruling party. Officials are being penalised simply because they were doing their duty during the Janata regime.

Historically, the Congress (I) has a peculiar penchant for nationalising personal problems. The emergency of 1975 was a striking example. One can only hope that it will not be tempted now to internationalise its party problems.

Govt. Mishandles Assam Situation

The North-East Zone has been seething with unrest for quite sometime now. The Government continues to bungle the situation arising out of the foreigners' issue in Assam. Initially, they refused to recognise the case put forth by the Assam leaders. Later, they mishandled the situation by sending emissaries to Assam with a view to purchasing the loyalty of the student leaders. They further complicated the situation by trying to project it as a communal and sectarian issue, or a problem between the states of Assam and West Bengal. Narrow sectarian methodology was used to divide the people.

For months together, the situation seemed hopelessly deadlocked.

The Assam visit of a BJP delegation headed by the Party President, Shri Vajpayee, was like a breath of fresh air. The visit contributed significantly towards breaking the stalemate and creating a climate congenial for a dialogue. The Government, however, seems to have failed to avail of the opportunity. The BJP still hopes that a way will be found to persuade the movement leaders to come to the negotiating table.

Infighting in Congress Party

In almost all Congress (I) states, a fierce internecine battle is being waged inside the ruling party. During these eight months, there have been at least half a dozen cases where police had to intervene to prevent the warring Congressmen from assaulting one another at party meetings.

Thanks to the ruling party's internal dissensions, and its leadership's dithering and drift, Andhra has been virtually without an administration for over two months. Its Chief Minister is neither in nor out.

Moral Degeneration

To make matters worse, a sickening sycophancy has overtaken the ruling party. That 300 members of Parliament should petition the Prime Minister to get her son into politics only reveals the moral degeneration corroding the party.

When Shri Sanjay Gandhi died in an air crash two and a half months back, all sections of the people, irrespective of their evaluation of Shri Sanjay Gandhi's role and style expressed sympathy for Smt. Gandhi. But Congressmen would be deluding themselves if they regard this natural expression of sympathy for a mother in her tragic bereavement as any endorsement of the dynastic principle.

The recent attempts to create a Sanjay cult, to deify him and to hold him but as a model to be emulated by the country's youth cannot but be deplored by all democrats. Let no one forget that India is a democracy and not a monarchy.

A Government Rooted in Distrust

The country's political and economic problems have today assumed staggering dimensions. The situation is pregnant with dangerous possibilities. A Government earnestly concerned with national interests would have in such a situation consciously exerted to evolve a national consensus on crucial national issues. It is, therefore, required that quite a few dispassionate analysts of the Indian scene keep giving this consensus counsel to the present Government. It ought to be realised, however, that consensus politics is always founded on trust, whereas this is a Government rooted in distrust. It distrusts the judiciary, it distrusts the press, it distrusts Parliament, it distrusts not only the opposition parties, it distrusts its own party. It is, therefore, expected that when faced with abysmal failure, the Government is prone to go in for authoritarian solutions.

Notwithstanding the ruling party's narrow attitude, the BJP's response to national problems, like the one in Assam, or in the matter of national integration, would continue to be free from any partisan taint, and so, would be willing to play a constructive role in such matters. But the party will remain an ever-vigilant custodian against authoritarian, dynastic and such other anti-democratic attitudes of the Government, and will spare no effort in mobilising people's resistance against these trends.

□

National Executive

New Delhi

04 September, 1980

Moradabad and its Aftermath

Vague Accusations do not Serve the Cause of National Security

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its deep anguish and concern over the ugly rash of communal incidents that has erupted recently in Moradabad, Delhi and several other places, resulting in a colossal loss of life and property.

Three weeks after the Moradabad happenings, the Prime Minister has made a statement that a foreign hand in these riots “cannot be ruled out.” The ruling party’s Executive has endorsed the Prime Minister’s statement, and then gone on to blame the opposition parties for fomenting trouble with a view to discrediting the ruling party.

This kind of analysis by the ruling party only betrays the shallowness and perfunctoriness of its thinking, and its incapacity to rise above the temptation of deriving partisan advantage even out of a tragic crisis of this kind.

Ever since the reports were published in the press regarding the recovery of foreign arms in Moradabad—a report later denied officially—a debate has been touched off in the press and public whether these riots were the handiwork of any foreign powers. The Government has at its disposal a vast battery of intelligence agencies with the aid of which it can easily find out whether any foreign powers were involved, and if so, who. The press and opposition parties, who do not have this advantage, can only voice misgivings, and express suspicions. But one fails to understand why the Prime Minister of the country should make grave accusations of this kind in a vague and equivocal manner.

India would like to have friendly ties with all countries including the super powers, the Arab countries, and neighbours like Pakistan and Bangladesh. But no one wants to buy friendship at the cost of national security. So, if any of these countries is actually meddling in our internal matters, and trying to mutilate the fabric of our national unity, that country should

be publicly and unhesitatingly exposed. But vague accusations of this kind serve the cause neither of national security nor of sound foreign policy.

Government is Trying to Cover up its own Failures

The BJP feels that while there is imperative need to remain vigilant in respect of all such external interests, and particularly to check and monitor the inflow of foreign money into the country, the foreign hand theory being trotted out by the Government to explain the recent disturbances will be suspected essentially as an alibi to cover up its own failures, both at the administrative as well as at the policy level.

Administrative Bungles

Both in Moradabad and Delhi, there have been a series of administrative bungles which have contributed towards the happenings. In Delhi, opinion is near unanimous that if the authorities had taken due notice of the provocative posters put up on the eve of Independence Day, and adequate precautionary steps had been taken, trouble in the capital would have been fully contained.

The Idgah incident at Moradabad with which this train of unfortunate incidents began was not a communal clash at the outset. It was a clash between a section of the congregation and the police. But it resulted in a ghastly tragedy. More than one hundred citizens, including children, lost their lives. The Executive Officer of the Municipality and several persons from the police also were killed. The BJP expresses deep sympathy for all of them. It would like the episode to be probed thoroughly, and in all its aspects. A judicial probe has been instituted, but considering the dimensions of the occurrence, it should be presided over by no less than a High Court judge.

Also, the incidents of 15 August – in Delhi and other places – are not covered by this probe. The BJP demands that a judicial inquiry should be ordered into these incidents also.

Congress Party is Exploiting British Legacy of Religious Riots

Religious riots were almost unknown to Indian history before the advent of the British, who systematically developed a Divide and Rule strategy to strengthen their regime. In a country where since

times immemorial, a plethora of faiths, some subscribing to rank atheism, others to devout theism, some proud of their monotheism, others equally committed to polytheism, have flowered and flourished without let or hindrance, a sensitive person cannot but feel appalled and outraged that innocent men, women and children should be killed only because they belong to a different faith. Such violence is repugnant to our heritage and goes against our grain. But if it takes place, nevertheless, it is so because its roots lie not in religious differences, but in the historical distrust subsisting between different sections of the people, which during the thirty years of Congress rule, the Government policies have only accentuated, and which most politicians and political parties seek to exploit for expedient, electoral gains. It is this persistent distrust which makes sections of the people combustible material. Only a spark suffices to convert this powder keg into a conflagration.

Guilty Elements Must be isolated

No responsible leader or section of the people can acquiesce in, much less encourage, such communal carnage. But it is true that there are elements in the country who are not hamstrung by any such sense of responsibility, and who are ever willing to ignite the flame. These elements must be identified and isolated.

Malicious Allegations Against BJP and RSS

The BJP regards it as significant that the ruling party has uttered not a word in condemnation of these elements. Instead, we have heard the Minister of State for Home hurl a wild and malicious accusation against the BJP and RSS. This, we hold, is a typical example of the policy of fake secularism pursued by the ruling party.

Evidence of Congress Party's Insincerity

In October-November last year, serious riots broke out in Aligarh. A judicial inquiry headed by a former Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, Shri Shashi Kant Verma, was constituted to probe the happenings, identify the culprits and make recommendations. A number of witnesses appeared before the Commission and indications were that the allegations made by the Congress (I) against its political opponents during the Lok Sabha poll campaign were absolutely false. Further, there was a likelihood of some Congress (I) elements being implicated. So suddenly, a month back, the Government announced that the Commission had been wound up. There can be no greater evidence of the ruling party's insincerity with regard to this problem. The BJP demands that the evidence recorded by the Commission should be officially published.

Selective Secularism Must be Rejected

Communalism and sectarianism are obnoxious, irrespective of who practises it. Neither his religious faith, nor his political affiliation can invest him with immunity. A leading educationist and former member of the Minorities Commission, Prof. VV John, drew attention some time back to the pernicious theory propounded by some politicians that communalism of the majority was bad, but communalism of the minority should be condoned. He rightly urged rejection of such 'selective secularism.'

BJP Commends Positive Secularism

The BJP therefore commends the concept of Positive Secularism which shall guarantee that the State shall not discriminate between one citizen and another on grounds of religion; which ensures justice and fairness to all minorities, religious, linguistic and social; which shall give no quarter to sectarianism, obscurantism and bigotry; which shall positively promote a scientific, rational and modern approach to problems; and which shall not allow the considerations of narrow partisan gain to pollute its attitudes towards this vital question of national integration. □

National Executive

Hyderabad

25 October, 1980

An Obnoxious Ordinance

The National Executive of the BJP, having reviewed the current situation in the country, has regretfully reached the conclusion that faced with the massive evidence of her colossal failure on every front and irritated by the escalating exposure of the corruption and incompetence of her Government, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has once again decided to re-enact the tragedy of June 1975. The recent plethora of repressive laws of preventive detention can only be explained as inevitable steps in that direction.

Are We Moving Towards Another Emergency?

The National Executive calls attention to the fact that the ordinary Code of Criminal Procedure and the various Police Acts contain vast and adequate powers to deal with lawlessness and criminal activity of all kinds. In addition to these powers, there is on the statute book the COFEPOSA providing for detention without trial of suspected smugglers and foreign exchange manipulators. There is then the recent legislation on Disturbed Areas passed by Parliament. That too provides for detention without trial. Over and above these, eight of the states with Cong. (I) Governments have at their disposal undemocratic and draconian laws of preventive detention in some form or the other.

Deliberate Creation of Fear Psychosis

All these laws are legacies from the colonial past. They are the progeny of the notorious Rowlatt Act of 1918. In fact, they are even worse than their evil ancestor. The powers are exercisable by the police and lower bureaucrats. In practice, liberty is taken away on the basis of the secret reports of some faceless and corrupt informers and paid agents of the Government itself. The arrest of the BJP workers who only advised a peaceful protest against rising prices under these laws shows the real intentions of the Government. The judgement of the High Court of Gujarat which released the detenus has

shown how the detentions had no reasonable nexus to the maintenance of public order. 'Preventive detention except in time of war is contrary to the rule of law' is the verdict of civilised international opinion. The conditions in this country do not justify resort to these laws. The Government is deliberately and artificially creating a psychosis of fear to justify its anti-democratic measures with the uncontrollable threat to the country's security though there is reason for Mrs. Gandhi's Government to feel insecure.

Atmosphere of Tension with Neighbours

At the moment, India is not threatened by any foreign power. None of our neighbours is today in a position to mount an attack on us. Yet an atmosphere of hate and hostility with our neighbours is being sedulously built up. The Janata Government's policy of keeping our borders cool and reducing military expenditure has been consciously reversed.

No government, which does not harbour intentions of suppressing political dissent and stifling democratic exposure and criticism, can legitimately want to be armed with more powers. The recent National Security Ordinance is a grim warning that democracy is in grave peril and conditions of emergency are round the corner.

BJP Condemns Growing Authoritarianism

The National Executive hereby records its appreciation of those individuals and groups which have called attention to this menace and have tried to mobilise national vigilance and effort to meet the imminent threat to our freedom. The curtailment of civil liberties is totally repugnant to Indian ethos and the nation will rise as one man to defend them.

The National Executive unequivocally condemns the Government's growing authoritarianism and urges the nation to get ready to make all necessary sacrifices to protect its priceless asset of freedom and fundamental liberties. In particular, the National Executive calls on the Press of this country to lend the support of its powerful voice in this noble cause. It is evident that a free Press will be the first casualty in the kind of regime which Mrs. Gandhi wishes to usher in. The Press does not need to be reminded of the bizarre incidents of Bangalore and Biridi in Orissa. They are dark

shadows of the coming events.



National Executive

Hyderabad

25 October, 1980

A. The Situation in Assam

Govt. Responsible for Breakdown of Talks

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party deeply regrets that the talks between the Government and the leaders of the Assam movement to find a solution to the question of foreign nationals have broken down. The Executive holds that the responsibility for this breakdown of negotiations rests squarely with the Government which has stubbornly refused to accept what is constitutionally and legally self-evident, namely, that in the context of Assam, a foreigner is a foreigner unless he is duly invested with citizenship rights. Whether he came before 1971 or after is irrelevant with regard to determining his status, though it may be relevant in deciding upon the remedies needed to deal with the humanitarian aspects of the problem. But until such time that he is formally naturalised, his name cannot be on the electoral rolls. The claim made by the Union Home Minister that the Government's stand in these talks has the support of all national parties is totally without foundation.

Failure to Inspire Trust in the People of Assam

At the root of the foreign national imbroglio is the Government of India's failure to inspire trust in the people of Assam that it is sincere about solving their problems. The Bharatiya Janata Party is sorry to note that the Government's handling of those recent negotiations has only intensified this distrust. It was first given out that the talks broke down because the Government wanted 1971 as the cut-off date. Later, the Government has said that there is no insistence of this kind. The Government obviously is less concerned about the merits of the case than it is in using the negotiating table only as a tactic to relieve agitational pressures. This is a myopic approach and can only damage national interest. The threats being held out to use the National Security Ordinance against the agitation

can only complicate an extremely complex situation.

Renewal of Discussions with Assam Leaders a Must

The Bharatiya Janata Party calls upon the Government to make it unambiguously clear that in regard to the issue of aliens, there is no question of a cut-off date, and on that basis reinvoke the Assam leaders for discussions. While reiterating our support to the Assam people's resolve to achieve a solution of the foreign nationals problem by peaceful and nonviolent means, the Bharatiya Janata Party appeals to the movement leaders to chart out their future course of action after due deliberation, and taking due care to educate national opinion in that regard.

B. Threat to the Constitution

Emasculation of Democratic Institutions

Ten months of gross misrule have plunged the country into a terrible crisis; but the Government is unable to offer either diagnosis or prescription. Instead, Mrs. Gandhi's Government has tried to pick up the course of repression from the point where it stopped when the people threw her out of power three years ago. She is now busy completing emasculation of democratic institutions in order to establish finally and unchallengeably her authoritarian stranglehold over the country.

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party views with deep concern the sinister attacks launched by the members of the ruling party on the Constitution and its primary protector, the Judiciary.

Janata Rout's Exemplary Policy Abandoned

The people of this country are witness to the policy which the previous Janata Government followed. The Janata Government while in government transferred not a single judge without consent and no minister even once advocated curbs on the judiciary. The Special Courts Bill was drastically modified by full acceptance of the suggestions made by the Supreme Court. Even then, some of the Congress (I) leaders like Mr CM Stephen held out threats to High

Court judges who would man the Special Courts. The disgraceful conduct of Youth Congress members towards the courts is a matter of recent history, not easily to be forgotten.

With Congress (I) installed in power, the threats have increased. The Union Law Minister has lost no time in proposing that High Court judges should be transferred from High Court to High Court regardless of their consent. The move is reminiscent of the transfer of 16 High Court judges during the emergency for no other reason than to intimidate and demoralise them into abject submission to the executive will.

The Government of India has departed from the practice settled for more than a century, and has refused to fill vacancies in the Office of Chief Justice in several High Courts. The spectacle of acting Chief Justices serving for long periods in several High Courts is as unedifying as it is demoralising. No credible explanation of any kind is forthcoming from the Government. The inference is obvious. The acting Chief Justices are on probation and will be appointed only on proof of loyalty to the Government.

Judges Must Uphold the Basics of Democracy

The National Executive applauds the independence and dignity shown by the Judiciary as a whole. Yet the National Executive cannot but regret that some judges have displayed a remarkable felicity of switching over to judicial servility and sycophancy. Both the Parliament and the Judiciary derive their authority from the Constitution and there is no real conflict between them. However, it is the Courts that have been charged by the Constitution to enforce the intricate system of checks and balances devised thereunder. Limits placed on Parliament's omnipotence are designed to safeguard the dignity of the individual against encroachment and assault by the power of the state and are

besides imperative to implement the constitutional guarantees given to minorities. Even a two-thirds vote by Parliament cannot make India a theocratic state or convert Indian democracy into a monarchy. Those who speak of the absolute sovereignty of Parliament are enemies not only of freedom and democracy but also of minorities, religious and linguistic. It is an article of faith with the National Executive that the right to amend does not at all include the right to abrogate, much less to destroy, the basics of democracy enshrined in the Constitution.

Sinister Designs to End Democracy

The National Executive considers the Keshavanand Bharati judgement, whereby the basic features of the Indian Constitution have been declared inviolate, as a milestone in the consolidation of freedom and liberty in this country. It welcomes the reiteration of the principle of the judgement in the recent Minerva Mills case. The National Executive deplores the attempts of the Government to have that wholesome decision reversed. The hostility of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her ministers to its principles is a conclusive evidence of their sinister designs to end India's democracy and to install some authoritarian form of Government in this country. The argument that the judgement stands in the way of any socio-economic legislation is and was a total fraud. The conference of lawyers to be held in Delhi on the 25th of October, 1980 is a part of this unholy conspiracy. The delegates do not represent the bar of the country and are being selected as delegates because of their acceptance of the Congress(I) ideology if it can be called ideology at all. They have no right to speak in the name of the bar of the country much less the people of the country.

In the Opinion of the National Executive,

1. the appointment and transfer of judges is substantially the function of the highest judiciary and the part of the Executive must be purely advisory and formal;
2. the principle, that only men of merit and integrity, possessed of sufficient legal expertise and sensitive to the claims of human liberty and problems of the people of this country are qualified to be judges, should be preserved as inviolate;
3. it is the supreme duty of the judiciary to save the

Constitution of India from being denuded of its essential features; and

4. if public confidence in the administration of justice is to be maintained, the Government should unequivocally disown any intention to appoint or promote 'Committed Judges' or to pack the Supreme Court and High Courts with people committed to its party ideology.

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party appeals to the people of India to exercise utmost vigil to preserve the cherished institutions created by the Constitution of India including the power of the Judiciary and the fundamental rights of the individual.

□

National Executive

**HYDERABAD 26 OCTOBER,
1980**

**POLITICS OF MURDER IN KERALA
THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF
THE BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY
EXPRESSES GRAVE CONCERN OVER
THE CONTINUING POLITICAL
MURDERS IN KERALA. EVER SINCE
THE CPI (M) LED MINISTRY CAME
TO POWER, THERE HAVE BEEN
ABOUT 30 POLITICAL MURDERS IN
THE STATE, AND IN ALL BUT ONE,
MARXISTS ARE THE MAIN PARTY**

WHILE THE VICTIMS BELONG TO VARIOUS OPPOSITION PARTIES. BESIDES, THERE ARE HUNDREDS OF POLITICAL CLASHES WHICH HAVE BECOME A DAILY OCCURRENCE.

FOR QUITE SOMETIME NOW, A GOOD MANY OF THE WORKERS OF THE CPI (M), ESPECIALLY THOSE BELONGING TO THE HARIJANS, FISHERMEN AND OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES, ARE LEAVING THE PARTY AND JOINING THE BJP. THE MARXISTS ARE ATTEMPTING TO STOP THIS TREND BY INTIMIDATING THE RANK AND FILE WHO WANT TO QUIT. THIS IS THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE POLITICAL VIOLENCE PRACTISED BY THE MARXISTS IN KERALA.

ADMINISTRATION'S PARTISAN APPROACH

A STUDY TEAM OF THE BJP, LED BY SHRI RAM JETHMALANI, AFTER COLLECTING FIRST HAND

INFORMATION HAS ALREADY REPORTED THE PARTISAN MANNER IN WHICH THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY IS MISUSED TO SUPPRESS POLITICAL OPPONENTS AND THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE CPI(M) WORKERS IN THESE VIOLENT INCIDENTS. IT NOTES WITH REGRET THAT CPI(M) LEADERS IN KERALA HAVE NOT RESPONDED TO THE EFFORTS BY INDEPENDENT QUARTERS TO PUT AN END TO VIOLENCE IN THE STATE.

BJP CONDEMNS POLITICS OF MURDER

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF THE BJP CONDEMNS 'POLITICS OF MURDER' CARRIED ON BY THE MARXISTS IN KERALA AND ALSO THE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED ARREST AND HARASSMENT OF THE BJP WORKERS IN THIS STATE. THE GOVERNMENT OF KERALA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS VIOLENCE

**BECAUSE VIOLENCE CANNOT
FLOURISH AND GO UNPUNISHED,
EXCEPT WITH ITS CONNIVANCE.
THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
CONGRATULATES THE BJP WORKERS
FOR MAINTAINING MORALE,
DISCIPLINE AND RESTRAINT IN THE
FACE OF GRIM PROVOCATION AND
UNPRECEDENTED VIOLENCE.**

..

