

Foreign Policy, Defence  
and  
International Commerce  
  
(2004 - 1980)



# National Executive

Hyderabad

11-12 January, 2004

## 12th SAARC summit in Islamabad

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party, meeting in Hyderabad on 11-12 January, 2004, heartily congratulates the Prime Minister, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, on his historic visit to Islamabad last week. The visit became path breaking because of his statesmanlike contribution to two positive developments – the landmark 12th summit of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the breakthrough achieved in the frozen bilateral relations between India and Pakistan. Together, these two developments have once again confirmed that Shri Atalji is one of the tallest leaders dedicated to peace and development in the world today.

The Islamabad summit of SAARC will go down as one of the most productive meetings of the Heads of State or Government of South Asian countries. The signing of the Framework Agreement on the South Asian Free Trade Area (SAFTA) brings to fruition the long-cherished vision of many people, who have argued that the economies of South Asian countries have numerous obvious synergies and that these synergies should be harnessed through intra-regional trade without barriers. Experience of free trade agreements in regional groupings elsewhere in the world, such as the ASEAN, European Union and NAFTA (North American Free Trade Area) has clearly shown that trade cooperation acts as an engine of economic growth and benefits all the member countries.

India had always been in favour of SAFTA. However, it was mainly the negative attitude of some of our neighbours which had

prevented it from being accepted by SAARC. These countries had chosen to remain a victim of the paranoia that free trade in South Asia would benefit India more than others. For example, the little trade that takes place between India and Pakistan is either through smuggling or is routed in a roundabout way *via* markets such as Dubai and Singapore. Some of our South Asian neighbours do not mind buying a wide range of goods, services and technologies from western countries at exorbitant rates, even when India can easily supply them at matching quality but at far lower prices. The agreement on SAFTA removes these absurdities and paves the way for a rapid growth in trade between all the SAARC countries.

Since ancient times, South Asia has been home to one of the most naturally integrated trade and economic regions in the world, without discrimination against and exploitation of any of its constituents. SAFTA provides the opportunity to revive that situation—of course, suitably adapted to modern conditions. The Prime Minister has introduced other visionary ideas in the SAARC context, such as a common South Asian currency leading to a common South Asian market, and revitalization of the socio-cultural bonds that constitute our countries as a South Asian Family. History will record the contribution of these bold ideas in transforming South Asia, which today has one of the largest populations of poor people in the world, into a zone of prosperity and all-round progress comparable to, or surpassing, any other region in the world.

The National Executive expresses satisfaction at the signing of an Additional Protocol on Terrorism and the adoption of a Social Charter at the SAARC summit in Islamabad. The Prime Minister has placed an energizing poverty alleviation vision before SAARC by calling upon all its members to resolve to achieve the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which the UN mandates all countries to reach by 2015, by 2010 itself.

Taken together the three positive outcomes of the Islamabad SAARC summit clearly show that India has succeeded in bringing about a convergence of perspectives, interests, and a sense of urgency among South Asian countries to live up to SAARC's true mandate—as a regional platform that can propel economic cooperation, social development, peace and mutual understanding.

In bringing about this convergence, Shri Atalji's guidance is now universally acknowledged.

The National Executive wholeheartedly applauds the Prime Minister's other successful initiative in Islamabad – namely, getting the leadership of Pakistan to commit itself, for the first time in a bilateral context, not to allow anybody to use any territory under its control for carrying out acts of terrorism against India. This commitment is unambiguously secured in the Joint Press Statement issued in Islamabad, following useful talks between our Prime Minister and President General Pervez Musharraf on the sidelines of SAARC. This is an important outcome of the sustained two-pronged campaign carried out by the Indian Government – a relentless offensive against cross-border terrorism, combined with the unveiling of a steady set of confidence-building measures to improve bilateral relations with Pakistan. Our policy of firmness on principles and flexibility in tactics appears to be working. Additionally, the awareness that the Bhasmasur of jihadi terrorism is threatening Pakistan's own stability has also contributed to its rulers' changed stance.

Nevertheless, the BJP urges the government to remain ever vigilant and calibrate its every step in improving relations with Pakistan with necessary caution. The National Executive welcomes the decision to resume the process of the Composite Dialogue in February and wishes the process every success.

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# National Executive

Ranchi

24-26 November, 2004

## Resolution on some current issues in Foreign Policy

1. Among the many sterling achievements of the Vajpayee government, the successful conduct of foreign policy was the most outstanding. The Vajpayee government, guided only by supreme national interest, conducted nuclear tests soon after coming to power in 1998. Thereafter, it successfully overcame the opposition of leading global powers to this move. It also resolutely and successfully met the challenge of economic sanctions imposed by these countries. Its diplomacy was so consummate that at the end of its tenure in 2004 India was on the high table of all international gatherings, was widely respected and several important and new initiatives were taken on all fronts. The most notable, of course, were the initiatives to resolve the outstanding issues with China and Pakistan, the establishment of a healthy and fruitful relationship with the USA, the EU, Russia, Japan, ASEAN and other countries. It initiated determined steps to improve and intensify its relationship with its neighbours. The peace initiative with Pakistan, was in particular, of historic significance as was the Joint Press Statement issued after Prime Minister Vajpayee's meeting, with President Musharraf, in Islamabad, on 6 January, 2004.

2. The BJP, therefore, welcomed the move when the present UPA government decided to follow the same policy. However, we shall be failing in our national duty if we did not comment on several disconcerting developments in the conduct of foreign policy by the UPA government.

3. The Joint Press Statement of 6 January, 2004, the basis of

further dialogue between India and Pakistan, is a clear and defining document. It is remarkable because for the first time, in a bilateral document, Pakistan agreed to eschew 'violence', 'conflict' and 'terrorism'. It agreed to resolve all issues bilaterally between the two countries. There was no mention, in the Statement, of any 'core issue' nor was there any mention of the participation of any third party in the dialogue process. All these premises have now been negated, because of the manner in which the dialogue process has been conducted by the present Government of India.

4. It is because of the inept handling of this Government that state-sponsored, cross-border terrorism from Pakistan has become almost a non-issue. Infiltration continues unabated and the infrastructure of terrorism remains intact in Pakistan and Pak occupied Kashmir. The impunity with which acts of terrorism continue to be committed, as was amply demonstrated by the terrorist incident, which took place on the day the Prime Minister himself visited Srinagar is deeply worrisome. The dialogue between the two countries has been allowed, by the present government, to become wholly Jammu & Kashmir-centric. The government has also failed to carry forward the initiative of the Vajpayee government to engage all groups in J&K including the Hurriyat in a dialogue. It is ridiculous that the Hurriyat leaders travel to New Delhi to meet the Prime Minister of the Pakistan while at the same time they refuse to meet the Prime Minister or the Home Minister of India. This clearly shows where their loyalty rests. The demand of Pakistan and the Hurriyat that the Hurriyat be included as a necessary 'third party' in the India-Pakistan dialogue process is clearly unwarranted and unacceptable. The earlier understanding of not talking to each other through the media also stands abandoned.

5. Pakistan Prime Minister's recent visit to India has failed to produce any result. No progress has been made even on such Confidence Building Measure as the Srinagar-Mujaffarabad bus service. He also failed to officially convey to India President Musharraf's publicly announced proposal on Jammu & Kashmir. The BJP National Executive completely rejects the proposals of President Musharraf on Jammu & Kashmir, which is and will always remain an integral part of India.

6. Issues between India and Pakistan are complex and are of

long standing. There is no quick-fix solution. Both sides need great patience to deal with them. The international community, specially the USA also has to ensure that it does nothing to derail the delicate peace process between the two countries. In this context, the recent decision of the US government to supply sophisticated arms to Pakistan in the name of fighting terrorism is a matter of grave concern. Of greatest concern, of course, is the reported decision of the US government to supply F-16s to Pakistan. When the Vajpayee government was in office we had effectively persuaded the US government to desist from such moves. It is a matter of deep regret, therefore, that the present Government has failed to persuade the US Administration to desist from taking such a dangerous step. This will also have the most adverse impact on the current India-Pakistan peace process. The BJP hopes that the US administration will use restraint and not jeopardise the peace process between India and Pakistan, and the bilateral relationship between India and the USA, by helping Pakistan augment its offensive capacity.

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# National Executive

Indore

4-5 ????, 2003

## Resolution on situation in Iraq

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party deploras the unjustified military action resorted to by the United States, UK and their allies against Iraq. It notes with grave concern the humanitarian crisis which is developing in Iraq on account of this action. The National Executive expresses its anguish and distress over the large number of casualties, both civilian and military as well as the plight of the hapless and beleaguered people of Iraq whose condition is rapidly worsening.

The National Executive, therefore, resolves that:

- i) War be immediately brought to an end.
- ii) The parties concerned seek a peaceful, political solution within the framework of the United Nations.
- iii) Immediate measures be taken by the international community to rush humanitarian aid to the suffering people of Iraq in consultation with the government of Iraq.
- iv) The sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iraq be preserved and that
- v) The right of the people of Iraq to determine their political future and exercise control over their natural resources be fully respected.

The National Executive commends the government for the pro-active measures undertaken to safeguard the welfare and interests of Indians in the region. It expresses its satisfaction that the Government has crafted an approach, which is consistent with India's dignity as well as its long term national interests aimed at

bringing a quick end to this conflict and providing speedy relief to the suffering people of Iraq. It calls upon the Government to continue its efforts for peace with like minded countries and forums such the Non Aligned Movement.

The National Executive emphasizes the need for the international community to remain focused on the global war against terrorism and to eschew 'double standards' in this campaign. The epicentre of international terrorism is located in Pakistan. It is here that the most serious manifestation of a nexus between authoritarian rule, weapons of mass destruction, drug trafficking and terrorism flourish. The horrifying massacre of innocents that recently took place in Nandimarg is but an example of how the crisis in Iraq is being used by the patrons of terrorism to engage in diversionary tactics and to advance their political goal of spreading conflict and violence within India.

The National Executive calls upon the international community to ensure that the crisis in Iraq does not lead to any dilution in efforts to bring an end to the huge potential threat to humanity and to India, arising from continued patronage and sponsorship of terrorism by Pakistan as an instrument of its national policy.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

24 March, 2001

## Demolition of statues in Bamiyan

At the beginning of the 21st century the developments in Afghanistan are a matter of grave concern. The type of fundamentalism that is raising its head there is dangerous for world peace and order. The world community is aghast and is unable to do anything in this matter, other than issuing statements.

The ancient heritage of human civilisation in Afghanistan including the unique and magnificent statues of Lord Buddha are being destroyed wantonly. Earlier Afghanistan has always valued its relics of the various civilisations. Afghan people regarded them as not only their heritage but that of mankind and paid respect to them. These fundamentalist deeds are part of "a conspiracy to destabilise the Indian sub-continent".

Close to eighty countries, including virtually all OIC countries, in addition to the UN & the UNESCO, have joined the outcry against the Taliban's acts of pure barbarism. Qatar (in its capacity as current Chairman of the OIC) and Egypt sent high powered delegation of clerics to Taliban, in an unsuccessful attempt to dissuade the latter from carrying out its decision. The Islamic Research Academy, presided over by the Grand Imam of al-Azhar (in Cairo), urged the Afghan Taliban movement to stop the demolition of the ancient monuments. In the same vein Egypt's Mufti Nasr Farid Wasal said that the statues and other relics represented period of human history and have no impact on religious beliefs. He added that no Muslim scholar throughout the ages ever delivered a fatwa ordering statues be demolished and that is why pre-Islamic statues

in countries that converted to Islam are still there. He asserted that the monuments represented human legacy and did not belong to one nation, adding that they did not contradict the Islamic Sharia.

The international community, apart from being outraged by the action, must carefully address itself to the dangerous aberration in this region and understand its full implications.

It must also fully and firmly implement the UN Security Council resolution No. 1333.

Furthermore, it must also examine appropriate action against the medieval Taliban militia with a view to driving home to the latter its strong condemnation of the Taliban's actions and its ideological orientation which are responsible for the Taliban territories emerging as the world's principal centre of international terrorism, and violation of human rights.

The principal mentor and supporter of the Taliban militia, in its international terrorist acts, is Pakistan and the international community must take grave note of this nexus and express its strong disapproval of Pakistan's support for encouragement of the Taliban militia.

The National Executive also calls upon the Government of India to request the United Nations General Assembly, United Nations Security Council and the UNESCO to carefully monitor the Taliban militia's activities in all these fields with a view to regularly apprising member countries of further developments and also, in order to pre-empt any future acts of cultural vandalism.

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its grave resentment on the developments in Afganistan and appeals to the world community, especially the Islamic nations to make serious attempts to stop such activities which reminds of medieval barbarism and save human civilisation from this blot.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

27-29 July, 2001

## Agra Summit

Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee's decision to invite General Pervez Musharraf for the Agra Summit was an act of statesmanship, reflective of India's policy of establishing peace and normal relations with Pakistan. The Bharatiya Janata Party has always believed that India and Pakistan cannot live in perpetual hostility. Our country is familiar with Shri Atalji's vision of a peaceful and friendly neighbourhood. It was this vision, which guided him to successfully seek improvement of relations with Pakistan when he became Foreign Minister in 1977 in the Janata Party Government. It was the same broad perspective, which prompted him to undertake the Bus Yatra to Lahore in February 1999. And, again, in May this year, transcending Pakistan's betrayal at Kargil, he called upon General Pervez Musharraf to join him on the high road to peace.

The BJP did not expect any dramatic results from the Agra Summit, but it had hoped that some positive steps would emerge from the high-level meeting. However, the obduracy, intransigence, and unifocal approach of the Pakistani side forced a stalemate and brought about an inconclusive end to the Summit. President Musharraf failed to recognize the merit of India's multi-dimensional approach and stuck to his own one-point agenda.

President Musharraf's statements and actions just before and during the visit raised serious doubts about Pakistan's desires to have peaceful relations with India. In an interview to a Dubai-based newspaper, he virtually dismissed the two historic

documents on Indo-Pak relations – the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration – as irrelevant, because they did not identify Kashmir as the ‘core’ issue between India and Pakistan. Secondly, he transgressed diplomatic norms by meeting the Hurriyat Conference leaders in New Delhi, despite the host government making it clear that it would not like him to meet them. Thirdly, President Musharraf not only converted an informal breakfast meeting with senior editors in Agra into a media spectacle without consulting or even informing the host government, but also made statements, which were unacceptable to the Indian side. He virtually poured cold water on any prospects of a positive outcome by his injudicious utterances. He described cross-border terrorism promoted by Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir as a ‘freedom struggle’. Shockingly, he went on to rationalise and condone the killings of innocent people in Jammu and Kashmir by terrorists by comparing the happenings in the state with the situation in Palestine. He also described discussions on economic cooperation and our Government’s unilateral confidence-building measures as pointless, unless the ‘core issue’ of Kashmir was resolved.

From what has been stated above, we cannot help but draw the conclusion that General Musharraf used his visit to India in general, and the Agra Summit in particular, to solely address his domestic constituency, which continues to look at the Kashmir issue through the prism of the discredited two-nation theory.

The BJP endorses the Prime Minister’s firmly stated view that the Indo-Pak relationship has multiple dimensions with immense potential for mutually beneficial cooperation. The yearning in both countries for progress in trade and economic cooperation, cultural relations and people-to-people contacts cannot be held hostage to the so-called ‘core issue’ of Kashmir. President Musharraf’s failure or reluctance to see things in this perspective is unfortunate.

The Party also whole-heartedly congratulates the Prime Minister for reminding Pakistan’s President that what lies at the core of the so-called ‘core issue’ of Kashmir is the continuing and illegitimate occupation of one-third of Jammu and Kashmir by Pakistan. Shri Atalji reminded his guest that the problem of Kashmir began with the armed invasion of the state by the so-called tribals, along with Pakistan Army regulars, in October 1947.

The Agra Summit has sent a clear message to the entire world and, in particular, to Pakistan that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and no compromise on this shall be acceptable. India's firm stand at the Summit also served to project to the entire world that Islamabad's continuing and open support to cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir is the biggest stumbling block in the normalisation of Indo-Pak relations. Even during, and soon after, the Agra Summit, terrorist violence was unleashed in Jammu & Kashmir resulting in the death of many pilgrims on the Amarnath Yatra and other innocent civilians. This cannot be tolerated and will have to be put down ruthlessly.

As our Prime Minister reminded the Pakistani delegation in no uncertain terms, India has the resolve and the ability to firmly deal with cross-border terrorism. India has successfully overcome the challenge of Pakistan-backed terrorism in Punjab and restored normalcy; we shall similarly overcome the challenge in Jammu and Kashmir. The BJP would like to urge the Government to take all possible measures to strengthen the forces combating the so-called 'jehadis', who are, in fact, hired mercenaries. This, indeed, is the principal issue for discussion in so far as Kashmir is concerned, whenever bilateral dialogue resumes.

The Pakistani leader and his Foreign Minister have also spoken of 'self determination' of the Kashmiri people. They seem to forget that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have enjoyed democratic freedoms and the right to elect their own representatives for the last fifty years, something denied to their fellow Kashmiris across the border. Pakistan has been under military rule for most of the time since Independence. It is ironic that a military ruler should lecture on the aspirations of the Kashmiri people for self-determination.

The BJP would like to put on record its deep appreciation of the mature and sagacious manner in which Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and his senior colleagues handled the Agra Summit. The Prime Minister ensured that India's core interests were not sacrificed in the negotiations with Pakistan. We entirely agree with him that there can be no compromise on the twin issues of cross-border terrorism, backed by religious extremism, and the status of Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of India.

The BJP believes that efforts to improve relations with Pakistan

should continue. However, it must be clearly understood that no meaningful dialogue with Pakistan can be conducted as long as the 'jehadi' mentality dominates the Pakistani establishment. There are elements in Pakistan who interpret India's friendly gestures as a sign of weakness and a proof of the success of the Pakistani-sponsored cross-border terrorism. The BJP would like such people to know that India's friendly overtures are indicative of our overwhelming and oft-demonstrated strength and also of our innate desire for peace and friendship with all our neighbours. If Pakistan continues to adopt a negative posture, the Government of India should draw appropriate conclusions and plan for the future accordingly.

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# National Executive

Amritsar

2-3 November, 2001

## Terrorism

Terrorism acquired a new dimension when hijacked aeroplanes crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York killing over 6000 persons from sixty different countries and injuring thousands of others. This dastardly attack on innocent people could possibly affect the future course of human endeavour.

The world has at last woken up to the reality of terrorism. India has suffered from this phenomenon for more than a decade. Thousands of people have died in the state of Jammu and Kashmir as a result of the periodic acts of terrorism planned and manipulated from across the border. Solid evidence of the involvement of agencies operating from or at the behest of Pakistan were presented to a number of countries but there was a marked reluctance to take joint action against terrorism. The Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) of Pakistan is known to have been behind the series of bombing cases all over India during the last several years. The same agency also supported those who organised the serial bombing in Bombay in 1993 killing more than 500 persons. The hijacking of the Indian Airlines flight 814 from Nepal was another case of terrorist activities conducted from across the border. Combating terrorism is thus nothing new to India. We have fought against it for all over a decade but the enormity of the crime committed in New York has made the whole world share our concerns. It is now widely admitted that punishing Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda organisation will not be enough and that all the related terrorist organisations like the Jaish-e-Mohammed, Lashkar-e-Toiba, Hizbul-Mujahidin

etc., must be completely wiped out if the problem of terrorism is to be settled once for all.

The Bharatiya Janata Party completely supports the policy of the government on collaboration with all those who wish to form a coalition to fight terrorism. We firmly believe that this is a problem that can only be solved by collective action. We should be prepared to offer such assistance that can be rendered to the United States and other members of the coalition for action against terrorism. Needless to say India's assistance in this regard will naturally be in pursuance of our own national interest and in line with our established policies. The BJP would like to appeal to all political parties not to make it a partisan issue and extend full support to the government. We must remember that others are now supporting us in a battle which we have been fighting alone so far.

We know that Pakistan has been a principal source of terrorism in our region and that it has played a contributory role in the creation of Taliban. It is indeed ironic that Pakistan has now offered to join the battle against terrorism. We have reason to be suspicious of Pakistani offer of cooperation as Pakistan is yet to prove that it is ready to fight against terrorism. We would be very happy to be proved wrong but would none the less, suggest to the government to be fully prepared to continue to fight our own battle against terrorism with renewed vigour. As the Prime Minister said in his letter to the US President after the 1 October attack on the J&K assembly building, Pakistan must understand that there is a limit to the patience of the people of India.

At the Agra Summit President Musharraf refused to admit the existence of cross border terrorism. Instead, he called it freedom struggle. After the attack on the J&K Assembly building on 1 October, he not only admitted that it was terrorism but even offered cooperation in fighting terrorism. Given Pakistan's record of involvement in terrorist activities, the international community must treat Pakistan's offer of combating terrorism with utmost caution, if not skepticism.

The Prime Minister has very appropriately cautioned the people against identifying terrorism with Islam, even though many individuals and organisations have spoken of committing the acts of terrorism in the name of Islam. We believe that they are

the fringe elements of Islam and do not represent the true spirit of Islam. No religion teaches people to commit acts of terrorism. We hope Muslim leaders in India and around the world will appeal to their followers to dissociate themselves from the small group of fanatics who are committing acts of terrorism in the name of religion.

Our experience over the past decade has shown that the terrorists have received encouragement from the fact that our legal framework as well as our judicial and legal procedures are not effective enough to suitably punish the terrorists. Quite a large number of them get away either with a token punishment or none at all. There is an urgent need, therefore, for an effective and comprehensive law to combat terrorism. The Bharatiya Janata Party, therefore, urges that the government may bring forth suitable legislation to tackle the problem of terrorism. In this context the recent ordinance on prevention of terrorism is a step that needs to be supported by all.

A few days after the terrorist attack in New York, the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution condemning all kinds of terrorism. The Bharatiya Janata Party welcomes this resolution and would like to request the Government of India to take suitable steps for the early adoption of the UN convention on terrorism which India and several other countries had proposed two years ago. We believe that such a convention will serve a very useful purpose towards eliminating terrorist activities in the world.

The National Executive appreciates the determined stand of the Central Government to combat the terrorism unleashed by terrorist groups based across the border, aided and abetted by the neighbouring state of Pakistan by vigorously pursuing a proactive policy which includes elimination of hideouts of terrorist groups. The US government aided by UK and with the support of many other nations has chosen to pursue the policy of hot pursuit crossing countries and continents in their fight against international terrorism thereby justifying their stand. India has rightly chosen for the present not to go in for hot pursuit as it has full confidence in itself to succeed by its Present Proactive Policy. But if situation demands, circumstances compel and national interest needs, nothing should come in the way of the country in going all out to

eliminate terrorism from both inside and outside the country. BJP also appeals to every citizen of this country to extend his or her fullest cooperation and support to all steps taken or to be taken by the Central Government in its fight against terrorism and in its efforts to bring about peace in the country and in our region.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

1 October, 2000

## **P.M's visit to Millennium Summit of the UN**

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party warmly congratulates Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee on so effectively giving voice to India's views at the recent Millennium Summit of the United Nations, followed by his path breaking state visit to the United States of America.

The UN Summit was the largest ever gathering of heads of State, convened to mark the beginning of a new century and a new millennium. Our Prime Minister presented India's case with eloquent persuasion, dwelling on both India's national concerns as also and the universal aspirations of mankind. Even as he spoke for India, he gave voice to the views of have nots.

Rightly, Shri Atalji espoused democracy and development as twin global imperatives for building a world free of poverty, want and tyranny. Similarly, he conveyed the right cautionary message to the international community by urging it to recognize that terrorism, fanned often by religious extremism, is a threat to a civilised world order. His call for the convening of an international conference on Terrorism, under the aegis of the UN, is timely.

Atalji's state visit to Washington was a defining event in Indo-US relations. It marked a remarkable turn around in relations between the world's two great democracies. Within a period of 30 months coming in the wake of momentous visit to India by the US President earlier in March this year, it signalled a definitive transition from nearly five decades of distance between our two countries to constructive engagement for mutual benefit and for the

benefit of the entire world. That, Atalji undertook this strenuous tour despite being in physical pain is yet another demonstration of his high sense of public duty and commitment to national good.

The NDA Government's firm handling of the country's nuclear and security policies has convinced the world that India is a mature, responsible, and restrained country, ready to cooperate fully in furtherance of the cause of peace and cooperation.

The Bharatiya Janata Party places on record its deep appreciation of the outstanding role played by the Prime Minister and our senior most party worker Shri AB Vajpayee in so effectively and ably steering the country's security and foreign policy through these testing times.

The National Executive of the BJP also congratulates Indian-American community for the sterling role played by them in developing Indo-US relations. They have done themselves and India proud with their shining achievements in various fields, most notably in the Information Technology. With these achievements, they have not only contributed to the prosperity of the United States, but have raised the image of India in the eyes of America and the rest of the world community.

The National Executive congratulates all the Indian-American organisations, and especially the activists of the 'Overseas Friends of the BJP', for their contribution to the success of Shri Atalji's visit to the United States.

The National Executive of the BJP takes this opportunity to warmly welcome the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, who arrives in India tomorrow. Russia is India's time tested friend. President Putin's visit will further strengthen the traditional friendship between India and Russia.

The National Executive takes this opportunity to also congratulate the NDA Government on a highly successful completion of one year of office. The last one year has been a glorious example of a scam-free, tension-free governance. The Government has redeemed a large number of its electoral promises. Three new states have been carved out. Two Constitution amendments dealing with the reservation policy have been approved to redeem the hopes of the weaker sections. A large number of steps have been taken to put India on a path of rapid development. The Government is

following an agenda of creating a resurgent and developed India. The Party wholeheartedly supports these initiatives of the NDA Government.



# National Executive

Panjim

2-4 April, 1999

## Bombing of Serbia by NATO

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive deplors the NATO air strikes against Serbia. The bombing, in the guise of aiding the people of Kosovo, an integral part of Serbia, is an assault on a sovereign nation and an infringement of the well-established international norm that no nation shall interfere in the internal affairs of another nation.

The air strikes are the first of their kind, especially because never before have NATO forces been sent into direct conflict. The air strikes have also set a dangerous precedent that cannot but cause concern to all nations who cherish their political sovereignty.

The bombing is a unilateral action that ignores multilateral arrangements because Governments that control NATO forces did not seek the United Nations' approval neither did the issue come up before the UN Security Council prior to the air strikes.

We reiterate our commitment to peaceful resolution of disputes. All freedom and peace loving nations, particularly members of NAM, must come forward to exert pressure on NATO to halt this assault on Serbia's sovereignty.

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# National Council

Chennai

28-29 December, 1999

## Resolution on Terrorism

The hijack of an Indian Airlines plane by a group of terrorists on 24 December is the latest episode in Pakistan's continuing proxy war against India. The Delhi-bound plane from Kathmandu, carrying 11 crew members and 174 passengers, mostly Indians but also some belonging to other nationalities, was hijacked before it was to have a stop-over at Lucknow airport. After a torture-filled journey from Amritsar to Lahore to Dubai, the hijackers have taken the plane to Kandahar airport in Afghanistan, which has become the safest heaven in the world for terrorists.

The BJP strongly condemns this heinous act of taking innocent passengers as hostages and subjecting them to cruel physical and mental torture. The entire sequence of the hijack-related events makes it clear that this is a well-planned exercise conceived, planned and executed by the enemies of India. Pakistan's pivotal role in it is evident from the main demand of the hijackers – release of Maulavi Azhar, a top leader of the Pak-based terrorist group, Harkut-ul-Ansar. He is a Pakistani national who is in Indian captivity since 1994 for his close links with the separatist movement in Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan's ISI has masterminded several terrorist acts since 1994 to secure his release.

The BJP appreciates and fully supports the initiatives taken by the Government to bring the hijack incident to an end by securing the safe return of all the remaining passengers and crew members to India at the earliest.

The National Executive unreservedly endorses Prime Minister

Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee's resolve that the security of the hijacked passengers would be given top most priority. The country is faced with a very complex and difficult challenge, and the BJP urges the people to remain calm and united behind the Government's efforts to resolve it successfully in safeguarding India's security.

It is obvious that Pakistan's humiliating failure to achieve its objectives in the Kargil war has led it to intensify the terrorist campaign against India in various forms. The latest act of hijacking an Indian plane follows a spate of terrorist attacks against our security forces in recent months. The BJP urges the Government and the people to jointly fight terrorism with the spirit of Kargil. The powerful fist of unity that Indians displayed during the Kargil war was a source of great strength for our jawans as well as the Government. India needs to show similar resolve in combating terrorism, which is nothing but war by other means and in which every citizen is a soldier.

Terrorism is a scourge against humanity. When mixed with religious fanaticism, however, it becomes an even greater threat to peace, national unity and international and inter-religious concord. Since terrorism bred by religious fanaticism has today become a global menace, the BJP thinks that India, as one of its chief victims, should take the lead in mobilising an effective global opinion against it. There is also an urgent need to strengthen the functioning of our intelligence and security agencies at all levels. These too should work in close concert with all other agencies world-wide tasked with countering terrorism.

The National Executive condemns the killing of Rupen Katyal, one of the passengers on the hijacked plane, and sends its condolences to the bereaved family. The Party also shares the concerns and sentiments of the relatives of the remaining hostages on the aircraft.

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# National Executive

Jaipur

21-23 August, 1998

## Nuclear Test

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive hails the successful nuclear tests conducted by the BJP-led Government as a bold and decisive step in the right direction. Pokhran-II has not only demonstrated that India's indigenous scientific talent is second to none, but also provided the nation with nuclear deterrence capability.

We congratulate the Government for placing national security concerns above all other considerations and refusing to buckle down under pressure from certain western governments that have been trying to force discriminatory control regimes on India even while maintaining huge stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. For long India has had genuine security concerns; these concerns, neglected for more than two decades, have now been addressed.

While Pokhran-II has unleashed an unprecedented outpouring of patriotic fervour and national pride among Indians, both at home and abroad, as well as enhanced the strength and morale of the defence forces, some political parties, politicians, especially the Leftists, and pseudo-intellectuals have chosen to criticise the Government's decision.

The BJP subscribes to the view that lasting global peace can be achieved and the threat of nuclear war eliminated only when nuclear weapon states adopt and implement a time-bound programme to dismantle their weapons of mass destruction. But so long as these states continue to stockpile weapons, it serves little purpose and works against India's security interests to renounce

nuclear deterrence capability.

As expected, economic measures have been taken against India for daring to challenge discriminatory arrangements. But India's spirit cannot be broken by sanctions or by initiating punitive steps like the expulsion of Indian scientists working in research establishments. India has the strength and the capacity to withstand and survive economic sanctions.

The National Executive welcomes the unilateral moratorium on further tests but urges the Government to review this decision if future developments jeopardise national strategic and security interests. We urge the Government to bear in mind that India stayed out of the CTBT in 1996 because of national security concerns and the discriminatory character of the Treaty. The same principle should guide any dialogue on India becoming a signatory to any multilateral control regime.

We also welcome the Government's post-Pokhran diplomatic initiative that has enabled many foreign governments to realise that India has genuine security concerns and that these concerns need to be addressed. India, contrary to what the BJP-led Government's critics claim, is neither isolated nor cornered following the tests; India has emerged as a confident sovereign state, sure of its place in the comity of nations.

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# National Executive

Jaipur

15-17 April, 1996

## **On External Affairs Policies of the United Front Government**

Many years have passed since the end of the Cold War but India is yet to find a place and a role commensurate with its size, population, strategic location and its potential in various fields in the new world order. During the last five years there has been a steady decline in India's international standing, culminating in the shocking result of the contest to a non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council. But even this shock has not woken up the Deve Gowda Government. The failure at the United Nations is sought to be explained away by linking it with India's so-called isolation on the issue of CTBT. It is conveniently ignored that Australia was also defeated in the same contest despite it being the foremost champion of the CTBT in the same forum of the UN General Assembly.

The recent assault on an Indian High Commission official and his wife, in Pakistan, by hoodlums representing a fundamentalist and fanatical ruling establishment, cannot be ascribed to our 'isolation' on the CTBT. Rather, it is the result of the Deve Gowda Government's 'saintly' posture of unilateralism in relations with Pakistan. It has adopted a policy that has left New Delhi whining at Islamabad's door – the more belligerent Pakistan becomes, the more docile is the UPA Government's response or the lack of it.

The fact is that India is ignored or bypassed in most international fora. It is the Government's failure to understand the radically changed dynamics of the international situation which is responsible for India's sorry plight. The Government keeps on harping upon the unity of the developing and non-aligned countries.

It is quite oblivious of the fact that each of these countries has its own economic and political agenda leading to compromises with powerful nations of the world. Decisions taken and the resolutions adopted at non-aligned and developing countries fora are rarely acted upon at the United Nations and elsewhere. Therefore, India is likely to fail in its quest for permanent membership of the UN Security Council as also the membership of APEC.

The present Government has no national objectives in mind while framing India's foreign and defence policies. The Government is continuing the spineless policies of the Narasimha Rao regime. The Government claims credit for India's opposition to the CTBT, ignoring the fact that it is the BJP which mounted a national campaign against that treaty. The BJP's vigorous stand against the CTBT as against the NPT is based on the national objective of assuring India's security by acquiring nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them. But what does the Deve Gowda Government say? Under the pressure of foreign powers, it declares that while India will retain its nuclear option, it will not manufacture nuclear weapons. It will not conduct the necessary nuclear tests. And under the same pressures it has put a halt to the development of the Agni missile. What is then the point of retaining the nuclear option? There is no merit in the 'Trishanku' like status for India.

The Deve Gowda Government's posture is that of an international supplicant. This is best illustrated by the following remarks made by the United Front Finance Minister, Shri P. Chidambaram in London a little while ago. He said, "You came to India and stayed for 200 years. Now come prepared to invest and stay for another 200 years and there will be huge rewards."

The BJP believes that India's national objective must be to become one of the most powerful nations in the world. This objective can be achieved only by its single-minded promotion through nationalistic defence and economic policies. The Deve Gowda Government, like the Narasimha Rao regime, is incapable of such action. Only a BJP Government at the Centre can follow policies to achieve this national objective. □

# National Executive

Jaipur

15-17 November, 1996

## Singapore meeting of WTO

The Bharatiya Janata Party is totally opposed to the integration of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), and social issues such as labour standards and the environmental aspects with the World Trade Organisation at an inter-governmental meeting scheduled to be held in Singapore on 9-10 December, 1996. If the MAI, as proposed by the European Union, is integrated with the already concluded Uruguay Round Multilateral Treaty about which, of course, BJP has always voiced its objections, especially with regard to Patent Law and farm related issues, it would lead to virtually surrendering of the country's economic and political sovereignty. Member countries would end up simply implementing policies dictated by the officials of the WTO at the cost of their sovereignty. Since the WTO is dominated by views favourable to advanced countries, developing countries like India would be the losers.

The BJP is committed to a selective approach to foreign investment. The area and quantum of foreign investment are matters to be decided by a sovereign government keeping in view the local socio-economic compulsions. In fact, this right has been upheld by the Uruguay Round. Allowing foreign investment as a legal right as proposed by the MAI would lead to the imposition of a new form of economic imperialism on the developing countries. The host country would not be in a position to regulate foreign investment with regard to the area (e.g., high-tech or low tech), the size of equity participation, repatriation of funds, the employment

of local manpower resources, and also the restrictions with regard to export-import. As per the proposed MAI foreign investors can enter into any area except defence related industries. As a result, the host country would remain technologically backward as advanced countries are not interested in transferring the state-of-the-art technology. Besides, developing countries are likely to become a dumping ground for environmentally hazardous industries (which advanced countries would like to shift away from their own territories). Moreover, employment opportunities to local people are likely to fall as there would be a total licence to foreign investors in complete disregard to the laws of the host countries.

If the proposed MAI is accepted, domestic industries – big, small or cottage – may find it difficult to survive in the face of competition from MNCs. Similarly, national treatment to foreign investors at par with domestic investors for all practical purposes, such as subsidy assistance and benefits of local R&D is something repugnant to the national interest.

More than anything else, the proposed MAI is a challenge to the very democratic system as the proposal aims at eroding the sovereign rights of elected governments. The elected governments would be deprived of the opportunity to legislate and undertake policies designed to promote the welfare of their people.

Similarly, attempts by the advanced countries to link labour standards and environmental issues with trade are not acceptable to the BJP. The Party is certainly concerned over the problem of child labour. But the issue is one that should be tackled by the concerned country. There is no need at all to link it with foreign trade especially to serve the designs of the advanced countries to prevent exports from the developing countries.

Though the Party is committed to balance between development and environment, the issue should not be linked with international trade as proposed by the advanced countries, as this is also with an evil design to curb exports from the developing countries. In fact, environmental problems are created by the advanced countries.

In the opinion of the BJP, if the proposals of the European Union are approved at the Singapore meeting of the WIO, the international institutions like the ILO, the WPO, the UNCTAD would become defunct. This attempt to enlarge the domain of the

WTO would amount to intrusion in the functioning of the UN bodies also.

The National Executive has the following recommendations to make:

1. The United Front Government should realise the gravity of the problem and make vigorous efforts to promote the national consensus and mobilise international opinion against the new proposals.
2. Each country must be free to pursue its national development strategies and to decide the role to be played by foreign investment in achieving various developmental goals. Consequently, these decisions must be left entirely to the competence and jurisdiction of the government of each country.
3. The UNCTAD, which is the most appropriate forum to study all the aspects of investment, including MAI, has already been mandated by UNCTAD IX to do so. Hence, the matter should be decided by the UNCTAD.
4. Similarly, the ILO (and not the WTO) is the appropriate forum to look into the question relating to labour standards in different countries.
5. The TRIPS agreement should be reviewed in the light of the experience of the developing countries like India.

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# National Executive

Panjim

2-4 April, 1995

## The Nuclear Option and the development of an Indigenous Missiles Systems

There are clear indications that the Narasimha Rao Government has succumbed to American pressure and IT has given up India's Nuclear Option and the development of an indigenous, missiles system.

This is clear from government's decision to engage in negotiations on halting the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons. This would lead to putting India's plutonium production under international safeguard effectively capping India's nuclear option. But this would be only the beginning. The second and third stages would reduce India's stockpile of fissile materials and then eliminate it. While the five nuclear weapon states will have thousands of nuclear weapons, India will be left with no such material in its possession to make nuclear weapons to assure its security. Ultimately the entire nuclear programme of India would be adversely affected.

The Government of India claims that it is negotiating for a 'satisfactory' agreement to stop the production of fissile material for weapons purposes. A 'satisfactory' agreement must be absolutely non-discriminatory in nature in as much as it must not allow the continued possession of nuclear weapons by some states while capping, reducing and eliminating the capacity of others to make such weapons to assure their own security. But the agreement which is being negotiated will have precisely that effect and grant further legitimacy to a few states in the matter of possession of nuclear

weapons. In fact the nuclear weapons states have made no secret of their determination to hold on to their weapons forever. Thus India's adherence to a ban on the production of fissile material for weapons purposes will be tantamount to adhering to the Non-Proliferation Treaty through the back door while the Government of India loudly proclaims that it will not sign the NPT, it effectively gives up the nuclear option through other actions. The BJP is in favour of a nuclear weapon-free world but not for a world in which a few countries possess nuclear weapons and all the rest are subject to their hegemony.

Under similar pressure the Government of India is back pedalling on the deployment of the Prithvi missile and the development of the Agni missile. Till date the government replies in response to questions in the Parliament regarding the development and deployment of missiles has given the impression that the Agni was being developed and the Prithvi would soon be inducted into service and deployed. However, Robert Einhorn's, a senior official in the US Department of Defence, in his testimony before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee has said categorically that "the Agni is now in a period of hibernation and that Prithvi was in the user trial stage and had not been serially produced or deployed. The Government of India has not commented upon Mr. Einhorn's testimony.

This marks a significant change in our missiles development policy. Indeed it negates the assurance given to the nation by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao from the ramparts of the Red Fort on 15 August, 1994 about the development of the indigenous missiles system. The BJP is of the firm view that we must have missiles for our security as our neighbour Pakistan has acquired and inducted into service M11 missiles with a range of about 300 kms and China on our Eastern Front has missiles with range of 2,500-3000 kms which can reach vital installations in our country. The Prithvi with a range of 150-250 kms is a battlefield tactical missile for support of the army's ground operations. The Agni missile has a planned range of 1500 -2500 kms. It is an intermediate range ballistic missile (IRBM) and is a strategic weapon. The discontinuance of their development and production is a great setback to our military preparedness. The BJP reiterates its demand that the Prithvi should

be produced serially and inducted into the armed forces and that work on Agni should be immediately resumed.

There have been inspiring reports that India might be granted the status of a permanent member of the UN Security Council if it were to give up its nuclear option and abide by the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) restrictions on its indigenous missiles system. The BJP would like to warn the Narasimha Rao government that any deal which compromises national security would not be acceptable to the nation and must be rejected unhesitatingly.

The BJP calls upon the Government of India to give up its attempt to hoodwink the Indian people on these two vital questions affecting national security and take Parliament and the people into confidence in regard to its real intentions.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

15-16 July, 1995

## Grave missile threats to India's security

Recent disclosures about the missile programme undertaken by Pakistan with China's assistance have highlighted the grave threat posed to India's security. They have also underlined the biased approach of the United States and China against India. While China supplies scores of missiles to Pakistan, the US not only ignores this threat to India, it puts pressure on India not to serially produce and deploy the Prithvi missiles and to abandon the development of the Agni missile. And the Narasimha Rao government meekly submits to US pressure. Similarly the Government of India does nothing to persuade China to give up its military assistance to Pakistan which is clearly directed against India.

Pakistan has always linked its nuclear programme to its claims on Jammu and Kashmir. Reliable sources, including American, have assessed that Pakistan has already produced upto 15 nuclear bombs/warheads and has sufficient weapons grade uranium to fabricate a similar number.

Pakistan has also embarked on producing delivery vehicles for the nuclear arsenal. Pakistan has the F-16 aircraft, which is capable of dropping a free fall nuclear bomb. Pakistan is reported to have received upto 84 Chinese M-11 missiles.

Pakistan has developed the HATF-1 missile and is, with Chinese assistance, developing the HATF-2 and HATF-3. These programmes are well advanced.

China is a major nuclear power. It is reported to have over 550 nuclear bombs/warheads. It has numerous aircrafts and missiles

to deliver those bombs/warheads. China has the ability to strike all Indian targets from the Tibetan Plateau and Yunnan. China continues its nuclear testing programmes.

A comparative Table showing missile capabilities of India and Pakistan is as under:

<b>INDIA</b>			
	<i>Payload (Kg)</i>	<i>Range (Km)</i>	<i>Status</i>
Prithvi (SRBM)	500 - 1000 kg.	150-250	Not known
Agni (IRBM)	1 ton payload	2500	Not known
Agni-2	2.0 to 2.5 ton payload	5000+	Not known
<b>PAKISTAN</b>			
M-11 (DF-11)	800-1000	300	Supplied by China
HATF-3	500	800	Being developed with Chinese help
HATF-2	400	300	Being developed with Chinese help
HATF-1	400	80	Built with French and Chinese Technology

In view of the potential Pakistani and Chinese threat scenarios, it is imperative that,

- a) An immediate nuclear weaponisation programme is put into motion and delivery systems developed and produced.
- b) The Prithvi production and deployment programme is accelerated.

The Agni Mark-1 be produced on priority. Agni-2 should be developed at a very high priority.

The BJP once again reiterates its demand that the Narasimha Rao government take the nation into confidence and state in clear terms what action is being taken to counter the grave threats to the nation's security.

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# National Executive

Mumbai

7-12 November, 1995

## Gross neglect of defence preparedness

The BJP holds that it is the fundamental responsibility of the government to ensure the defence of the country. To discharge this responsibility the government has to ensure that the Armed Forces are manned and equipped to deter or defeat any aggression from across our borders or from foreign sponsored insurgencies within the country. The Government also has the responsibility to protect our coastline, islands, off shore hydrocarbon installations, the 2.5 million square kilometers of our exclusive economic zone, and our sea lanes on which we are dependent.

We are today faced with a hostile and unstable geopolitical environment. Pakistan is waging by proxy a low intensity war in Jammu and Kashmir against India. Pakistan has been expanding her armed forces and modernising them. She has according to reliable reports, fabricated some 15 nuclear warheads. She has the means to deliver these by her F16 aircraft and by missiles. Besides her own missile programme, Pakistan has inducted some 84 Chinese M-1 missiles. These missiles are capable of delivering nuclear warheads.

China is occupying Aksai Chin in Ladakh and has not dropped its claims on Arunachal Pradesh, which she still shows on her maps to be part of China. In the event of any future conflict with Pakistan, Chinese military capabilities in Tibet must be catered for.

The Pakistan Armed Forces are committed to annexing Jammu and Kashmir. The recent failed coup of the fundamentalist sections of the Pakistan Army should be viewed as an aggressive swing in this direction.

The military balance today is such that we have no appreciable military superiority in the Northern Sector, in Jammu and Kashmir, and the Western Sector in the Punjab and Rajasthan. Pakistan's military capabilities as of today are for greater than those obtained in 1971. Pakistan has modernised and updated her weapons systems and has, inducted modern equipment. During the past few years Pakistan has added to her already large arsenal, some 600 main battle tanks — 775 armoured personnel carriers; 185 combat aircraft (Mirage and Chinese F-7P); 3 frigates from the UK and ordered 3 modern submarines from France. China has supplied her with 84 M-11 missiles. With the Brown amendment, Pakistan will receive three P-3C Orion reconnaissance, aircraft Harpoon missiles; MI-198 Howitzers; Night Vision equipment TPQ-36 locating Radars, TOW anti-tank missiles and other Weaponry. This is a forerunner of additional weapons systems that are proposed to be acquired from the USA. The recent meeting of Ms. Bhutto with President Chirac of France will pave the way for the purchase of 40 Mirage aircraft. Pakistan is negotiating with the Ukraine for the purchase of latest 172 tanks which are capable of firing missiles. Pakistan is also considering the purchase of armoured personnel carriers and self-propelled guns. They are reportedly discussing the purchase of upgraded MIG 29 aircraft and some naval vessels. All the above are available off the shelf and can be inducted into their armed forces relatively quickly. Pakistani defence expenditure has risen to 34.3 per cent of its total government expenditure as against India's 15%. Pakistan's defence expenditure as a proportion of GDP is 6.88% as against India's 2.39%. India in the last eight years has not inducted any major weapons systems.

There is a mistaken impression that a future conflict will be of short duration. A future war could be of much longer duration. The pattern of this war will then be different. Industrial and infrastructural complexes are likely to be targeted. The emerging defence scenario calls for urgent action to redress the deteriorating military balance.

It is sad to note that despite the hostile geostrategic environment obtaining, the Rao government has neglected our Armed Forces. Armed Forces that have been neglected in peace cannot be revived quickly to counter threats that emerge. Modern weapon system

require skills that take considerable time to acquire and master. During the tenure of the Rao government there has been no appreciable acquisition of modern weapon system. Defence funding has been inadequate and barely sufficient to maintain the required operational levels. The BJP will ensure that India will maintain the military capability to defend our country and have the self reliance essential to maintain our national integrity. Priority will also be accorded to R&D as well as defence production. Defence Science which has been neglected will be given priority together with research in universities and greater co-ordination ensured.

In order to deter aggression from countries across our borders who possess nuclear warheads and the means to deliver them the BJP will initiate a nuclear weaponization programme, whereas the goal of universal, non-discriminatory and comprehensive disarmament remains, the reality of the global situation and our national interests dictate this. The BJP will not bend to foreign pressures to freeze our missile development and production. The BJP will give priority to these programmes in order to create the necessary delivery systems. Serial production of the Prithvi will be expedited and every effort will be made to make the Agni-1 operational and introduced into service. Development of the longer range Agni-2 will be expedited.

The BJP will give priority for the upgradation of:

- (a) Obsolescent weapons systems held by the Armed Forces and will structure a phased induction programme for new weapons system, ships and aircraft from indigenous sources and abroad.
- (b) Improve the service conditions, pay and allowances, pensions, housing, children's schooling of our Armed Forces. The dignity of the Armed Forces needs to be restored and their equation with other government services upgraded. Due weightage will be given to comparative length of service and the responsibilities they have to shoulder.
- (c) The BJP is rightly proud of our loyal and dedicated Armed Forces who have defended our country and have done much to enhance our national identity. Their contribution to United Nations Peace Keeping have brought them,

international praise and recognition. They have responded promptly to bring relief during natural calamities. The Armed Forces have had to endure special stresses and strains. As a result of the neglect of the Army, it is now short of about 12,000 officers, this is sure to affect its performance. The BJP resolves to improve the terms and conditions of service so that the youth of requisite quality are attracted to the Army.

- (d) The BJP appreciated the sacrifices made by our veterans and will improve the total pensionary benefits and proper medical cover. The Rao government had made little or no effort to utilise the services of our veterans, even the existing small allocations in the central government services and public sector units remain unfilled. The BJP will endeavour to utilise to the maximum the services of our veterans.
- (e) Finally, the BJP appreciates that adequate funding is required to implement our defence policy. The monetary demands will be substantial and consequently these programmes will have to be phased over a period of years.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

23-24 December, 1995

## Indian nuclear option and the US pressure

The recent report in the US press to the effect that India is preparing to conduct a nuclear test is an obvious and deliberate attempt by the US Administration to pressurise India to give up its nuclear option. The Government of India has meekly submitted to this pressure and humbly denied that any preparations were being made to conduct a nuclear test. The government's submissive reaction has further lowered India's Standing Internationally.

The BJP reiterates its conviction that India's security cannot be assured without the possession of nuclear weapons: India's security environment has become more precarious in the last few years. China has been a nuclear weapon power since 1964 and it continues to enhance its nuclear capabilities through underground tests and other means. Pakistan has become a nuclear weapon power since the late 1980s as admitted by its generals and politicians. Further, no nuclear weapon power is inclined to eliminate its nuclear arsenal in the foreseeable tenure.

The decision of the US Administration to resume military supplies to Pakistan, despite the latter's nuclear weapon power status, provides further evidence of a tilt towards Pakistan and against India. If is bound to encourage Pakistan to intensify its anti-Indian activities in Jammu and Kashmir and many other parts of India.

It is indeed, a matter of supreme irony that Pakistan, which is a self-confessed nuclear power, has the audacity to accuse India of seeking to conduct a nuclear weapon test. Quite clearly, there

is a large measure of collusion between Pakistan and the US, in this regard also.

Given this situation India must go in for nuclear weapons in order to safeguard its unity and territorial integrity. But the Government of India not only denies that it is undertaking another nuclear test; it categorically states that its nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes only. This assertion is made in the face of strong public opinion that the country must be a nuclear weapon power.

The BJP deplores the tendency of the US Administration to pressurise India to give up its sovereign rights and meekly submit to foreign interests. It is India's sovereign right to determine what is necessary to assure its security, unity and territorial integrity.

The BJP demands that the Government of India clearly state that it will not accede to a comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) nor agree to a fissile materials cut-off for weapons purposes nor accept the provisions of the discriminatory Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) until and unless a treaty is established for the total elimination of nuclear weapons universally within a stipulated time-frame. For the Government of India to do otherwise would mean accepting the concept of nuclear apartheid which the BJP vehemently rejects.

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# NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

Hyderabad

???? March, 1994

## Dunkel Draft Agreement

The day the Narasimha Rao government signed the Dunkel Draft Agreement against the wishes of the people represented by all parties (but one) will go down as a Black Day in the nation's post-independence history.

The Bharatiya Janata Party had repeatedly cautioned the government several times of the trap being laid by multinationals and their agents to lure countries like India into opening up their lucrative markets, with grandiose talk about free trade. We had demanded fair trade, not free trade, but what we have got, instead, are the unfairest of trading arrangements in which the rich countries have used their economic and political muscle to ride roughshod over the interests of poor countries and which will keep the Indian consumer as well as the Indian producer perpetually at the receiving end of the powerful multinational corporations. The third world is once again under the threat of a new type of colonial aggression.

India has lost or capitulated on almost every issue of crucial national interest. It has lost heavily in agriculture, textile exports, intellectual property rights (TRIPS) as well as trade-related investment measures (TRIMS). In his statement in Parliament on 16 December, the Commerce Minister admitted that while other countries had been able to stand up to some extent to the pressure from the United States and the European Union (formerly European Community), India had been helpless. It is shocking that the Commerce Minister, who is supposed to safeguard the commercial interests of the nation, did not suffer from a sense of

shame in having let down the country despite repeated warnings, and failed miserably in his duties. Propriety demanded that we mobilised all developing countries to present a united front against the western onslaught.

In South Korea, a much more powerful country with four times India's exports, the Prime Minister himself resigned saying that he was taking the blame for failing to stop the opening of his country's sensitive rice market, albeit only fractionally. In India, on the other hand, the Narasimha Rao government has been obliged to open up virtually the entire economy to foreign economic interests but he has refused to resign.

The fact is that the government has no case. All that the Commerce Minister is able to say is that Indian exports will go up by 1.5 to 2 billion dollars annually as a result of the conclusion of the Uruguay Round. Is India's sovereignty a purchasable commodity? He forgets that China is not even a member of GATT and has taken no part in the Dunkel Draft negotiations, but it has been able to increase its exports manifold over the last few years and not only runs a surplus on external trade but is the second largest exporter in the third world, next only to South Korea.

Whatever the government might say, the fact remains that foreign corporations like Cargill and others will now be able to muscle in on India's vulnerable farm sector and play havoc with it, as some plant breeders are already doing with our Neem trees. Food prices will go up in line with international prices and the nation's food security, the very basis of our economic sovereignty, will be badly affected. This is precisely what happened in Africa where, despite a much favourable land-man ratio than India, foodgrain production is going down and famines are frequent. The patenting of genes in seed as well as animal kingdom will be detrimental to our national interests.

On textiles, the government has accepted that the country has received a raw deal. The quota regime, which militates against India's exports has been extended further by ten years, and there is no guarantee, given the threat of importing nations and their industries, that it will not be extended further. Ten years from now, India will be a much weaker country than she is now and virtually at the mercy of the rich world and will be in no position to resist

further inroads on her economic sovereignty.

The net effect of TRIPS will be to raise the prices of drugs and medicines all round. Foreign drug companies have been most unscrupulous in their exploitation of markets in the third world and their clout will increase. Notwithstanding the Government's claims, drug prices will go up five or six times, bringing our entire health system under severe strain. Ralph Nader, a noted American consumer activist, has said that "TRIPS will strengthen the monopoly power of multinational companies in hi-tech fields, such as pharmaceuticals, and drive up the prices of drugs for third world consumers and devastate third world consumers and the third world fledgling manufacturers." This is an American, not an Indian, consumer expert speaking.

As regards the agreement on TRIMS, the Commerce Minister says that the government retains the sovereign right to decide what type of foreign investment should be allowed into the country. This is a ridiculous boast, coming as it does from a government that is bending over backwards in spreading a red carpet for all types of foreign investment from soda water makers to potato wafer dealers. The Dunkel Draft, coupled with the Rao government's confused economic reforms programme, is a deadly combination that will sound the death-knell to much of Indian enterprise in the country, with powerful foreign corporations invading everything from drugs and pharmaceuticals to soft drinks and junk foods, as they are already busy doing. They will henceforth enjoy the protection of not only the Rao government but of a powerful UN body like GATT. Even if exports improve, they will increasingly be under the control of foreign companies many of whom are gearing themselves for the export of such traditional items as rice, vegetables and fruits, which call for no special marketing or other expertise, and increased export of which will only raise the prices of these articles in India.

The BJP has already rejected the Dunkel Draft proposals relating to agriculture. When doing so, it has asked the government to renegotiate the other parts of the Draft keeping our specific national interests in view. This is what most developing countries tried to do and many of them succeeded before they decided to approve the Draft. The Narasimha Rao government, on the other

hand, succumbed completely to pressures from the US and EU and has accepted the Draft *in toto* and signed on the dotted line without any amendments or reservations.

Under these circumstances, and since the Draft leaves no room for partial approval or rejection, we wholly disapprove of the Dunkel Draft and reject it *in toto*. The BJP calls upon our patriotic people to support our rejection of the Draft through massive protests and demonstrations, so that the world knows that although the Government of India has formally approved the Draft, it has done so against the wishes of the people, and its approval has no national sanction behind it. The BJP will take the initiative to interact with all democratic nationalist forces opposed to Dunkel proposals to wage a relentless struggle for economic and national sovereignty, once again under severe threat from powerful external forces.

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# National Executive

Vadodra

9 June, 1994

## End of cold war brings no peace

It was the fond hope of the people of India that the end of the cold war would usher in an era of peace, cooperation and all round development of friendly relations among the nations of the world. That hope has been belied and there is still conflict and tension in many parts of the world. The attempt to impose a new world order based on the military and economic strength has vitiated the international atmosphere. The political and economic domination sought by some affluent countries reminds us of the colonial and imperialist era prevalent before the Second World War.

## US tilt towards Pakistan continues

The BJP cannot but express its shock and resentment that despite the end of the cold war there continues to be a pro-Pakistan tilt in the American policy towards the Indian Sub-continent. While towards the end of the Bush Administration there was an effort to correct the tilt with the indication that the US was getting ready to put Pakistan in its watch list of promoters of terrorism, today the Clinton administration turns a blind eye towards Pakistan's officially instigated and aided terrorism in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. It also supports Pakistan's designs on Kashmir by repeatedly declaring that the whole state is a disputed territory. This despite the admission of the Prime Minister of Pakistan that if a plebiscite were held in Jammu and Kashmir even the Muslims of that state would not vote to join Pakistan. Further, the US is preparing to reward Pakistan for its development of nuclear

weapons of which the US intelligence agencies were fully aware, by supplying dozens of F-16 aircraft which, with some modification, can bombard large parts of India with nuclear weapons. At the same time, it threatens India with dire consequences if it continues to retain its nuclear option and proceeds with the development of the Agni missile and deployment of Prithvi missiles.

No wonder Pakistan feels it can come to no harm by continuing to aid and abet the terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir. At the same time, despite its dismal performance in Geneva at the annual session of the UN Human Rights Commission held earlier this year, Pakistan has not abandoned its efforts to internationalise the Kashmir question in the guise of protection of the human rights of the people of Kashmir. There are credible reports to suggest that Pakistan will once again attempt in the UN General Assembly to pass an anti-Indian resolution. The reports also suggest that Pakistan will attempt to debate the question in the UN Security Council before the end of the year. Thus the instigator of terrorism, Pakistan, will attempt to put the victim, India, in the dock in various international fora.

### **Rao's visit to US a failure**

Seen against this background, the visit of Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao cannot but be termed a failure. The temporary improvement in atmospherics cannot hide the fact that he was unable to obtain President Clinton's understanding on any of the issues which affect India's sovereignty, security and territorial integrity. The US administration still does not comprehend that it is no use pointing a finger at India regarding violation of human rights in Kashmir as long as Pakistani perpetrates terrorism in the Valley and elsewhere in J&K. Indeed, President Clinton has absolved the Government of Pakistan by saying that whatever assistance is now going to the terrorists operating in Kashmir is from private sources in Pakistan. The US still does not accept that the proliferation of nuclear weapons and systems of their delivery cannot be tackled except through a global non-discriminatory regimes, that India cannot give up its nuclear option as long as there are nuclear weapons in the possession of even a single other country, that India cannot give up the development of an indigenous missiles system as long as a

single other country possess such missiles.

### **Pakistani terrorism in Kashmir continues**

Similarly, the Government of India has been unable to convince Pakistan that there is a limit to India's patience. Half a decade of Pakistani terrorism perpetrated in Kashmir should be enough to convince the Government of India that it cannot continue to shirk its responsibility to the country. If Pakistan does not end its aid and abetment to the terrorists soon India will have to decide on what steps to take against Pakistan to curb its nefarious activities in Jammu and Kashmir.

The National Executive of the BJP is proud of the leadership provided by Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee to the Indian delegation to the annual session of the UN Human Rights Commission in February-March this year. His wisdom and statesmanship gave an immense boost to the efforts of the Indian delegation to defeat the evil designs of Pakistan to malign and denigrate India.

### **WTO**

Preparations are going on to establish the World Trade Organisation (WTO) to replace GATT. Even before it is established, the United States and many countries of the European Union want to load the charter of WTO with environmental and social clauses detrimental to India and other developing countries. There is talk of 'Fair' trade which is a euphemism for 'managed' trade. But this management of trade will apply to the affluent countries only. So far as the developing countries are concerned, their markets will follow the principle of 'Free' trade, i.e., the developed countries will be 'Free' to export anything and everything at a cost structure established by them. The BJP calls upon the Government of India to work with other developing countries to counter the efforts of the developed countries to load the charter of the new organisation against the former group of countries. The Government of India must also act in concert with other countries to oppose the retention of such national legislation as Super 301 which is clearly contrary to multilateral regulation of international trade.

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# National Executive

Patna

15-17 September, 1994

## The nuclear menace

Recent disclosures in Europe, Pakistan and the United States have brought to the forefront the grave dangers facing India from unfriendly quarters. It was reported from Germany that some quantities of fissile material was being smuggled out of the Russian Republic and some East European countries. It was further indicated that Pakistan is one of the countries interested in importing the smuggled plutonium and tritium from the emerging black market. There is also the real danger of the weapons grade fissile materials reaching drug cartels, organised crime syndicates, and international and national terrorist groups.

While the reports regarding the smuggling of weapons grade fissile materials were still being evaluated, the former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan made bold to disclose that Pakistan was already a Nuclear Weapon Power and that in case of a war Pakistan would use its nuclear weapons against India. Another disclosure was made by the Pakistani Air Attaché in Washington who said that about ten years ago Pakistan was on the point of bombing the Indian Nuclear establishments in Bombay.

Taken together all these disclosures provide ample proof that Pakistan must be clearly considered a rouge nuclear weapon State. Its role in sponsoring terrorism not only in India but also in certain Islamic countries is too well known to need further elaboration.

For nearly a decade now the Bharatiya Janata Party has emphasised the need for India manufacturing nuclear weapons. Further, the BJP is of the firm view that India should continue to

develop and deploy an indigenous missiles system. It is a grave dereliction of the primary duty of the Narasimha Rao government when it abjures the manufacture of nuclear weapons and brings to a halt the development of the Agni and Prithvi missiles. Given the present circumstances the BJP calls upon the Government of India to give up its ostrich-like attitude and, in order to provide absolute security against external aggression, urgently commences the process to manufacture and arm the defence forces with nuclear weapons. Further, the Government of India should recommence the testing and development of the Agni and Prithvi missiles and induct the missiles into the armed forces.

The National Executive of the BJP feels it necessary to emphasise in most categorical terms that the nuclear threat from Pakistan is real and urgent. It is a matter of great concern, therefore, that the Government of India has sought to play it down, concentrating its attention on international action against Pakistan rather than the action which the government has to take on its own at home to fashion a determined response by way of increased preparedness of our armed forces.

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# National Executive

Calcutta

10-12 April, 1993

## Infiltration from Bangladesh

The continuing influx of illegal Bangladeshi infiltrators over the years has now assumed alarming proportions endangering nation's polity, economy, unity and integrity. The Government of India and also the Governments of Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and other North-Eastern States have miserably failed to prevent this silent demographic invasion from across the Indo-Bangladesh border. Nothing seems to testify more eloquently their ostrich-like attitude than this creeping aggression through our eastern borders creating serious political and security problem in various part of our country. The dangers of the recurrence of the traumatic experience which the people of Assam had had in the early eighties is once again looming large because of an unabated torrential ingress of the Bangladeshi aliens in that State.

The BJP has been consistently drawing the attention of the people and of the government to the changing contours or this threat to our secular society, economy and national security. But the CPI (M) Government of West Bengal, the Janata Dal Government of Bihar and the Cong (I) Government at the Centre and in other states for their own reasons of vote bank politics have tried to underplay the issue and suppress the facts. They have completely ignored this very vital problem of high explosive potential. Any mention by the BJP of this issue was always portrayed as communal. Because of their myopic political calculus our critics forget that Bangladeshi infiltration is grave enough to be a matter of foremost national concern and should not be viewed in narrow political interest.

The threat posed by the infiltrators is multidimensional. The demographic patterns are being upset and adding to social, political and economic tensions. The sense of insecurity both in the rural and urban areas, tends to be aggravated. The electoral balance of the democratic polity is being perverted. Crime of all sorts due to growing clusters of infiltrators is on the increase. From all over the country we get reports about these illegal migrants being involved in smuggling of contraband goods, white traffic, cattle lifting, arms smuggling, drug peddling etc. The widespread nexus with foreign elements and agencies is steadily building up. Instances of challenge to the police and the law enforcing authorities by these elements are not infrequent. The totality of the situation, with the present and future possibilities prejudicial to the national security, presents a frightening scenario. Had the government paid heed to what Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee stated in the Parliament as early as the fifties, the country would not have faced this grim situation arising from the incessant influx of Bangladeshi infiltrators.

Cold statistics have their own story to tell and the massive presence of infiltrators in different states stares us in our face and yet the response of the Union Government has been perfunctory. It has failed to make any impact either in preventing further influx or in sending them back to Bangladesh according to our laws. The baffling fact of the shortfall by more than 10 million people in the demographic projection by Bangladeshi experts for 1981-91 can only be explained by their illegal migration to India. Many studies on immigration bring out the fact that more than 15 million Bangladeshi have entered India and settled in different regions of the country. The border districts of West Bengal, Assam, Bihar, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland have witnessed phenomenal increase in population during the past decade. According to one estimate, almost one third of the population of Assam consists of Bangladeshi immigrants and their offspring. It is reliably reported that more than two lakh of Bangladeshis are entering West Bengal every year. As the saturation point reaches in the border districts, the new immigrants move to other areas like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka etc. Reports have been received about the presence of about one lakh Bangladeshi infiltrators as labourers

in Sikkim. This number is likely to double in no distant future creating demographic imbalance in this strategic border state with a population of just 3.5 lakhs. Nearly 5 lakh infiltrators have sneaked into Orissa and infiltration through sea routes goes on unabated.

A few years back a study by the Home Ministry had indicated as to how in the assembly constituencies in the north-eastern states infiltrators had tilted the electoral balance. In a survey of 400 Assembly constituencies, the Bangladeshi infiltrators alone would win and in other 100 constituencies, they have emerged as the deciding voting factor. In many of the constituencies in north-eastern states, where enclaves of illegal immigrants have come up, election results are decided by not more than a margin of 1000 votes. Delhi alone has got more than three lakhs of Bangladeshi nationals. Recently, through the efforts of BJP in Delhi, about 1.5 lakh voters were deleted from the electoral rolls of 13 assembly constituencies having large clusters of Bangladeshi infiltrators. The clout of the infiltrators with the organized political support can be gauged from the fact that the mere mention of this Bangladeshi influx issue provokes an angry outcry in most political circles, and efforts for verification of electoral list for this purpose are resisted on all sorts of flimsy pretexts.

While in a Bangladesh weekly (*Dacca Courier*, 6-12 September, 1991) two Bangladeshi journalists candidly focussed on the massive presence of infiltrators, not only the Bangladesh Government but even our human rights-wallahs try to deny the palpable reality. The gruelling facts do not require quantification any more. It may be recalled that according to the information with the Government of India, as early as 1987 the West Bengal Government through its own intelligence agencies was in possession of the fact that the Bangladeshi infiltrators in the state numbered almost 5 million. But the Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu, was still trying to belittle in and out of season the seriousness of the problem and was trying to project it as an exaggeration by the BJP.

The overpowering strength of the vote bank of the infiltrators' lobby was best exposed when the Chief Minister of Assam had to eat the humble pie, and despite the Prime Minister himself admitting the fact of large scale infiltration in Assam, he had to deny his statement in the Assembly, saying that he was misled

by some report of the Home Ministry. The Chief Minister of West Bengal grudgingly admits the problem occasionally to allay public apprehensions but blames the Home Ministry and the BSF. This eloquently speaks of the lack of seriousness of political authorities in tracking this problem.

As the intelligence reports have said about 7000 fundamentalist cadres of Jamaat-e-Islami have infiltrated into the places of worship in the countryside. There are reports of purchase of land and property by these infiltrators in different parts of the country. In Manipur reports have appeared that infiltrators have established a nexus with the insurgents. The government must attend to all these dimensions and ramifications of the problem and take effective steps to tackle the situation. In West Bengal the infiltrators have formed their organisation called 'Bangladesh Mohajir Sangh' which holds conferences to voice its demands and pressurise the administration. We do not want any harassment of genuine citizens of the country, but we cannot tolerate the innudation of our frontier by illegal immigrants which could even promote secession. It is worth noting that a group of intellectuals in Dhaka seeks to legitimise the areas in India by invoking the expansionist theory of lebensraum or living space. But the Congress government is caught up in its usual game of vote bank politics.

In September last year a conference of Chief Ministers was called where with great candour they explained the prevailing situation in their states and it was reported that a number of decisions were taken, but obviously the matters have not improved. The country is entitled to know as to how far and with what result they have been implemented. The BJP demands that a white paper be issued on all aspects of Bangladeshi infiltration.

While devising the policy and programme to meet this problem the government cannot afford to ignore the repeated assault on minorities in Bangladesh who have to seek shelter as refugees not of their own volition but due sustained acts of oppression, what happened in December in Bangladesh is the latest instance. Late Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, our veteran leader, did not hesitate to give up his high office because of the weak-kneed policy of the then government. It has to be kept in view that the helpless Hindu refugees are also deprived of their properties and adequate

agreement with Bangladesh is essential for their compensation and rehabilitation.

The BJP has been consistently warning the government about gravity of the situation and its adverse pervasive impact but government has been blissfully ignoring its national responsibility due to its own parochial considerations of vote bank politics and pandering to minoritism. People of our country are restive and watchful about this looming danger. BJP will continue to strive to mobilise all sections of our people to meet this threat to national security and safeguard our economy, society and democratic polity.

BJP demands that the following preventive and corrective steps are urgently needed for tackling the dangers of infiltration:

1. Adequate fencing of the long and porous border, taking into account the existing lacunae and coordinated plan for effective border patrolling in consultation with concerned states and financed by the Union Government to stop any further infiltration.
2. A phased plan for the effective and expeditious identification, disenfranchisement and deportation of illegal immigrants to be pursued consistently.
3. Conferment of full and untrammelled authority and modern scientific equipment for detection, identification, prevention and deportation of infiltrators.
4. Preparation and maintenance of National Register of Citizens.
5. Issuance of citizen's identity cards starting with the Border States.
6. Purposive amendment of relevant laws and regulations in these regards in the light of legal and administrative experience and strict enforcement of the Foreigner's Act.
7. Having failed in its purpose, the Assam I.M.D.T. Act is forthwith scrapped.
8. Any defiance of C.E.C's directives and orders about rectification of electoral rolls should invite deterrent punishment against the erring authorities.
9. Government should take diplomatic initiative to educate and create world opinion regarding the realities of the infiltration and highlight the violation of human rights

in Bangladesh.

10. The External Affairs and IB Ministry must act in tandem and in concert to implement policies and programmes in this regard.
11. The purchase of land property by the infiltrators in any part of the country either benami or in any other guise should be deemed null and void and legal provisions to this effect be made.
12. Any person, body or authority employing an infiltrator should be liable to penal action.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

18-19 December, 1993

## Resolution on Dunkel Draft

The day the Narasimha Rao government signed the Dunkel Draft Agreement against the wishes of the people represented by all parties but one will go down as a Black Day in the nation's post-independence history.

The Bharatiya Janata Party had repeatedly warned the government several times to be aware of the trap being laid by mufti-nationals and their agents, to ensure countries like India into opening up their lucrative markets with grandiose talk about free trade. We had demanded fair trade, not free trade, but what we have got instead are unfairest of trading arrangements in which the rich countries have used their economic and political muscle to ride roughshod over the interests of poor countries and which will keep the Indian consumer as well as the Indian producer perpetually at the receiving end of powerful multinational corporations. The third world is once again under the threat of a new type of colonial aggression.

India has lost or capitulated on almost every issue of crucial national interest. It has lost heavily in agriculture, textile exports, intellectual property rights (TRIPS) as well as trade-related investment measures (TRIMS). In his statement in Parliament on 16 December, the Commerce Minister admitted that while other countries had been able to stand up to some extent to pressures from the United States and the European Union (formerly European Community), India had been helpless. It is shocking that the Commerce Minister who is supposed to safeguard the

commercial interests of the nation did not suffer from a sense of shame in having let down the country despite repeated warnings, and failed miserably in his duties. Propriety demanded that we mobilised all developing countries to present a united front against Western penetration.

In South Korea, a much more powerful country with four times India's exports, the prime minister himself resigned saying that he was taking the blame for failing to stop the opening of his country's sensitive rice market, albeit only fractionally. In India, on the other hand, the Narasimha Rao government has been obliged to open up virtually the entire economy to foreign economic interests but he has refused to resign.

The fact is that the government has no case. All that the Commerce Minister is able to say is that Indian exports will go up by 1.5 to 2 billion dollars annually as a result of the conclusion of the Uruguay Round. Is India's sovereignty a purchasable commodity? He forgets that China is not even a member of GATT and has taken no part in the Dunkel Draft negotiation but it has been able to increase its exports manifold over the last few years and not only runs a surplus on external trade but is the second largest exporter in the third world, next only to South Korea.

Whatever the government might say, the fact remains that foreign corporations like Cargill and others will now be able to muscle in on India's vulnerable farm sector and play havoc with it, as some plant breeders are already doing with our Neem trees. Food prices will go up in line with international prices and the nation's food security, the very basis of our economic sovereignty, will be badly affected. This is precisely what happened in Africa where, despite a much favourable land-man ratio than India, foodgrain production is going down and famines are frequent. The patenting of genes in seed as well as animal kingdom will be detrimental to our national interests.

On textiles, the government has accepted that the country has received a raw deal. The quota regime, which militates against India's exports, has been extended further by 10 years, and there is no guarantee, given the threat of importing nations and their industries, that it will not be extended further. Ten years from now, India will be a much weaker country than she is now and virtually

at the mercy of the rich world, and will be in no position to resist further inroads on her economic sovereignty.

The net effect of TRIPS will be to raise prices of drugs and medicines all round. Foreign drug companies have been most unscrupulous in their exploitation of markets in the third world and their clout will increase. Notwithstanding government's claims, drug prices will shoot five or six times bringing our entire health system under severe strain. Ralph Nader, a noted American consumer activist, has said that "TRIPS will strengthen the monopoly power of multinational companies in hi-tech fields such as pharmaceuticals and drive up prices of drugs for third world consumers and devastate third world's fledgling manufactures." This is an American, not an Indian, consumer expert speaking.

As regards the agreement on TRIMS, the Commerce Minister says that the government retains the sovereign right to decide what type of foreign investment to allow into the country. This is a ridiculous boast, coming as it does from a government that is bending over backwards in spreading a red carpet for all types of foreign investment from soda water makers to potato wafer dealers. The Dunkel Draft coupled with the Rao government's confused economic reforms programme is a deadly combination that will sound the death-knell of much of Indian enterprise in the country, with powerful foreign corporation invading everything from drugs and pharmaceuticals to soft drinks and junk foods, as they are already busy doing. They will henceforth enjoy the protection of not only the Rao government but of a powerful UN body like GATT. Even if exports improve, they will be increasingly under the control of foreign companies many of whom are gearing themselves for the exports of such traditional items as rice, vegetables and fruits, which call for no special marketing or other expertise, and increased export of which will only raise the prices of these articles in India.

The BJP has already rejected the Dunkel Draft proposals relating to agriculture. When doing so, it has asked the government to renegotiate other parts of the Draft keeping our specific national interests in view. This is what most developing countries tried to do and many of them succeeded before they decided to approve the Draft. The Narasimha Rao government, on the other hand, succumbed completely to pressures from the US and EU and has

accepted the Draft and signed on the dotted line without any amendments or reservations.

Under these circumstances, and since the Draft leaves no room for partial approval or rejection, we wholly disapprove of the Dunkel Draft and reject it. The BJP calls upon our patriotic millions to support our rejection of the Draft through massive protests and demonstrations, so that the world knows that, although the Government of India has formally approved the Draft, it has done so against the wishes of the people, and its approval has no national sanction behind it. The BJP will take initiative to interact with all democratic nationalist forces opposed to Dunkel proposals to wage relentless struggle for economic and national sovereignty once again under severe threat from powerful external forces.

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# National Executive

Sarnath

13-15 March, 1992

## Press Note on Dunkel proposals

The Bharatiya Janata Party urges the government to take initiative in re-negotiating the Dunkel proposals as these are against the interests of the nation. BJP feels that Dunkel proposals in its present form are detrimental to country's economic growth – both agriculture as well as industry.

While the objective of GATT was to develop economics, the aim of Dunkel proposals is to open up markets. Also while GATT covered only Goods (excluding agricultural produce), Dunkel proposals cover, besides goods, Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMs), Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) and Services including Banking and Insurance-and, now also agriculture. Another basic change in the new proposals is that while GATT recognised Developed, Developing and least Developed. Countries (LDCs) as belonging to three different categories, calling for differential treatment, the Dunkel Draft abolishes the second category and so throws a developing country like India into an unequal competition with highly developed economies.

The BJP feels extension of product patents to drugs and pharmaceuticals would result in rise in drug prices. By weakening the provision on 'compulsory licensing' patents, Dunkel Proposal, if accepted, would result in monopoly by multinationals. Having obtained product patent rights, if patent holder does not commercialise his invention in the host country (due to dilution of compulsory licensing) it would make the host country dependent Apart from its adverse impact on balance of payments, this would

lead to loss of employment opportunities as economic activities would be curtailed.

Dunkel Proposal is vague on TRIMS; it leaves the matter to be settled through bilateral agreements. If at all service sector is to be opened, it should be with provision for free movement of Indian labour.

Similarly, the proposal for drastic cut in customs duties should not be accepted blindly. Customs duties are not just revenue raising avenues. On the other hand it is an important fiscal tool to achieve certain socio-economic goals. Customs duties should be assessed on case by case basis taking the prevailing socio-economic situation, into account.

The BJP is strongly critical of Dunkel Proposals with regard to its condition as a total package. Each and every item should be considered on its merit.

The BJP urges the government to seek re-negotiated proposals, specialty, with regard to:

1. Extension of produce patents in areas such as drugs and pharmaceuticals, chemicals and agriculture, should not be accepted.
2. There should be provision for compulsory licensing of patents as in the case of Indian Patent Act, 1970.
3. The question of reducing customs duties should be considered on case by case basis, keeping the prevailing socio-economic situation in mind.
4. Question of allowing foreign banks and insurance companies could be taken up only after deciding entry of Indian private sector into insurance business that too with provision for free movement of Indian labour.
5. Textile quota should be phased out within three years instead of 10 years, as proposed.
6. Dunkel Proposal as a total package should not be accepted.
7. There is no need to change institutional structure of GATT and convert it into Multilateral Trade Organisation (MTO) by linking intellectual property rights and investment related services. The World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO), a UN subsidiary could continue to look after intellectual property rights. □

# National Executive

Gandhinagar

1-3 May, 1992

## **Post Coldwar international situation unbalanced powerstructure**

The post-cold war international relations are characterized by fluidity and turbulence. The international situation is yet to evolve into a settled pattern. But one fact is crystal clear. It is that the post-cold war world lacks a balanced power structure. This is inherently bad for the world because untrammelled power in the hands of one country or a group of countries with ideological similarity would inevitably lead to a resurgence of hegemonic attitudes. Even today hegemonistic tendencies abound. The treatment meted out to the countries of the Third World by a group of powerful countries clearly violates a fundamental principle of international relations *viz.* the principle of sovereign equality of nations. They exert pressure openly on the countries of the third world to follow their philosophy and their political and economic models.

## **Double Standards**

At the same time there are double standards. Racism which is a gross violation of human rights, is rampant across much of the developed world. Yet, political leaders of various hues, instead of curbing the racist sentiments, ponder to them. The UN Security Council imposes sanctions against a particular country for its alleged role in the destruction of two civilian aircraft. But, despite incontrovertible evidence of Pakistan training and abetting terrorists to perpetrate dastardly acts in India, it is business as usual with Pakistan.

Double standards also operate in relation to nuclear non-

proliferation. Defence expenditure of developing countries, missile technology, etc. Similarly, in the economic field there are subsidies, overt or covert, and protectionism (textile quotas, sugar quotas etc.), in the developed world. But, in the name of free market, the developing countries are castigated for giving subsidy and protection to their agriculture and nascent industries. They also demand of the developing countries to fall in line with their approach to the protection of intellectual property rights.

### **UN needs reforms**

It is evident that the United Nations in its present form cannot be the instrument to bring about a just order in the world. At present, the United Nations operates on the basis of the unbalanced power-structure. Four of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council are allies and the fifth, China, unwilling to assert itself for the present. Therefore, there is imperative need to reform the UN so as to democratize the world body in order to make it an effective instrument to bring about a new international order based on equality of nations.

### **Islamic conference**

A second cause for concern is the binding together of countries on the basis of religion. The Organisation of Islamic Conference takes political decisions on the grounds of religion. Resolution on the Kashmir issue is a concrete example of decisions dictated by religious sentiments. This is a tendency which promotes disharmony in international relations and as such needs to be discouraged.

### **Nuclear threat from Pakistan**

The gravest threat to the security of India is from the emergence of Pakistan as a nuclear weapon country. Pakistan aids and abets terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Assam and promotes infiltration into Gujarat Kutch and the border districts of Rajasthan and also engages in smuggling and trafficking of drugs. Two years ago the President of Pakistan referred to Kashmir as the unfinished business of the partition. Early this week the same President declared that Kashmir belongs to Pakistan and "Pakistan will not rest until it takes over Kashmir."

Pakistan will come to terms emotionally with India only when it clearly perceives that continued hostility towards India will bring about its own destruction. Unfortunately, for over four decades India's foreign and defence policies have been lacking in clarity and are devoid of understanding of objective conditions of the world. India did not wake up when China, after humiliating her in 1962, went on to become a nuclear weapon power in 1964. Even now in the light of Pakistan emerging as a nuclear weapon state, while the BJP has demanded that India must exercise its nuclear option so as to meet any threat to its security, there is evidence that the Government of India is under heavy pressure to give up the option. The BJP would like to alert the nation about the perfunctory approach of the Government of India in this matter.

Early in March 1992, the Prime Minister even bade farewell to the ambiguity maintained by his predecessors on this score and said, "We are firm in our resolve not to manufacture nuclear weapons." Then came the visit of the Foreign Secretary to Washington where most of the discussion was concentrated on nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia. It was agreed to continue the dialogue and the US insisted that further talks be held within eight weeks. The Foreign Secretary had no option but to agree. Now the impression is gaining ground that it is only a matter of time before the government formally signs away the nuclear option. While government's decision not to sign the N.P.T. is welcome, the country must guard against the insistence of the US and others that India and Pakistan agree to freeze their nuclear programmes and implement the I.A.E.A. full-scope safeguards on their nuclear programmer. In today's situation this implies that after such a freeze, Pakistan would remain a nuclear weapon state and India a non-nuclear weapon state. Let no one argue that Pakistan will be forced to destroy its nuclear weapons. Firstly, Pakistan can never be trusted to do any such thing. Secondly, there is no way in which anybody could be certain as to the number of nuclear devices in Pakistan's possession. There is no scientific method fool-proof enough in this regard. Pakistan could easily hide a nuclear device in a basement.

Nuclear option must be exercised immediately.

Furthermore, India's programme for development of an

indigenous missile system, including the 'Agni' missile, as also the civilian space exploration and utilization programme are, in jeopardy. Taken together the restrictions sought to be applied on us will lead to endangering India's security interests.

The BJP has been known and respected for its no-nonsense approach to the preservation of India's unity and territorial integrity which means *inter alia* security from external threats. The BJP calls upon the Government of India not only not to give up the nuclear option under any circumstances but to exercise the option immediately. Further, there must be no delay in the testing and development of the 'Agni' missile.

### **Bangladeshis**

The large-scale and continuing infiltration of Bangladeshis into India is a serious threat to peace and harmony in our polity. It is most unfortunate that the Government of India and that of West Bengal have not taken adequate action to put an end to this silent demographic invasion. Their interest lies in using the Bangladeshis to enlarge their vote-banks. The BJP calls upon the nation to take serious note of the problem and force the authorities to look at it from the angle of national security rather than political expediency.

The BJP reiterates its opposition to the transfer of Tin Bigha to Bangladesh. While entering into an agreement with Bangladesh, the Government of India has neither taken into account the sentiments and interests of the Indian population in the area nor given any importance to the security aspects of the proposed transfer.

### **Environmental protection**

The BJP believes in sustainable development and holds that the globe is paying the price for the profligacy of the Western World. True global initiative, therefore, in the field of environment and ecology is not possible unless the developed countries approach this task with due apportionment of respective responsibilities in the forthcoming UNC.E.D. The Government of India should exert every effort to bring about unanimity of approach of developing countries to the questions of the protection of the environment while undertaking their economic development.

### **Israel**

The BJP welcomes the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and Israel upon which we had been insisting for a long time. We call upon the Government of India to expedite the posting of the Indian ambassador to Israel and to make all out effort to develop, on a broad basis, relations of friendship and cooperation between two countries.

### **South Africa**

The BJP welcomes the result of the referendum held in South Africa in March 1992. There is hardly any justification to delay any longer the establishment of diplomatic, commercial and cultural contacts between India and South Africa. In view of the large number of people of Indian origin in South Africa, it is imperative for the Government of India to act speedily in this matter.

### **Afghanistan**

The people of Afghanistan have suffered for 12 long years from a civil war forced upon them by foreign powers. There is some hope now that their suffering is at an end and the Afghan nation can look forward to an era of peace and development. It is vital that the Government of India carefully watches the developing situation in that country and acts in the interest of the people of Afghanistan and India.

### **South-East Asia**

The BJP emphasises once again the importance of expanding and intensifying economic, commercial and cultural links between India and the countries of South-East Asia and urges the Government of India to act with speed in this regard.



# National Executive

Bhopal

22-24 August, 1992

## Infiltration of Bangladeshis

Infiltration of Bangladeshi Muslim nationals into India has assumed monstrous proportions in almost all the states of Eastern India and the North East. The phenomenon is disturbingly visible in towns and cities throughout the country. Estimates are that over 15 million aliens have sneaked in without any valid document from across the Bangladesh border into Assam, Tripura, Bihar and West Bengal.

According to the projections of the World Bank, the population in Bangladesh will cross the 200 million mark by the turn of the century. Therefore, more than 50 to 60 million people are likely to infiltrate into India in the coming decade from Bangladesh. Political patronage on the Indian side of the border in West Bengal, Assam, Orissa and Bihar encourages infiltration of Bangladeshi Muslims in large number and dissuades the security agencies and the police from taking any steps against these illegal immigrants.

The rich or the middle class among them grab land along the border by normal or forcible purchase of land. The poorer go to cities all over the country to work as labourers. Lakhs of such Bangladeshis have spread themselves in cities like Delhi, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Cuttack, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Kanpur, Patna, Allahabad and even smaller distant towns. A very modest estimate of the number in towns and cities outside Eastern India would be about 10 lakhs.

Recently answering a question in the Parliament, the Minister of State for Home said that more than one lakh Bangladeshis

scattered in a dozen localities, are present in the capital city of Delhi. The Minister also stated that there were reports of influx of Bangladeshis in other parts of the country also. Since most of the Bangladeshi nationals enter surreptitiously and go underground, no precise figures are available as to how many such persons were living in India. It may be recalled that the national press has widely reported that various crimes, including smuggling and flesh trade, are committed by some of these Bangladeshi infiltrators.

The Bangladesh government's census reports from 1971 to 1991 reveal that about 7.5 million people have migrated from those districts of Bangladesh alone which are adjacent to India. Recently there was a seminar in Dhaka University on population growth where many speakers admitted that Bangladesh had been able to get rid of more than 10 million to its neighbouring state. In West Bengal districts some peculiar anomalies are found in government records. While the population of Nadia district was about 29 Lakhs in 1981 census, the number of persons for whom ration cards had been issued till 1986 stood at 45 lakhs! Surely the population could not have increased more than 50% in just 5 years. Similar anomalies are found in Khidderpur area of Calcutta where the number of ration cards issued is almost double the population as per the census.

### **West Bengal**

It has also been noticed that the average rate of population growth in West Bengal in a decade is about 20%. But surprisingly while the rate is 16% in remote and poverty stricken districts of Bankura and Purulia, and it is as low as 15% in Hooghly, the figure suddenly shoots up in border districts. Nadia district registers a growth rate of nearly 30% and North 24 Parganas shows an all time high of over 42%!

### **Bihar**

The influx of Bangladeshis in Bihar has assumed alarming proportions in at least 12 districts, namely Kishanganj, Purnea, Araria, Katihar, Madhepura, Saharsa, Supaul, Khagaria, Begusarai, Bhagalpur, Sahibganj and Godda. These districts bear the burden of about 1.8 million infiltrators. A survey in Kishanganj block in

Kishanganj district revealed the presence of 14,000 Bangladeshis in just 12 Panchayats. Thanks to the politics of vote banks, most of them have been registered as voters. The general increase in the number of voters in the above districts is one and a half times of the average increase in Bihar. In some districts it is even 2 to 3 times of the state average. It may also be mentioned that many of these illegal immigrants have been elected as Sarpanchs and Mukhias, a situation which facilitates further infiltration without any let or hindrance.

### **Sikkim**

Sikkim, a tiny state, is on the verge of a serious demographic catastrophe as in the last five years, a torrential stream of Bangladeshi infiltrators has inundated various parts of the state. In certain areas of Sikkim, the number of Bangladeshi infiltrators working as labourers is as high as 40% of the local population. Modest estimates reveal that Assam, Sikkim, Manipur, Tripura, and Meghalaya house as many as 7 million of these aliens.

### **Security threat**

Last year, the Left Front government in west Bengal had to admit infiltration after years of pretence of ignorance about their presence, when infiltrators in Calcutta turned out in a procession in large numbers, demanding citizenship. They were not even arrested. No wonder, today the number of Bangladeshi infiltrators in West Bengal is as large as 7 million.

Most of these infiltrators are already enrolled in the voters list. Apart from a major demographic change and resultant social tension, the allied evils of infiltrators are no less menacing. The border being inhabited by people not owing allegiance to India, poses a security threat. Decoities, cattle-lifting and various other crimes are rampant in the border areas.

### **Economic pressures**

The pressure exerted by every large number of foreigners on the economy of the states of Eastern India is deterrent to the economic progress and employment potential of these states. Smuggling on the border deprives India of daily necessities like sugar, kerosene,

pulses, rice, common salt and spices which often become scarce in these states. The inflow of gold, electronic goods, drugs and narcotics and arms plays havoc with the economic stability, social peace and, of course, enthrone political violence and terrorism.

### **Communal virus**

Communal organisations like Jamat-e-Islami and Islamic Sewa Sangh have very strong clout with these infiltrators. These outfits are constantly injecting the communal virus in the social fabric of North Eastern India. Virulent propaganda to aid and abet the secessionist forces is continuously carried out by these elements. Literature supporting the formation of an independent 'Greater Bang' including Bangladesh, West Bengal, Assam, North Eastern States and parts of Bihar and Orissa is being circulated. Bangladeshi leaders are openly advocating the demand of a 'labensraum'. Reports of ULFA making a common cause with the United Minority Front of Assam—a political party founded by the pro-infiltrator lobby under the leadership of Golam Osmani have widely appeared. After Bangladesh proclaimed Islam as the State religion the plight of Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians became miserable. They were denied all civic and cultural rights and were forced to leave their homes in order to save their lives and honour. Under the United Nation Commission on refugees, these persons taking refuge in India are to be treated as refugees. While infiltrators have been given all facilities, these refugees are denied even ration cards. The Government of India has miserably failed in providing protection them in Bangladesh and has never raised this question of violation of human rights either in the international forums or even with Begum Khalida Zia when she visited India. The government has also bungled on this issue of continued influx of infiltrators by not raising this subject during the discussions with the Bangladeshi PM. Such is the perfunctory attitude of the Central Government on this question affecting our security.

The BJP expresses its grave concern at the total indifference of the Government of India as well as the state governments of West Bengal, Assam, Tripura, Manipur, and Bihar towards this problem which could be ignored and evaded only at national peril.

### **Urgent measures needed**

In the opinion of the BJP the following measures are urgently called for:

1. All Bangladeshi Muslim infiltrators be detected by strict scrutiny through house enumeration and deported.
2. All such infiltrators must be purged out of the voters list.
3. Strict legislation be enacted to punish persons directly or indirectly patronizing infiltrators.
4. The border vigil must be strengthened and personnel frequently transferred to eradicate vested interests.
5. A joint commission comprising all intelligence collecting agencies be constituted to facilitate efficient monitoring of the entire information.
6. A joint task force in North Eastern States and Eastern India be created to effectively check infiltration. Such a task force for West Bengal and Tripura should be formed immediately.
7. National Citizens Register must be prepared by the Government of India and voter's identity card must be introduced in all the states of Eastern India.
8. Sale deed of immovable property in the border sates should not be registered without thorough scrutiny. Necessary legislation should be made in this regard.
9. The question of violation of human rights by Bangladesh must be taken up at international fora.

□

# National Executive

Bhubaneswar

7 November, 1992

## Safeguarding National interest

India's Foreign Policy and diplomacy have failed to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world. The dynamics of such a world require a vigorous exercise of diplomacy to safeguard India's national interest. But this is not the case today.

The pressure on India to conform to discriminatory regimes of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and control of missile technology is increasing day by day. Some countries want not only to maintain their nuclear weapons but also to refine and upgrade them. But in scant regard for logic and generally accepted non-discriminatory norms of international relations, they put pressure on India to close its nuclear option. They want to be the sole possessors of technology for the development of missiles and rockets, whether for military or civilian purposes. Hence the pressure on India to shut down its missile development programme and remain dependent on the technologically advanced countries forever. There are enough signs to give rise to the belief that the pressure is having its effect and the Government of India is embarking on the slippery road of concessions in these two fields as it has already in the economic sphere. The government keeps on saying that it will not sign the NPT. But there are indications that government cannot resist the pressure to come to some regional arrangement which would amount to giving up the nuclear option. Similarly the programme of development of Agni missile and rockets for launching satellites is stalled under international pressure.

The BJP firmly believes in the principle of sovereign equality

of nations. As long as nuclear weapons are not outlawed for every country in the world, India must not only retain its nuclear option but must immediately manufacture and deploy such weapons. At the same time India must accelerate its programme of development of missiles and rockets for military and civilian purposes. India must make it clear to the international community that in matters relating to India's security there can be no compromise.

### **Pakistan**

Some of India's neighbours interfere in our internal affairs with impunity. Pakistan aids and abets and directly takes part in promoting terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan instigates infiltration across our borders in Rajasthan and Gujarat. The Pakistan National Assembly passes a resolution on the building of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya and another on the treatment of Kashmiri Muslims. But the Prime Minister of India continues his farcical meetings with the Prime minister of Pakistan. And after each meeting, the situation worsens.

### **Iran**

The President of Iran meets the Prime Minister of India in Jakarta and on his way back to Iran stops over in Pakistan to declare his support for Pakistan's aims and objectives in Jammu and Kashmir and his concern for the treatment of Muslims in Kashmir. The BJP is keen to have good relations between India and Iran, but these must be based on reciprocal goodwill.

Pakistan and Iran shed crocodile tears for the 'suffering' of Muslims in Kashmir but both countries brutalise their own Muslim population. Are Shias in Pakistan not Muslims? Are the Kurds in Iran not Muslims?

And look at the treatment of the minorities in Pakistan. The Nawaz Sharif government intends that the Pakistan identity cards indicate the religion of the holder. This would make it easier to discriminate against the non-Muslims.

### **Illegal migration from Bangladesh**

For many years, the BJP has been drawing the attention of the government and other political parties to the problem of illegal

migration from Bangladesh. But they ignored the warning in the interest of their political fortunes. There are now 15 million illegal Bangladeshi migrants living in India. This number is 50% more than the number of East Pakistanis pushed into India in 1971 by the then Government of Pakistan. Despite the huge number of illegal Bangladeshi migrants in India, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh Avows that there is no such illegal migration to India. When recently the Government of India took action to ensure the return of a few hundreds of illegal migrants to Bangladesh, Begum Khaleda Zia cried foul. The illegal migration has created tremendous problems in Assam. It has now spread to other parts of the North East and is bound to create economic and social problems in many other parts of India as well. But the Government of India shows no determination to deport to Bangladesh the millions of illegal migrants. There is strong evidence that six groups are being trained and armed in Bangladesh to indulge in terrorism in India's North- Eastern region. There is also the 'Bangladesh Mujahid Bahini' which seeks to protect the interests of Bangladeshi illegal migrants in India. What is the Government of India doing to get the Government of Bangladesh to stop these activities?

### **Need for well thought-out policy**

India must base its external relations on strict reciprocity. India wants good relations with every country of the world. India would like to develop cooperative relations with all countries of the world. India does not want to interfere in the internal affairs of any country, and it expects other countries to accord the same treatment to India.

Foreign policy and diplomacy cannot be successful merely through the meetings of the Prime Minister and other ministers. Meetings at political level can be fruitful only if there is a well thought-out policy, and after thorough diplomatic preparations. For the present, all that the travels abroad achieve, is publicity for the travellers in the electronic and print media of India.

### **Central Asia**

There has been an inordinate delay in opening up mutually advantageous relations with the Central Asian Republics. The

mere exchange of delegations is not enough. India needs to have its embassies functioning in all these republics. So far, only one ambassador has taken up his post there, leaving India without ambassadors in four of them. There is a fund of goodwill for India in the Central Asian Republics but the Government of India has failed to move vigorously, thus being overtaken by Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. What is the government waiting for?

### **South Africa**

Likewise, the Government of India has failed to establish presence in South Africa. India has vital interests in South Africa, not the least because of the huge number of people of Indian origin living there. Even the establishment of an air link with South Africa is hostage to considerations which are not clear to anyone. One fails to comprehend the hesitations of the Government of India, especially as over thirty African countries have established relations with the Government of South Africa.

### **South-East Asia**

Another area of neglect is South-East Asia. Due to the planned reduction in the US presence in that region, the strategic situation is changing rapidly. India has a good opportunity of promoting defence cooperation with several countries of South-East Asia. But there is hardly any indication that the Government of India is even aware of these opportunities, much less ready to exploit them.

### **Afghanistan**

The Government of India has been guilty of gross neglect in not looking after the interests of the Hindu and Sikh refugees who have fled to India from Afghanistan. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees adopts a callous attitude towards them and refuses to grant them the 'group' status so that they could easily become eligible for assistance from that agency. The Indian Government neither presses the UNHCR to come to the assistance of the refugees nor takes action to cater to their urgent needs until international assistance becomes available.

## **Fiji**

Similarly, the Government of India has failed to protect the interests of people of Indian origin living in foreign lands. For several years now, Indians living in Fiji have been denied their democratic rights and they are treated as second class citizens. The Government of India has failed to ameliorate their situation. Very recently some Indians were sentenced for six years in Sharjah for staging a dramatic performance. But it is not known what, if anything, the Government of India has done to get them released from jail.

It is obvious that the Narasimha Rao government has not been successful in safeguarding India's vital interests in the international arena. The impression is that the Narasimha Rao government is dithering and drifting internationally as it is domestically.

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# Plenary Session

Jaipur

2 February, 1991

## **Ethnic Indians settled abroad**

### *Need for policy regarding Indians settled abroad*

At present about one and a half crore people of Indian origin are living in various foreign countries. Information about discrimination against them on grounds of racial differences is received from time to time. Some years back ethnic Indians settled in Uganda and some other foreign countries had to leave those countries leaving behind their property and had to settle down in other countries.

In countries where about 150 years back Indian labourers had been taken for work in sugarcane fields and where their population is 50 percent or more of the total population, the policy of indifference shown by the Government of India towards the problems of such people has not only considerably harmed our national interests but also legitimized the injustice being committed on such people who are in majority. About four years back, army had forcibly dislodged the duly elected Government in Fiji. About five months back, Army officers had forcibly removed the elected Government in Surinam and took control of the administration. As happened in the case of Fiji, the Government of India did not even consider it necessary to condemn the forcible occupation of administration by the armed forces.

This National Convention of the Bharatiya Janata Party demands that the Government of India should formulate a clear policy in regard to persons of Indian origin settled in foreign countries so that effective steps may be taken to resolve their problems satisfactorily. □

# Plenary Session

Jaipur

1-3 February, 1991

## The Gulf War

The National Executive of the BJP in its meeting of 19.01.1991, in Delhi, reviewing the Gulf War had expressed its great concern. It had even then cautioned against the spread of this conflict to other theatres and spheres. The progress of the War so far; President Bush's pronouncements about US War aims; and President Saddam Hussein's warning that the conflict could acquire biological, chemical and nuclear dimensions only underline the concern that had been expressed by the BJP earlier. It is the considered view of the National Executive of the BJP that such developments, or even prolonging of this War would be a global tragedy of immeasurable dimensions. We must recognise that Iraq's annexation of Kuwait has met with the disapproval of almost all other Islamic States from Egypt, Saudi Arabia to Syria, Iran and Turkey.

In the face of many imponderables and unpredictabilities of War and considering the likelihood of this conflict continuing not just in time but also in other dimensions, the National Executive of the BJP states that:

1. It has always stood for, and reiterates its commitment to strengthening and supporting all UN endeavours. This is a position that has consistently been at the root of India's international conduct. It is also a principle to which the Non-Aligned Movement has given unswerving subscription. That is why it is important that UNSCR 678 receives the support of all; that Iraq vacates its aggression in Kuwait, and also, that all action to facilitate an early

withdrawal of M.N.F. be initiated urgently.

2. We observe however with great concern the extension of War in the Gulf. UNSCRs 660 to 678 do not empower the Multi-National force to either enlarge the conflict or to pronounce such War aims as are contrary to UN resolutions. The USA cannot equate the destruction of Iraq's War machine with vacation of aggression from Kuwait. That is why:
3. An early end to this conflict and restoration of peace is a matter of the highest priority. This priority is universal; united to regional or block interests, because the consequences of this conflict could well effect entire mankind. Mindful of that we reiterate that this conflict must not be permitted to spread either geographically or in any other dimension.
4. The BJP recommends the initiation of all such diplomatic endeavours in concert with nations that share our perception as would result in an early convening of the Security Council to review the conflict, as mandated through UNSCR 678. It is also necessary that the Secretary General's report on his visit to Iraq be made public. We would urge the Government of India to take necessary steps in this regard.
5. This must then be followed by a comprehensive West-Asia Peace Conference, so that all pending UN resolutions, and other related issues of the region are addressed to. It is the BJP's view that the Palestinians have an inalienable right to a Home Land, just as Israel has a right to exist in the Community of Nations.
6. Finally, the BJP recommends to the government the taking of necessary initiatives so that the non-aligned could continue to play a role in achieving peace and amity in the world.

The Government of India must explain what steps it is taking to ensure the safety and security of Indian Nationals currently in Gulf. Finally, in this moment of trial, the National Executive of the BJP would appeal to all political parties for a restoration of the national consensus atleast in international relations. □

# **National Executive**

**Thiruvananthapuram**

**30 September, 1991**

## **End of the Cold War**

The Bharatiya Janata Party welcomes the end of the Cold War and the process of detente among major powers which has replaced hostile and competitive ideological relations with a spirit of cooperation and agreement on various international and regional problems. Noteworthy in this context are the independence of Namibia, the end of the Civil War in Angola, the near end to the conflict in Cambodia, the effort to arrange a ceasefire in Afghanistan through denial of arms to the warring parties and through United Nations attempts to initiate a dialogue amongst them and, finally, the near agreement to hold a peace conference on West Asia. President Bush of the United States and President Gorbachev of the Soviet Union deserve to be congratulated for their wisdom and statesmanship on ending the Cold War and beginning a process of nuclear disarmament which diminishes the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It is hoped that the very latest cuts in nuclear weaponry announced by President Bush would soon be reciprocated by President Gorbachev.

## **Soviet Union**

The end of communism and advent of democracy in the Soviet Union are welcome developments. India and Soviet Union have developed and nurtured their friendship and cooperation for nearly four decades. While the future shape of inter republican relations as also the ties between the Centre and venous republics is not yet clear, it is in India's interest to continue to develop friendship

and cooperation with the Soviet Union as also with the republics. If the situation so demands India should establish diplomatic and/or consular missions in the various republics.

### **Euro-American Alliance**

The international situation today is also characterised by the emergence of one super alliance, the Euro-American alliance, which now includes the Soviet Union among its partners. By its very dominance, it is all pervasive in its influence on international economy, polity, defence and culture. Most countries find it difficult to escape from its influence so as to maintain their independence and separate identity.

### **Pressures on India**

India is the biggest democracy in the world but this fact has not spared us from the application of various kinds of pressures. In fact, we have been under great pressure than, say, Pakistan, which for most of its life has been under military dictatorship.

Today India faces multiple challenges to its independent and sovereign existence with its unity and territorial integrity intact. Pakistan has been the foremost in its efforts to disrupt our unity and territorial integrity and these efforts have not ceased to this day.

Our economic independence is in jeopardy. The Government of India has been forced to open the doors wide to multinational corporations even in those sectors of the economy which require neither foreign investment nor foreign technology.

While the Euro-American alliance was unsuccessful in preventing Pakistan from becoming a nuclear-weapon state, it has encouraged that country financially and otherwise in feverishly arming itself with the most modern conventional weaponry. Recent news reports indicate that hundreds of Iraqi tanks captured by USA were transferred to Pakistan as a free gift. But at the same time the pressures on India to become part of some kind of a nuclear non-proliferation regime have not ceased. Added to that is the effort of the members of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) to prevent India from acquiring and developing missile technology for defensive purposes. To cap it all, there is greater insistence that India must cut its defence expenditure if it is to receive financial

assistance even in the form of loans.

### **India must take some immediate steps**

The Bharatiya Janata Party is of the opinion that to save India from international pressures the Government of India must take some immediate steps in the fields of defence and foreign affairs:

1. Pakistan is now a nuclear-weapon State and this fact changes the military equation in the Indian peninsula. The Government of India must take any and all measures, including the exercise of the nuclear option, to meet Pakistan's challenge to India's unity and territorial integrity.
2. We should re-double efforts to pursue a vigorous defence R&D programme including the development and deployment of modern missiles to reinforce our defence preparedness.
3. Foreign policy should be so reordered as to maximise the number of our friends abroad. Mere attendance at meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement, and rhetorical statements therein, are not enough to win us friends.
4. Our diplomacy must be more vigorous and active bilaterally in order to explain our point of view to seek understanding and support on matters of vital interest to us.
5. Economic diplomacy must be integrated with conventional diplomacy. Economic and commercial sections of our missions should be strengthened and the Head of Mission in every country should personally supervise economic and commercial work.
6. We must immediately establish full diplomatic relations with Israel.
7. While it may take some time to have diplomatic relations with South Africa, there is no reason, at a time of continuing dialogue between whites and non-whites in that country, for us not to be there and help accelerate the process. Additionally, we should establish trade relations for the mutual benefit of Indians and South Africans and particularly for the convenience of people of Indian origin settled in South Africa.

8. With the emergence of a democratic and pluralistic policy in Nepal, there is a great opportunity to establish even closer relations with that country. Apart from political and economic ties, there are strong bonds of religion and culture between the two countries.
9. We should make vigorous efforts to remove irritants in our relations with our neighbours. There is no reason why we cannot have closer and mutually beneficial relations with our neighbours who are ready to respond to our efforts in this direction. Without sacrificing on matters which affect the security, unity and territorial integrity of India, we must show generosity in our relations with our neighbours.
10. We must consciously strive to normalise relations between India and China. It is necessary to settle the border problem between the two countries in a fair and equitable manner. At the same time a process of political dialogue needs to be started with China on international and regional issues of mutual interest and concern.
11. So far, India has mainly looked to the West for political economic, commercial and cultural contacts. It is about time we turned our attention to the East also, from Afghanistan to Indonesia. Trade and investments, political dialogue, greater and more intensive cultural contacts with the countries of South-East Asia and the Far East, all these deserve the constant attention of the Government of India. We must particularly deepen and diversify our relations with Japan.

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# National Executive

Chennai

21-23 July, 1990

## Apartheid in Fiji

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its great concern about the continuing manifestation of another variety of apartheid in Fiji, this time of denial of freedom of worship and of cultural pluralism. It is a matter of regret to the BJP that its expressions of concern on the issue have not been matched by suitable international action by our government. Ever since the coup of 14 May, 1987, which deposed a democratically elected government, the 1970 constitution of Fiji, which is an instrument of harmony, has been subverted. In consequence, people of Indian origin living in Fiji are denied their fundamental Human rights.

On 25 June, 1990, the great Council of Chiefs of Fiji has ratified a new draft constitution. This, when promulgated, will result in political, economic and social emasculation of the people of Indian origin. This will amount to reverse apartheid of the most condemnable kind.

The proposed changes in Agriculture and Tenant Act, the Master Sugarcane Award, the Newspapers Registration Act, discrimination in Educational Institutions, laxity in implementation of Labour laws, which protect the workers of Indian origin and discontinuation in Bank financing, are only a few of the acts of the interim government directed against the people of Indian origin.

The BJP, therefore, demands that the Government of India must initiate the following steps:

1. The matter of Fiji should be raised in the forthcoming Session of the sub-committee of Human Rights Commission

in July-August, 1990. And an intervention be made in the Human Rights Commission in its meeting in February, 1991. The Government of India should endeavour to raise the issue in the UN General Assembly.

2. Financial and other help should be provided to the people of Indian origin in Fiji.
3. A special cell be instituted in the Ministry of External Affairs to look after the problems of overseas Indians and people of Indian origin. India, above all, must not forget the plight of people of Indian origin in Fiji.

### **Sri Lanka**

The BJP views with great concern recent deterioration of the situation in East and North Sri Lanka. It was our expectation that after the withdrawal of the IPKF a negotiated settlement of the problem would be possible. Intensification of conflict has, however, belied that hope. The fratricidal war that is currently going on in that country has inflicted untold misery upon the common and innocent citizens in Northern and Eastern provinces.

The very fact that Sri Lankan armed forces have resorted to aerial bombing of civilian targets, a recourse not ordinarily adopted even in open war, indicates how critical the situation has become. This has resulted in many houses and other buildings being destroyed, thousands of Tamil families becoming refugees, and many innocent civilians being killed. Those very people for whose interests both sides claim to be fighting have now become victims of the strife. The BJP expresses its deep sorrow at and condemns the aerial bombing of civilian targets, The fresh influx of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka is yet again a development that we find as an unhappy human tragedy. It is a matter of natural concern for India.

Developments within Sri Lanka also, inevitably, influence the neighbouring state of Tamil Nadu. The BJP expresses its anxiety and concern about manifestations of terrorist activities in this tranquil and peace loving state. The BJP expects of the State government to address itself to this challenge. At the same time the Union Government must ensure that Tamil Nadu does not become a hinterland of the conflict in North Sri Lanka.

The BJP holds that while on the one hand, the present struggle in North and East Sri Lanka is an expression of just demands for due autonomy and equal rights, it is, simultaneously also a fight against wholly unacceptable insurgency and terrorism. The BJP stands for a united, peaceful and just polity within Sri Lanka. The ties that bind our two countries: cultural, historical and social go back millenniums. Even the sea, instead of dividing unites us. We wish to emphasize all that binds us together, because we hold that only in that manner can India exercise its greater influence for peace.

The gains of progressive reforms in the Tamil speaking parts of Sri Lanka must not be eroded as a consequence of the present strife. The BJP stands committed to a proper devolution of powers in East and North Sri Lanka. We would, therefore, urge early resumption of talks to end this strife. A duty is also cast upon the Sri Lankan Government to see that peaceful conditions are restored whereby talks can be held on the basis of mutual trust and goodwill. It is incumbent on the part of Tamil militants also to stop this fratricidal conflict and to resume talks.

The National Executive of BJP, therefore, calls for:

1. An immediate cessation of hostilities between Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE.
2. At the earliest possible-date, a Round Table Conference should be organised by Sri Lankan Government in which representatives of all concerned be invited for working out a solution that will preserve the unity and integrity of that country, whilst assuring equal respect, equal rights, equal opportunities and equal treatment for all the citizens of Sri Lanka, irrespective of language, religion and caste.
3. That the Union Government and the State Government of Tamil Nadu should take early necessary steps immediately to see that no Sri Lankan militant group is allowed to use the Indian soil as a base for its operations. Further, immediate and stringent steps must be taken urgently to stop all kinds of smuggling on the Tamil Nadu Coast.
4. That the Central Government should assist the State Government in the relief measures for the Sri Lanka refugees coming into Tamil Nadu.
5. An all party Indian Parliamentary delegation should visit

Sri Lanka for an on the spot study.

6. A joint Indo-Sri Lankan Parliamentary delegation should visit the Sri Lankan refugee camps in India, with a view to studying their problems and to working towards creating a situation wherein these refugees are enabled to return to their homes in Sri Lanka with peace, dignity and honour.



# National Executive

Udaipur

3 -5 March, 1989

## **Turmoil in Border States**

### *Failure to solve Punjab and Assam issues*

This meeting of the National Executive of BJP views with concern the situation developing in the states situated on the North-Western and North-Eastern borders of the country. Four years ago Rajiv Gandhi was voted to power on the promise that he would solve the Punjab and Assam problems, put a curb on the fissiparous tendencies, safeguard the borders of the country and protect its unity and integrity. Government has failed miserably to fulfil this promise. The states on our borders are in the grip of a deep crisis; they are all in a state of turmoil.

## **Punjab is burning**

Punjab continues to burn while the Prime Minister continues to fiddle. It is indeed shocking that instead of realising his dismal failure to deal with the situation, he has been making baseless accusations on the Opposition. Recently the D.G. Police of Punjab has publicly admitted that the situation in the border districts of Punjab where smuggling of narcotics and contraband gold worth crores and foreign arms has been going on unabated as 'grave'. The unchecked flow of infiltrators indicates that our borders have become extremely porous. As a result, terrorism is spreading its tentacles in all directions, kidnapping for ransom, killing by hanging and stopping of vehicles with a view to gun down the innocent passengers has become a routine affair. Migration of Hindus from the rural areas continues and even the well-to-do Sikhs do not find it safe to stay in the villages.

### **Baseless accusation against BJP**

It is most reprehensible that the Rajiv government has failed even to clear the known sanctuaries of the terrorists in the Mand. It has neither sealed the Indo-Pakistan border along Punjab by creating a security belt nor has it provided army assistance to the para-military and police forces for combing and clearing the Mand area. The Prime Minister has not cared to keep his promise of calling an all party meeting to discuss the Punjab situation. Evidently, the Prime Minister with an eye on the coming elections wants to exploit the Punjab issue and is, therefore, permitting the situation to drift on. This is confirmed by his recent outburst in the Parliament levelling baseless accusations against the Opposition. The BJP has been resolutely opposing Khalistan, and fighting terrorism on the one hand and preserving social and communal harmony in Punjab on the other. Scores of BJP leaders and activists including our State President have suffered martyrdom at the hands of terrorists. It is indeed outrageous that a leader who had no qualms extolling Bhindranwale as a saint should make a sweeping accusation against the Opposition including the BJP, that we have been supporters of terrorism and violence.

### **Communal and Pro-Pakistan elements hold sway**

In Jammu and Kashmir communal and pro-Pakistani elements under the leadership of Jamat-e-Islami and similar organisations are spearheading hate-India-campaign in the Valley. Anti-Indian sentiments are being aroused openly. Republic Day celebrations were boycotted, and even the National Flag could not be hoisted in Srinagar on 26 January this year. Trained youths equipped with foreign arms are sneaking into the Valley without any check. The residence of DIG Police in Kashmir was raided by these elements with impunity. The agitation against Rushdie's book and Maqbool's hanging are being utilised to squeeze out Hindus from the Valley.

### **Discrimination against Jammu and Ladakh**

In this state, for decades now the Jammu and Ladakh regions have been suffering discrimination at the hands of the State rulers. The injustice perpetrated has created a sense of intense frustration and unrest in the Jammu region. The Wazir Commission report

recommending three districts for the Jammu region has been consigned to cold storage. People's demand for Assembly seats in Jammu in proportion to their population and other factors is being continuously flouted. The present demand for the formation of three regional councils for Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir Valley is being continuously disregarded. Further, the conversion of several Buddhists by Christian Missionaries in the sensitive Ladakh region is a matter of serious concern. The happenings on the Guru Parv Day in Jammu which resulted in killings and large scale arson and looting are a slur on the state administration particularly when the Chief Minister was himself present in the town. This developing situation in the vital region if not contained immediately would jeopardise the security and integrity of the country.

### **Assam Accord remains unimplemented**

The entire North-Eastern sector is in ferment. The implementation of the Assam accord has not been undertaken by the Central Government with any earnestness. The promised fencing of the Assam-Bangladesh border with barbed wire is nowhere in sight and the identification of infiltrators and deletion of their names from the voters' list as per Assam accord has made no progress.

### **Congress behind Bodo agitation**

The recent agitation of Bodos in a region with population of fourteen lakhs only for dividing Assam on a fifty-fifty basis has now taken a violent turn. It is an open secret that the Congress Party is the prime instigator of this move. It may be recalled that Christian Missionaries had always been supporting the formation of such a state in this region. The demand for the formation of 'Autonomous State' in Karbi Anglong is also gaining momentum. Attempts to combine the ACKSA of Barak valley with the Bodo movement are being made under 'operation destabilisation' with the blessings of the Central Government.

The continued illegal presence of Chinese intruders in Arunachal Pradesh has given them an opportunity to exploit the local Indians for carrying on smuggling activities.

### **Chaos in Tripura**

Even after the signing of the peace accord between T.N.V. and the Tripura Government, killing of innocent people continues unabated. Journalists have been brutally assaulted and there is a complete breakdown of law and order in the state.

### **Congress spreads communal virus**

The BJP would like the entire nation to take serious note of the spreading of the communal virus in the body politic of the entire North-Eastern Sector because of the Congress Party itself. In the recent elections to the Mizoram Assembly, the Congress (I) issued a manifesto promising to change the school curricula in accordance with the teachings of the Bible. The manifesto stated, *inter alia*, that socialism and secularism of the Congress dispensation are based on Christianity, it distributed badges carrying the slogan 'Support Congress (I) because it supports Christianity'. In return the Church issued an appeal to vote for Congress (I) candidates. The new Chief Minister, Shri Lalthanvala, after taking oath of office immediately expressed his gratitude to the Churches for their support to his party. All this has emboldened Christian Missionaries to go ahead with their proselytisation programme. The spurt in the demand for greater Mizoram, and the momentum to the agitation for the further division of Assam stem from the support given to the agitation by Christian Missionaries who believe that the smaller the state the easier it is to proselytise.

### **Demographic invasion**

The infiltration from Bangladesh in the North-Eastern Sector and into West Bengal and Bihar also continues unchecked. In Tripura alone 11000 illegal migrants were handed over to the BSF for deportation but estimates are that many more thousands are staying in the state with the connivance of Congress (I) and CPI(M). These aliens are also being helped to purchase land and become voters and citizens. Continuance of this demographic invasion will have serious political repercussion for the country.

### **Infiltration and smuggling in Gujarat**

Pakistani infiltration in Gujarat has caused a 900 per cent increase of Muslim population in the border area of Kutch. Fishing vessels from Pakistan frequently intrude into the Indian territorial waters. Last year, between September and December, 123 fishermen were kidnapped by them resulting in severe loss to our fishing trade from Jakhau port. The coastal regions have become haven for smugglers. Drugs, narcotics and other contraband items worth several hundred crores are being regularly smuggled through Kutch.

### **5000 Double citizens in Rajasthan**

In Rajasthan, smuggling from across the Indo-pak borders has assumed alarming dimensions. Narcotics and other contraband commodities have flooded the market in the border districts. Stringent legal measures are required so that the accused in a smuggling case has to prove that the goods possessed by him were not the smuggled ones. Cattle wealth at a rate of 10,000 animals per day is being transported to Pakistan. Rajasthan Government has forwarded a list of 5000 persons to the Central Government identifying them as double citizens.

Following steps are urgently called for to meet the alarming situation in the border states:

1. The Indo-Pakistan border along Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir should be sealed by creating a security belt.
2. Barbed-wire fencing along the Indo-Bangladesh border must be set up.
3. Detection of infiltrators and deletion of their names from the voters, list must be undertaken on a war footing level.
4. A National Register of Citizens must be prepared and identity cards issued to all citizens in border states.
5. A special cell must be created for identification of the landed properties acquired by infiltrators, such property must be confiscated.
6. The Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act must be repealed. Instead, Foreign Contributions must be totally banned. No private organisation, religious, social or any other should be allowed to receive any foreign contributions – in cash or kind.

7. The intelligence network should be strengthened to deal with these problems.
8. The coast guards on the Gujarat coast must be strengthened and Indian territorial waters be protected from intrusion.

### **BJP demands a White Paper**

The BJP further demands that the government publish a White Paper compiling facts about the dimensions of infiltration, illegal flow of arms and narcotics, anti-national activities going on in these border states, and the steps taken by the government to meet the situation.



# National Executive

Palampur

9 November, 1989

## India and its neighbours

The present sharp deterioration in Indo-Nepal, and Indo-Sri Lankan relations is entirely symptomatic of the total disarray that our diplomacy has been thrown into, by five years of Rajiv Gandhi's misgovernance.

The early stated objective of the Government of India, to have peace and accord with all our neighbouring countries, and to develop mutually beneficial relations, was a step in the right direction. Because this stated policy objective was implemented in adhocist fits and starts; without institutionalised stability; for a personal aggrandisement rather than for national gain, that is why, the country is today faced with a situation of having disturbed relations with all our neighbours. The impetus of SAARC has been retarded, its content diluted.

In the Indo-Nepal context, it needs to be stated that however difficult and unaccommodative. His Majesty's government might be, for Rajiv Gandhi to have permitted our relations to deteriorate to this extent is a blunder of major historical proportions. No two countries are as closely bound together through common faith, culture and geography as are India and Nepal: indeed the very rivers of our two lands bind us together. The basis of our relations cannot be measured by one or two treaties. That basis can only be mutual trust. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) urges the government to immediately correct the present situation, to move purposefully towards re-establishing cordial relations with Nepal: and relationship based on the concept of interdependent

growth and progress. This mutual recrimination must halt. Talks between our two countries must be resumed at the very earliest.

In President Premdasā's recent announcement of a date for withdrawal of the IPKF, an official stamp has now been placed on the total collapse of Rajiv Gandhi's Indo-Sri Lankan policy. That our policy, in this regard is, in a state of total disarray is exemplified by the government's response of 'puzzlement' at President Premdasā's announcement. The only issue to be resolved is the time-table of withdrawal; let therefore, the IPKF not be made a plaything of incompetent diplomacy. The BJP is of the view that the country is now having to pay, particularly the Indian Army, for the continued and near criminal shortsightedness of the Congress government. It was a blunder of major proportions to have trained, armed and financially assisted the LTTE. It was a further blunder to then have based all our Sri Lankan policy options on the LTTE card. A crime thereafter to the country to have committed our army in protracted operations against this very LTTE. The price that the Indian army has already paid for this is near about 3500 casualties. Who is responsible for them but Rajiv Gandhi alone? The BJP demands of the government to explain to the nation what cause have these casualties served? How has the nation's security been enhanced in the process? Which national interest is now being subserved by the mess that Indo-Sri Lankan relations are in?

In the Indo-Afghan context, it needs to be stated that on account of a decade long absence of an Afghanistan policy, the country is now left with no policy options whatsoever. The present turmoil within Afghanistan is detrimental to India's security interests. That Rajiv Gandhi's government is not able to influence the situation for the country's benefit, is indictment, yet again of his policies. The BJP holds that the consequences of the 'Congress policy' in Afghanistan will perhaps be as grave for India as have been the consequences of our Tibet policy in the 50s.

Subsequent to the declaration of Bangladesh as an Islamic State, an exodus, in increasing numbers of Hindus from the country has begun to flood the neighbouring states of West Bengal, Bihar and Assam. That despite this Rajiv Gandhi's government continues to be silent and ineffective is a matter of gravest concern.

The BJP expresses its anxiety about early reports of some

difficulties in Bhutan. Recent events in Burma, and the turmoil within that country in the past months is a matter of great concern to us.

The BJP stands for normalisation of the relations with Pakistan and with the People's Republic of China; for resolution of all outstanding issues, in a spirit of reciprocity, and mindful of national aspirations and national interests.

The BJP, therefore, demands of Rajiv Gandhi's government to explain how if our principal concerns in the Indo-Pak context are:

- their Nuclear aspirations
- their aid to terrorism in India, particularly in the Punjab and J&K
- the narcotics 'smuggling' issue
- Siachen

Then how have these pending matters been resolved? How does, therefore, the Minister for External Affairs assert in the Parliament that there is 'a new climate' in the Indo-Pak relations.

The DIP, while welcoming the return of democracy to Pakistan, would work for a comprehensive and mutually acceptable package so that our two countries can live in peace and progress and in amity.

The BJP wishes to place on record its deep dismay at the recent events in the People's Republic of China, starting from the imposition of martial law earlier this year and culminating in the massacre of thousands of innocent citizens of that country both in Tibet and in Beijing. This is a human rights issue which can not be compromised with. It is a matter of deep regret that Rajiv Gandhi during his visit to the PRC needlessly, and abjectly gave up on this issue; in detriment to the rights of Tibet as also to human rights.

The BJP is committed to democracy, and to the freedom of the individual. Our commitment is not subject to temporary conveniences, or externally dictated. We, therefore, deplore the government's silence on this issue involving all humanity. That the two Communist parties and their fellow travellers, ought actually to be supporting this onslaught on idealistic students is a measure of their intolerance even against peaceful and near Gandhian demonstrations. We also urge upon the Government of India to recognise its folly in having categorised Rajiv Gandhi's recent visit to the PRC as 'historic' and 'Pathbreaking'. Relationship between our two great civilisations, must improve, but they can do so only

through a process of mutual respect and regard.

The BJP makes it abundantly clear that the principal challenge that the country faces in the field of external relations is regional; it lies in a proper ordering of our relations with all our neighbours. India's national and security interest will be served only through a larger awareness of the regional demands, regional needs, regional fears and regional sentiments of South, South-West, and South-East Asia. The earlier foreign policy planks, pertaining to this region, on which our national security and foreign policy were structured are currently less relevant. There is a need for a critical and in depth re-examination of them.

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# National Executive

Ahemadbad

7-9 October, 1988

## Violation of Human Rights in Fiji and Bangladesh

Violation of Human Rights in Fiji and Bangladesh are a matter of serious concern for the entire civilised world. In both these countries their constitutions have been either abrogated or amended to establish theocratic regimes. Hair-raising reports of unabated persecution of Hindus and other religious groups which would put to shame even the racist government of South Africa are constantly pouring in.

In Fiji, it is now more than a year that Sitiveni Rabuka overthrew the duly elected government of Timoci Bavadra in a military coup. The Coalition Party of Dr. Bavadra had come to power mainly due to the support from the Fijian citizens of Indian origin. As a result these Indo-Fijians, bulk of whom are Hindus, occupied dominant positions in the Socialist government of Bavadra. The ultra-racists in Fiji staged a military coup and succeeded in driving the secular Bavadra government out from power. Immediately after this subversion of democracy, Rabuka himself a diehard Met Christian established his own military government, abrogated the Constitution, suspended the political rights of Indo-Fijians and declared Christianity to be the official religion of the State. He went on spreading hatred against religious customs and practices of the Indo-Fijians and lamed them for the poverty in Fiji. Rabuka later on took a solemn vow to convert the entire 3.5 lakh population of Indian origin to Christianity.

The story did not end here. Rabuka unleashed a virulent hate India campaign which was just a euphemism for denigrating the

Hindu culture. As a result, the Indo-Fijian community was subjected to systematic assaults, their customs and traditions denounced as 'evil religions', their properties plundered, confiscated and even burnt; recital of their holy books like Ramayana completely banned; their places of worship locked, freedom of conscience and faith, trampled; even holding of traditional marriage ceremonies by them prohibited; their children harassed and modesty of their womenfolk outraged. Deprived of their political and cultural rights, the Indo-Fijians in general and Hindus of Fiji in particular are living under constant threat and persecution. They are witnessing the worst ever onslaught on human dignity. The new Fijian Constitution circulated by the interim Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamesese Mara proposes to permanently impose the rule of Christian minority over non-Christian majority. If the provisions are accepted as such, the fate of Indo-Fijians is sealed for all times to come. From free citizens they would be transformed into slaves in their own homeland.

The BJP holds that the Government of India has failed in using its diplomatic leverage with the Commonwealth nations in preventing this onslaught on human rights in Fiji and it did not pursue the matter seriously. Now when Fiji is no longer a member of the Commonwealth the issue has to be agitated in United Nations Human Rights Commission and other International bodies. However, neighbouring countries of Fiji like New Zealand and Australia should also be approached to play a more effective role for the restoration of civic and cultural rights of the Fijians of Indian origin.

The BJP extends its full support to the Indo-Fijians in their just struggle against religious apartheid and for establishing a Constitution based on equality and fair play.

The process of Islamisation of Bangladesh has posed a serious threat to the very existence of about 20 million Hindus and Buddhists and other religious minorities. President Ershad has amended the Constitution early this year to declare Islam as the religion of the State which has transformed secular Bangladesh into a theocratic country where the life of religious minorities has been made impossible. This is a negation of Nehru-Liaquat Pact, amounts to complete subversion of the 1971 revolution and is a matter of grave concern for the people of India.

As a result of the inhuman persecution by the Bangladesh administration in collusion with local Muslim fanatics more than 50,000 Hindus have crossed over to India during the past six months. Because of heavy floods which have disrupted communication channels this influx has come to a temporary halt. Apprehensions are that if the current trends in Bangladesh persist large scale exodus of Hindus would start soon after the normal routes between India and Bangladesh become negotiable. The *Dainik Sambad*, a newspaper published from Dhaka carried in its issue dated 2 August, 1988 a statement by the Kendriya Chhatra Sangram Parishad, the central body representing fifteen student organisations of Bangladesh which has detailed the persecution of Hindus by the police on one pretext or the other in Faridpur, Gopalganj, Bagerhat, Jhalakati und Pherojepur districts of south Bangladesh. Reports of destruction of property and life and outraging the modesty of Hindu women have been given by the migrants camping in the Bangaon area of Indo-Bangladesh border.

A large number of migrants are students from villages of Bangladesh who are now staying in different parts of West Bengal. These young boys were driven out because they were suspected to be supporters of Awami League which is politically opposed to Ershad. These students have narrated hair-raising accounts of inhuman atrocities, of torture and extortion of money, of arrests on flimsy grounds, of destruction and desecration of temples, of organised mayhem, of abduction and rape and of terrorism in several sub-divisions of Bangladesh.

From all accounts it is evident that the religious minorities (Hindus, Buddhists and Christians) have been reduced to the status of 'Zimmis' in Bangladesh. They are not permitted to worship publicly, nor can they blow conchshells or display any religious symbols outside their homes. They cannot hold any religious congregation and *kirtan*. And at the same time, study of Islamic scriptures has been made compulsory for every student. Technically the new law provides for some protection to religious minorities, but that is a mere eyewash possibly to ward off any international repercussion. In practice the religious minorities cannot claim any protection as a matter of right. The main object of the new Constitution is to demoralise the Hindus and force them either

to support General Ershad or to get out. Persecution for religious and political beliefs is, a flagrant violation of human rights, and Indian people cannot remain silent spectators to this sordid drama.

The principle of secularism was one of the fundamental principles incorporated in the Constitution of Bangladesh under Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. It was on this basis that millions of Hindu and Buddhist refugees who were seeking asylum in India after the traumatic experience of 1971, were induced to go back to Bangladesh. After the assassination of Mujib in 1975, General Ziaur Rehman came to power. He deleted the word 'secularism' from the basic principles of the Constitution and Section 12 which spelled out the steps for implementing the constitutional guarantees was also abrogated. Process of Islamisation was thus initiated. When Ershad assumed office he not only continued with the policy pursued by Zia but gave it an additional sting by confiscating the property of Hindus under the Enemy Property Act. And now with the eighth amendment Islamisation of Bangladesh is in full swing.

In the opinion of the BJP, the Government of India should have taken up the issue with the Zia regime when 'secularism' was deleted from the Constitution of Bangladesh. That was the proper moment to express Indian concern for the life and honour of religious minorities. But it failed and in fact, failed miserably. Its silence over such a vital issue emboldened the military dictators of Bangladesh to pursue the policy of Islamisation. This cussedness was not only immoral but also a betrayal of the millions who had gone back to Bangladesh on Indian assurances for their future safety and security. Even now the Government of India is keeping mum on the happenings in Bangladesh, and Rajiv Gandhi did not raise this issue during the recent visit of President Ershad. Equally guilty are the Left Front Government in West Bengal and the Cong (I) government in Tripura. Their indifference and passivity over such a vital issue is highly intriguing.

The Bharatiya Janata Party demands that the Government of India should take immediate steps to secure guarantees from the government of Bangladesh for the protection of the civic and cultural rights of the religious minorities, devise a suitable mechanism to oversee the implementation of these assurances. It is high time that a Joint Indo-Bangladesh team visits the rural areas of Bangladesh

and report the facts. The cases of violation of human rights and persecution should be raised in international fora to mobilise world opinion against the happenings in Bangladesh.



# **National Executive**

**Vijaywada**

**31 Dec., 1986 to 1 Jan., 1987**

## **Report on infiltration**

Large scale infiltration of aliens in the border states has created serious political, economic and social problems in many places. Assam, Tripura, Manipur, Garo Hills of Meghalaya, West Bengal and Bihar on the eastern side are worst affected by this unabated flow of foreigners from Bangladesh. On the western side the states of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Jammu and Kashmir are facing a similar threat from Pakistani infiltration. It is common knowledge how this foreigners issue had taken a serious turn in Assam resulting in a six year long agitation. Similar situation is now developing in some other states as well. Following reports indicate the seriousness and the magnitude of the problem in states other than Assam.

## **West Bengal**

According to the reports of the State Home Department estimated 5,50,000 Bangladeshi infiltrators and tourists enter West Bengal every year, but do not return to their homeland. It has also been reported by these very sources that nearly 4.4 million Bangladeshis have crossed into West Bengal during the decade ending 1985. This has resulted in a rapid increase of the population of the bordering districts of Murshidabad, Malda, West Dinajpur, Cooch Bihar, Nadia and 24-Parganas and Khiddirpore and Garden Reach areas of Calcutta. It would be of interest to note that while the Indian Mission in Dacca did not issue more than 500 permits for Bangladeshis to visit the restricted areas in North Bengal, but the Hill check post in West Dinajpur District alone recorded entry

of 5,000 Bangladeshis with special permits in the same period during 1985. The following figures in Table 1, indicate the influx of Bangladeshis in various border districts of West Bengal:

**Table 1: Estimated Bangladeshis in West Bengal**

Calcutta	10,00,000
Murshidabad	8,00,000
West Dinajpur	4,50,000
Howrah	2,25,000
Cooch Bihar	1,00,000
Birbhum	45,000
Jalpaiguri	45,000
24-Parganas	10,00,000
Malda	7,00,000
Nadia	3,50,000
Hooghly	1,50,000
Midnapore	5.0,000
Purulia	45,000
Bankura	40,000

**Table 2: Net out-migrants from the Districts of Bangladesh  
In different Census Years**

<i>District</i>	<i>1951</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1974</i>
Pabna	37,500	70,615	99,166
Mymensingh	29,755	1,22,729	1,11,250
Dacca	57,402	-	-
Faridpur	13,331	63,213	2,52,777
Comilla	76,933	1,89,985	3,58,045
Noakhali	95,045	2,02,507	2,62,226
Bogra	-	11,577	16,488
Bakharganj	-	51,140	14,978
Potuakhali	-	-	-
1,84,540			
Tangail		-	96,870
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,09,966</b>	<b>7,11,756</b>	<b>13,94,840</b>

(Source: National Volume Bangladesh Census Report 1974, Page 25)

Table 2 gives the migration of population from the border

districts in Bangladesh. The census reports from Bangladesh themselves have admitted that a total of 24,16,562 people had left the 10 border districts till 1974. If the same trend is continuing than another 12,00,000 persons would be leaving these districts. What is their destination? The answer is not difficult to seek if one compares the corresponding rise of population in the border districts of Assam and West Bengal during this period. Migration from other districts of Bangladesh also continues. However, it is difficult to give a district-wise break-up at the moment. This unabated flow of aliens has not only changed the demographic composition of thousands of Indian villages on the Indo-Bangladesh border, but has also created serious political, economic and social problems.

The vast border of about 1600 kms between Bangladesh and West Bengal is very poorly guarded. Poorly manned check-posts separated by 20 kms offer little or no resistance to any illegal entrants. Corrupt officials also help in seeking entry in our territory. Instead of preventing the illegal immigrants from entering into India both the CPI (M) and the Congress (I) are offering political patronage to them.

Infiltration is now being arranged by the agents operating under the protection of both these parties. In their bid to grab power the infiltrators are also being enrolled as voters. As a result the poll outcome in 100 assembly constituencies or so will be influenced by these foreigners.

Presence of about 5 million infiltrators in West Bengal has been responsible for the steep rise in smuggling, drug peddling and flesh trade. Reports are everyday coming where the local inhabitants have been forced to make distress sale of their agricultural lands and property. It seems that serious efforts are going on to create a belt inhabited totally by the Bangladeshi infiltrators along the entire Indo-Bangladesh border. The pattern also reflects a silent but planned population invasion in West Bengal.

## **Bihar**

The case of Bihar is slightly different as the state does not touch the international border with Bangladesh directly. But the Purnea district of Bihar is contiguous with Murshidabad and Malda districts of West Bengal from where these infiltrators cross

into Bihar. The population rise in certain blocks in Bihar during the 1965-81 period has been phenomenal. While the entire state recorded a 23.9 per cent rise in population the following Table reveals the alarming rise in certain blocks:

**Table 3**

Block	% rise in population
Kishanganj	+ 36.02
Dighalbank	+39.32
Thakurganj	+32.14
Raniganj	+32.67
Sikti	+29.47
Palasi	+29.95

In Kishanganj area the population in the Muslim localities has risen by about 60 per cent obviously due to an influx of Bangladeshis. In the block alone in just 50 villages more than 7500 Bangladeshi families have come and settled. According to the surveys conducted in Bihar about 1 million illegal immigrants from Bangladesh have arrived till mid 1986. The Cong(I) in Bihar has been assisting these foreigners in becoming voters. These infiltrators under the political patronage of the Congress leaders have succeeded in fraudulently procuring the land which was reserved for Santhals in Bihar.

### **Sikkim**

The recent surveys conducted in this state have revealed the presence of about 70,000 Bangladeshi foreigners in this sparsely populated state. It is intriguing that such a large number of aliens could reach Sikkim without any let or hindrance. The political and economic distortions which are bound to creep up in that quiet state would disturb the peace in a very sensitive state.

### **Delhi**

The estimated number of Bangladeshi infiltrators in Delhi is about 3,00,000.

### **Tripura**

In Tripura the entire border is almost unguarded. The Bangladeshi infiltrators are free to come, stay, reap the harvest

and go back. The ill-guarded border permits the TNV insurgents hiding in the Chittagong Hill Tracts to sneak at will, and return with impunity after gunning down people in the state. As a result the whole of Tripura state has become disturbed.

## **Rajasthan**

In Rajasthan the districts of Ganga Nagar, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Barmer are the targets of ever increasing Pakistani infiltrators. Pakistan has 1547 kms of border extending from Ganga Nagar to Kutch in Gujarat. The entire border has only 148 BSF posts which are totally inadequate to prevent infiltration. During 1971-81, population in Bikaner, Ganga Nagar and Barmer districts registered a growth of 48 per cent, 45 per cent and 44 per cent respectively as against the growth rate of 33 per cent of Rajasthan as a whole. Under political patronage these infiltrators have slowly been able to acquire landed property and many labourers of Pakistani origin are working in Rajasthan Canal Scheme.

## **Gujarat**

The Kutch area is worst affected in Gujarat. There is a regular stream of those who cross the border illegally, and then there is a substantial number of those who come with valid permits and do not return. Neither the state government nor the Central Government make any attempt to locate them and deport. During 1980-85 as the government records reveal 10,326 Pakistani nationals entered with valid permission in Kutch, but only 195 of them went back. The modus operandi in Kutch is same as in Bengal or elsewhere. First, the illegal emigrants cross the international border, then they remain in hide out, after sometime they offer themselves as cheap labour and later on they demand ration cards. Once entrenched, they seek political patronage to get themselves enlisted as voters. It may be pointed out that these infiltrators have not only remained confined to the border states but have spread their tentacles in different parts of the country. Their settlements are now scattered in almost all the metropolitan towns including Delhi, Bombay, Hyderabad and Chandigarh.

This massive influx of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis should not be confused with an occasional trickle of the poverty ridden

people crossing the borders in search of employment or to seek livelihood. It is a clever move not only to shed excess population but also to create a thickly populated belt of aliens along the Indian side of the international border.



# National Council

Vijaywada

2-4 January, 1987

## Infiltration

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its serious concern over the continued massive influx of foreigners in the border states of India and their inclusion in voters lists. This unabated illegal migration from Bangladesh has radically transformed the demographic composition in the border districts in the states of Assam, Tripura, Manipur, Garo Hills of Meghalaya, West Bengal and Bihar. As a result social, economic and political tensions are rapidly mounting in the sensitive eastern sector. On the western side, while the continuing Pakistani infiltration into the state of Jammu and Kashmir with a view to promote the anti-Indian forces has always been a source of constant worry, and terrorists trained in Pakistan have been sneaking into Punjab; more recently inflow of infiltrators has gained momentum in Rajasthan and Gujarat as well.

In Assam, this problem of infiltration continues to elude all solutions even after the AGP government has assumed office. No progress has been made in implementing the Assam Accord. Neither the fencing of the Indo-Bangladesh border has been taken up seriously, nor any attempt been made to identify and deport infiltrators. Illegal immigration in Barak Valley is continuing without any let or hindrance and the Charlands of Brahmaputra near Goalpara border have become a veritable haven for the infiltrators.

The situation in West Bengal is equally alarming. The vast Indo-Bangladesh border of about 1600 kms is very poorly guarded. Check posts separated by about 20 kms and scantily manned offer little or no resistance to anyone who wants to cross the border.

Corrupt staff also facilitate entry into Indian territory. Reports attributed to the State Home Department reveal that more than 4.4 million Bangladeshis have come to stay in West Bengal till early 1985. Every year about 5,50,000 Bangladeshi infiltrators and so-called tourists, enter the state and do not return to their homeland. It is intriguing that while not more than four to five hundred restricted area permits were issued in 1984-85 by the Indian Mission in Dacca, the Hill check post in West Dinajpur district alone recorded, during the same period, the entry of 5,000 Bangladeshis carrying special permits which are obviously spurious.

From all accounts it is evident that an estimated five million Bangladeshis have entered the state of West Bengal. Their spread in the border districts of 24-Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad, Malda, West Dinajpur and Cooch Behar has changed the demographic composition of thousands of villages along the international border.

The CPI(M) government of West Bengal and the Congress(I) government in the Centre, instead of preventing this infiltration, have been extending political patronage to these foreigners. Infiltration is now being arranged by agents operating under the protection of CPI(M) and Congress (I) leaders. In their bid to grab power, leaders belonging to both these parties are enlisting these foreigners as voters. As a consequence the illegal immigrants will influence the outcome of the poll in more than hundred constituencies. The social, political and economic consequences of this infiltration are very grave. The entry of over 5 million illegal immigrants has brought West Bengal's economy under severe strain. Smuggling, flesh trade, drug-peddling, and violence have registered a steep rise in the border districts. Instances where indigenous land-owners were forced to make distress sale of their land and property are being reported everyday. It seems that serious efforts are going on to create a belt inhabited totally by Bangladeshis all along the Indo-Bangladesh border. The pattern reflects a silent but planned population invasion of West Bengal.

The TNV extremists are operating in Tripura. After gunning down the innocent citizens they retire to Bangladesh which is a safe sanctuary for them. In order to contain the terrorists and infiltrators it is necessary to declare Tripura as a disturbed area.

More than 70,000 Bangladeshis are now staying in Sikkim.

Presence of such a large number of aliens in a state with a population less than 4 lakhs, situated in the highly sensitive Himalayan region besides producing various socio-economic distortions can be hazardous for India's security environment.

In case of Bihar though the state does not touch the international border with Bangladesh but the districts of Purnea and its Kishanganj sub-division, border the Malda and the Murshidabad districts of West Bengal from where infiltrators enter very freely. An estimated one million Bangladeshis are scattered in the state of Bihar. Under the political patronage of the Congress (I) these infiltrators have succeeded in fraudulently procuring land which was to be distributed to the Santhals in Bihar. Cases of aliens becoming voters on a large scale have been detected not only in Purnea and Kishanganj but in Katihar, Saharsa and Santhal Pargana as well. The situation in Bihar has thus become alarming.

Infiltration in the coastal areas of Orissa has also been reported. In recent months more than one lakh Bangladeshis have entered the Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts of the state.

These Bangladeshi infiltrators have not remained confined to the eastern states, but have slowly spread out to different parts of the country. Their settlements are scattered in almost all metropolitan towns including Delhi, Bombay, Chandigarh and Hyderabad. In Delhi alone their number is estimated to have crossed 3,00,000.

In Rajasthan the districts of Ganga Nagar, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Barmer are targets of ever increasing Pakistani infiltrators. Pakistan has 1547 kms of border extending from Ganga Nagar to Kutch in Gujarat. The entire border has only 148 BSF posts which are totally inadequate to prevent infiltration. During 1971-81, the population in Bikaner, Ganga Nagar and Barmer districts registered a growth of 48 per cent, 45 per cent and 44 per cent respectively as against the growth rate of 33 per cent of Rajasthan as a whole. Under political patronage these infiltrators have slowly been able to acquire landed property and many labourers of Pakistani origin are working in the Rajasthan Canal Scheme.

The Kutch area is the worst affected in Gujarat. There is a regular stream of those who cross the border illegally, and then there is a substantial number of those who come off with valid permits and do not return. Neither the state government nor the

Central Government make any attempt to locate them and deport them. During 1980-85 as the government records reveal 10,326 Pakistani nationals entered with valid permission in Kutch, but only 195 of them went back. The modus operandi in Kutch, is same as in Bengal or elsewhere. First, the illegal migrants cross the international border, then they remain in hide out, after sometime they offer themselves as cheap labour and later on they demand ration cards. Once entrenched, they seek political patronage to get themselves enlisted as voters.

Instances of Pakistani nationals coming to India with valid permits but overstaying here are galore. According to the admission of the Kerala government itself about 2000 Pakistani nationals are overstaying in that state. It is really intriguing that in spite of complete information being available with the state administration regarding the whereabouts of these foreigners no action has been initiated to deport them.

In the opinion of the BJP this massive influx of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis is a clever move not only to shed excess population but also to create a thickly populated belt of aliens along the Indian side of the international border threatening the national security. It is really unfortunate that enlightened public opinion has not yet taken full cognizance of this phenomena endangering the nation. The BJP takes this opportunity to warn the nation against the political dangers of this silent population invasion.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that it is not only unconstitutional to use these foreigners for promoting narrow party interests but is also anti-national. The BJP demands that infiltration be prevented immediately and on war footing.

Following measures are urgently called for in this direction:

1. Maintenance of National Register of citizens (with compulsory registration of birth and death record).
2. Fencing of Indo-Bangladesh borders with barbed wires, increasing the number of check posts with necessary equipment to ensure proper vigilance. Effective measures are urgently called for preventing infiltration from the sea coast in Orissa.
3. Creating a security belt all along the western border.
4. Issuing photo-identity cards in the border state.

5. Detecting and deporting of infiltrators; refugees must not be harassed in the process.
6. Thorough combing of the border area to arrange the detection and deportation of foreigners overstaying in India. Repealing the Land & Rehabilitation Act.
7. Creation of a cell to oversee that the demographic composition on the borders is not changed.
8. Rehabilitation of ex-servicemen along the borders to provide a natural defence to the country.
9. Deletion of the foreigners names from the voters list by special revision of electoral rolls.



# National Executive

Jaipur

9-11 October, 1987

## Foreign Policy adrift

The prolonged paralysis of Rajiv Gandhi's government has critically affected the totality of our foreign policy formulation, its conduct and all our external relations. The country's foreign policy is currently totally adrift: issues of vital national importance are being so amateurishly handled as to critically affect the nation's immediate and long term interests.

The National Executive of the BJP wishes to emphasise three critical areas of failure:

- (a) The Gulf War;
- (b) Recent developments in Fiji; and
- (c) Alarming situation in Sri Lanka.

Despite even year long Iran-Iraq War; a sharp deterioration in the Arabian gulf, amassing there of foreign navies; firing on Indian Commercial Shipping and the self adopted role by USA of policing the region, our government has remained a by-stander. Developments in this region of West Asia have grave consequences for India's security interests about which we cannot remain indifferent.

The Second Military Coup in Fiji which has shut all doors of a negotiated resolution of the problem graphically illustrates Rajiv Gandhi's diplomatic incapacity. Had the Government of India taken decisive initiatives after the first coup, overthrowing the elected government of Dr. Bawadra, the present regression in the situation could have been avoided. It has now been established that US perceptions of their own national interests in the region have been

the principal external influences on Fiji's internal developments. Mindful of this; of the large population of Indian origin in that island country of Fiji, demonstrating a variety of apartheid, and, of our nation's basic commitments to human rights and democracy the attitude of Rajiv Gandhi's government is totally indefensible.

We condemn this attitude and demand of the government to explain what it has done so far to safeguard the interests of peoples of Indian origin in Fiji and to restore democracy. Further, we demand that the government initiate vigorous Commonwealth moves to redress, at the earliest, this continuing wrong in Fiji.

The National Executive of the BJP expresses its concern at the violations of human rights in Tibet. Friendly and peaceful relations with PRC, an early resolution of the boundary issue with them is indeed a worthy consideration, but not unmindful of our as well as the concerns of the international community.

It is in the conceptualisation and conduct of our country's Sri Lanka policy that the Rajiv government has brought ignominy on the country and imperilled our national interests' is never since 1962.

Mistaking 'whiz-kiddery' for policy, Shri Gandhi, launched the nation on the perilous path of a peace keeping role, in a foreign country, on premises that just do not exist. To resolve an old, social and ethnic divide an executive agreement between two governments, was mistakenly offered as a solution; terming it thereafter as the 'Agreement of the Century'. The placing of the IPKF under instructions of the Sri Lankan government is an unprecedented step fraught with the gravest consequences for India. It is now no longer a question of Shri Rajiv Gandhi's personal prestige: what is at stake are our domestic polity in Tamil Nadu; our national interests, our relations with all our neighbours, indeed, India's status internationally. The responsibility for bringing the nation to the current difficult impasse rests squarely on the government.

The BJP demands an immediate summoning of the Parliament to discuss a sharply deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka; in preparation for which the government must immediately issue a comprehensive White Paper on Sri Lanka.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

6-8 May, 1986

## Situation in Sri Lanka

The situation in Sri Lanka shows no signs of improvement. It continues speedily to deteriorate. Bitterness is intensifying. Senseless violence is escalating. Extreme positions are becoming more and more rigid and the country has almost reached the point of no return. Bloodshed, genocide, economic ruin and social misery has been the inevitable result of the present unfortunate trends.

In the opinion of the Bharatiya Janata Party the government and the people of India cannot but be concerned with the unfortunate developments in so close a neighbouring country. The sorry condition of a large number of Tamilian citizens and residents of Sri Lanka, the hostile discrimination persistently practiced against them in various matters such as education, employment under the State, economic opportunities and land settlement, and their ruthless suppression by the instrumentalities of the State inevitably evoke sympathy of the people of India and cause ripples of resentment and anger. The Government of India cannot for ever remain insensitive to the acute social tensions that are building up inside India. Apart from the historic ties of ethnic origin and affinity and blood relationships that fully justify Indian involvement in the destiny of Tamil Lankans, no civilised government can turn a Nelson's eye to widespread, persistent and organised violation of basic human rights of fellow human beings in any part of the world more so in a country only a few miles away from ourselves.

The diplomatic initiatives taken by the Government of India to help resolve the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka have failed completely.

On account of the ineffective medatory efforts of the Government of India, the plight of Sri Lankan Tamils has only worsened: there is continuing gross violation of elementary human rights in the country, inevitably affecting our domestic scene. Our government finds itself without any meaningful diplomatic options. It is ironic that, despite being consistently outmanoeuvred by Sri Lanka, our government continues to categorise Indo-Sri Lankan relations as 'never having been better'. The fact is that our bilateral relations with Sri Lanka have never been as strained as at present.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that there are some redeeming factors in the otherwise grave scenario which if quickly grasped and utilized can lead to the return of normalcy and a permanent solution.

The dominant majority of Lankan citizens are Sinhalese who profess and practice the Buddhist religion. The great and compassionate Buddha moved by the sufferings of human life and mortal existence preached his eight-fold path of deliverance from the sorrowful wheel of life. The Bharatiya Janata Party cannot believe that the people of Sri Lanka have totally turned their back on the teachings of one of the greatest prophets of all time. Buddhism was born out of Hinduism and the two have co-existed and even competed in absolute peace and freedom from conflict or violence. The prescriptions of the Great Master can be a soothing honey for the smarting wounds that the Sinhalese and Tamilians continue to inflict on each other. The BJP would initiate a dialogue with religious and spiritual leaders of Sri Lanka to restore love and mutual charity among the warring communities. Once the racial and ethnic divide is perceived to be unreal, the major cause of conflict would disappear.

Another encouraging factor is, the growing realisation on the part of the government of Sri Lanka that political power has to be decentralised and shared. The Tamilians must be made to feel like equal citizens in all respects and all signs of constitutional or legal inferiority must be eliminated from the legal system of Sri Lanka. An entrenched and far reaching Bill of Rights judicially enforceable would be a welcome step. The Tamil zones in the north and east must be accorded optimum autonomy within the framework of Sri Lanka's sovereignty and integrity.

The Bharatiya Janata Party considers that in the final analysis the conflict, though couched in ethnic and political phrases, is basically economic. The Tamilians are entitled to a just share of the economic cake and equal participation in the benefits and largesse that the State has to offer to its citizens. It welcomes the growing understanding that economic justice alone will assuage hurt feelings, particularly among the educated Tamil youth of Sri Lanka. It cannot be beyond the competence and integrity of the Sri Lankan government to ensure basic fairness in the distribution of the economic cake.

The Bharatiya Janata Party has also a caution to utter to the Tamilian groups involved in the conflict. If they practice violence and murder on one another, any justification for protest against State violence disappears. Internecine quarrels and squabbles must inevitably hurt their cause. They must, therefore, close their ranks and speak with one voice to carry weight and credibility.

The Bharatiya Janata Party while being aware of the provocation for violence cannot condone or approve of its use. Nor can the Bharatiya Janata Party encourage a movement to dismember a sovereign state which is a member of the United Nations and the Commonwealth. The Bharatiya Janata Party, while striving to secure complete justice for the Tamilians, has inevitable limitations which, as a responsible political party in a responsible country, it cannot overlook or breach.

The way to peace is through the negotiating process and this must be zealously pursued and strengthened.

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# National Executive

Bhopal

19-21 July, 1985

## Nuclear Bomb

The BJP view with concern the fact of Pakistan continuing to proceed with its programme of manufacturing a nuclear bomb. It has no doubt, that, inspite of Pakistan's protestations, the acquisition of such nuclear weapon, could only be intended to intimidate India and pose a serious threat to its security and integrity.

The recent statements of the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, have also caused serious misgivings in the people's mind while the Prime Minister's utterances indicate that the government has definite information that Pakistan is continuing with the manufacture of a nuclear bomb, they fail to indicate that the Prime Minister is at all clear in his mind as to how our country must proceed to counter this threat.

The BJP is firmly of the view, that this is much too grave a matter to be taken in such a cavalier and casual manner in which the Prime Minister appears to be doing.

Diplomatic initiatives taken by the Government to deter the Pakistan government and to stop it from its making a nuclear bomb appear to have completely failed.

The BJP is convinced that the country can no longer afford to adopt a policy of drift and escapism in this serious matter involving the country's unity, integrity and security the BJP would also like to declare that it can not even conceive the idea of countering Pakistan's threat by willy nilly pushing India into the umbrella of any super power, one or the other.

The BJP therefore urges government to take the people of

India into confidence on this vital question. Reports from Pakistan indicate that the threat of a Pakistani nuclear bomb is real and an immediate response to this is necessary. The BJP, therefore, calls upon government to take immediate steps to develop our own nuclear bomb.



# National Executive

Ahmedabad

31 March to 2 April, 1984

## Call for South Asia Summit

Recent pronouncements by the Prime Minister and her cabinet colleagues on the theme of security of the nation, instead of assuaging our concerns have on the other hand, heightened them and have left the country bewildered. The government and its members appear to be outbidding one another in a frantic effort to highlight dangers facing the country. The Minister of External Affairs reminds us that the Prime Minister has been pronouncing on the theme since 1980. If despite this people continue to remain baffled it is because while the government darkly hints at the existence of grave perils it stops short of actually defining them.

The BJP expresses its serious concern that all these conflicting statements are actually representative of great confusion in the government's perception and practice of defence and foreign policies. Little wonder then that the very purpose of warning the nation about the dangers that face us is defeated by the manner of doing it. Repeated crying of 'wolf' devalues both the high office from where this cry is uttered and the undisputed priority that the security of the nation has.

The BJP has all along held that national unity, integrity and the protection of the nation from internal and external dangers is not a partisan political issue. Our concern about and quest in this field is beyond narrow political interests. Least of all can this be reduced to the level of electoral rhetoric. It is precisely because the ruling party can no longer look at even national issues other than through the confusing haze of electoral advantage that national consensus

on our foreign and defence policies today stands strained to the extreme. On the issue of security, there can be no party differences. The BJP has always stood for a practical, working unity of purpose between all strands of political thought in this vital sphere. Even now we would call for the reestablishment of national consensus in this respect.

As a first step towards reachieving that consensus, it is incumbent on the government to take the nation and its people into confidence and to explain intelligibly its perceptions of the dangers that face us. In the absence of such an initiative the charge of playing domestic politics will continue to stick to the ruling party.

If national security concerns were actually paramount in the government's reckoning it would place national interests above all. That it does not do so is best exemplified by its policy of deliberate design and of chosen inaction, resulting in political destabilisation in strategically sensitive border states. What was earlier done in Assam is now being repeated in Punjab. Where there is no political instability, deliberately one is being engineered as in Jammu and Kashmir. The ruling party's actions and utterances these days are reflective of a kind of exclusive nationalism and of self-aggrandisement. Patriotism is no single person's prerogative. What is patriotic cannot also be determined by a handful of people. This sentiment is certainly not open for partisan interpretation.

The BJP has consistently advocated a policy of friendly goodwill and peace with neighbouring countries. We are on record as having continuously espoused the unequivocal rejection of any theories that subscribe to the exclusivity of super power interests in this region. In South Asia, it is the countries of the region that matter, it is the interests of the people of South Asia, that are paramount, not those of the United States of America or of the Soviet Union. We are constrained to observe that in a marked departure from the Janata government's success in this field, the present government's policies of over-bearing abrasiveness with neighbouring countries has resulted in generating a climate of distrust. This inevitably draws in the super powers, precisely the opposite of what is now needed in the entire South Asian region.

The BJP holds that the time has now come for significant new initiatives. These need to be taken for reduction of tension and for

achieving lasting peace in the region. For this purpose it is necessary to treat the developments in Afghanistan, since Soviet occupation of that country, as being part of a heightened super power involvement in South, Southwest and West Asia. We would, therefore, treat developments in Afghanistan along with heightened super power presence in the Indian Ocean and include in our security concerns the tragedy of the continuing Iran-Iraq war in the Gulf. It is our belief that unless all these three are treated as part of a whole, we would not be moving towards a meaningful and comprehensive initiative for peace in the region – an important factor contributing to a deterioration in India's security environment is the US supply of armaments to Pakistan. This is a matter of grave concern to us, yet it needs to be understood that it reflects more the effect than the cause. The cause is the importation into our peripheries of super power interests and involvements. Whilst rejecting the primacy of the interests of USA and USSR in the region, it is incumbent on the nations inhabiting it to take meaningful and convincing initiatives for their withdrawal from it.

It is our firm belief that neither India nor Pakistan can afford to enter a new arms race. Before the Indian Ocean became an ocean of crucial strategic importance to the super powers, it was already and had always been of prime importance for the countries that inhabit the region. We cannot allow this primacy to be subordinated in the interests of those that wish to preserve a situation of global divide. Behind the tragic continuation of the war in the Gulf, and fears about the closure of the Straits of Hormuz, resulting in dislocation of oil supply to the developed world is yet again the thesis of the primacy of super power interests. Indeed, but for their direct and indirect involvement in this war, it may long ago have been resolved.

The BJP holds that the initiatives so far taken under the aegis of the South Asian Regional Conference have been marked by an inexplicable bureaucratic caution – the rationale of such a conference is worthwhile and laudable. It is precisely because the quest for peace in the region has not the impelling force of a statesman-like conviction that, our progress in that direction has been so tardy.

Time has now come for breaking new ground. If the dangers, that we are informed face us, are real, then half measures will

not suffice. Extraordinary situations can not be met by ordinary responses. The need of the hour is to move away from politicking and to aspire for the ennobling vision, of a nationally united quest for peace in and around South Asia. For that purpose we would urge the convening of a South Asian Regional Summit, which amongst other things would work for:

- (a) Joint regional approach to a lasting solution for Afghanistan, which would ensure its independent, non aligned status without any outside intervention or interference;
- (b) A regional call for the super powers to withdraw from the Indian Ocean and a dismantling of all naval bases like Diego Garcia;
- (c) An early end to the Iraq-Iran war and an end to all super power involvement in the Gulf.

The central quest of the peoples of South Asia, no matter of which nationality, is their continuing struggle against appalling want and poverty. Our people will not be freed of these shackles unless the leadership of today takes the initiative to combat the real menace and to put aside all other inferences as secondary and resolvable.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

13-14 April, 1983

## Statement on the current international situation

Sharp invective and greatly heightened tension marks the current international scene. Superpower rivalry for global domination and strategic supremacy taken precedence over every other consideration. The search for mutually assured destruction leads the world towards nuclear holocaust. This mad race for armaments makes the world spend over 150 million dollars daily on armaments whilst the majority of mankind goes hungry, shelterless and deprived of other essentials. A search for a more equitable world order becomes meaningless in the face of larger and more potent instruments of death. It is a matter of the deepest concern that the most volatile flashpoints of conflict remain on the Asian and African land masses. In this grim scenerio, the desire of the large majority of the nations to move away from superpower orbits and to assert their sovereign independence of action is perhaps the only redeeming feature. This finds expression in their subscription to the non-aligned movement. In its essentials this articulation is for genuine non-alignment, where nations are not only sovereign but also fully appear to be so.

In this context the National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party holds that the organisms of the Seventh Non Aligned Summit in Delhi recently is a matter of satisfaction for the entire country. The real debate is not about the validity of the concept of non-alignment. It continues to be about its conduct. The pronouncements that the movement, during India's three year term as chairman of the conference, will not be permitted to go off the rails, is a tacit

recognition of the aberrations that have crept in. It is the view of the BJP that this concept of international relations will continue to have a central relevance but only when it reflects genuine non-aligned conduct. The deriding in public, of genuine non-alignment, by the Prime Minister, is no more than reducing foreign policy concerns to partisan, party politicking. It is by such processes that national consensus on their vital issue is eroded.

The call of the non-aligned for a more equitable world order has its centre, the ennobling thought of all mankind being one family. A more equitable international economic order will be easier to achieve by working for eliminating economic disparities at home and by actively pursuing the worthy cause of greater South-South cooperation. It is the belief of the BJP that time has come for the non-aligned to move away from talk and to demonstrate action in this most vital concern facing the world today. The BJP notes that the institution of a southern monetary fund was raised in the recent non-aligned conference. This should be punished vigorously.

Until the non-aligned themselves agree on a mutual reduction of their spendings on arms, their pleadings for peace and disarmament would be lacking in the needed credibility. The non-aligned movement would also be judged by its success in preventing the conference from deteriorating into an arena of proxy battles of the superpowers.

The National Executive of the BJP noted with deep concern that the 7th Non-Aligned Conference failed to come up with any new initiative for a resolution of the continued presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. This problem is now over three years old. Its ramifications are deep and far reaching. It directly effects the non-aligned community as indeed the entire South Asian region. Whilst the unofficial initiatives undertaken by the UN Secretary General must continue, there is need here for a greater assertion of non-aligned efforts as well.

The BJP has all along rejected any exclusivity to superpowers interests in the South Asian region. We stand firmly committed to the concept of peace with neighbourhood. An enduring peace on the sub-continent can only be achieved through the process of improving bilateral relations. In that context, the institution of a joint Indo-Pak Commission is to be welcomed. It does not, however, go

far enough. There is a needless dragging of feet by both governments in this quest. Welfare of the many millions of our two countries is at stake. The BJP is of the view that Pakistan must not stay rooted in the prejudices of the past. It must abjure the established pattern of over arming and of commenting on India's internal affairs. A mutual agreement, between our two countries, about non-use of force can no longer be put aside. It is an essential first step. The BJP would, therefore, urge the government for an early conclusion of a comprehensive treaty of peace and friendship with Pakistan.

Whilst welcoming the continuing efforts towards normalising relations with China the government must recognise that this effort has now to be made not at the official level but at the political. Without unnecessary euphoria of heightened expectations precisely such an initiative is needed.

The efforts made with Bangladesh in moving towards a resolution of the problems of Ganga waters are to be welcomed. Limited advantage seeking should not be the attitude to this common problem. Waters of this mighty river system affect the welfare of both these nations. Our respective governments can hardly afford to play politics with commonwealth.

The recent conference of the Foreign Secretaries of South Asian nations in Dhaka continues to be limited in its scope. India must take a purposeful lead in enabling this conference to advance to a meeting of the heads of state of the entire South Asian region. Such an initiative is now vitally needed.

The BJP notes with regret that the manner in which the Indo-Nepal trade pact was renewed, only at the last moment, is reflective of the overbearing attitude, of the present government, which needlessly autogeneses our neighbours. There is need to reiterate that during the tenure of the Janata government our relations with our neighbours were at its most cooperative and constructive. The National Executive of the BJP would urge upon the government towards working for a zone of peace in the entire South Asian region. Such a quest and Nepal's urgings for its declaration as a zone of peace are not contradictory. Our quest for peace is not selective.

The nuclearisation of the Indian Ocean and superpower rivalry in this vital ocean expose is a matter of deep concern. The BJP would hope that the forthcoming conference in Colombo would be able

to make progress towards a resolution of this problem.

The recent clashes on the borders of Kampuchea, incursion by the bombings by Thai Air Force, are a grim reminder that the Kampuchean question remains as a flashpoint in South East Asia. The BJP stands against the presence of foreign troops on the soil of any sovereign nation. Because of the present government's ill advised policies on the question of Kampuchean recognition India now finds itself in the unenviable position of neither being able to assert its national viewpoint nor that of the non-aligned, whose chairmanship is our current responsibility.

The continued impasse in West Asia cannot be permitted to last indefinitely. A lasting solution of the problem can be found through UN resolutions on the subject. They are reflected in the principles enunciated in the Arab Summit, at Fez. That document is a basis of co-existence and peace in West Asia. The right of a Palestinian homeland cannot be denied to them. Israel must not continue to remain in Lebanon, to continue to establish additional settlements on the West Bank, and to act intransigently in the face of world opinion. Israel certainly has a right to exist, but not as an expanding regional power, with freedom to define its own concept of secure frontiers.

Recent announcements by the United States that it cannot permit the 'growth of Cuba like States' in Central America is as unacceptable as Soviet assertions of its interests in Afghanistan. Nicaragua, El Salvador and other nations of the region must be free of foreign domination intervention or interference.

The BJP would urge for an earliest possible resolution of the question of Namibia. The white racist regime South Africa has no moral basis. A solution of the problem of Namibia cannot be linked with the presence of foreign troops in Angola. That kind of attitude would perpetuate two wrongs.

It is a matter of the greatest concern that whilst the world balances on the edge of a nuclear precipice, the superpower dialogue on limiting strategic arms, deployment of intermediate range missiles and disarmament, has reduced itself to the lowest-ever rhetoric. We witness the unedifying spectacle of mutual slanging match. Dire warnings of a nuclear holocaust are issued by the Soviet Defence Minister. Superpower relations are described as

being at their lowest ebb in two decades. The BJP is of the view that instruments of death are neutral to systems of governance and are evil by themselves. It is absurd to reduce discussions on eliminating this course of danger to entire mankind to the level of esoteric arithmetics of killing power. The BJP believes that it is incumbent on the superpowers to move purposefully towards nuclear disarmament. What is at stake are not just their respective domains. It is entire humanity.

It is the view of the BJP that the major challenge facing the world today is economic. That is our 'common crisis'. It is no longer a question of having a programme for survival. Deteriorating economic conditions in the world threaten the political stability of developing countries. Further decline is likely to cause the disintegration of societies and create conditions of anarchy in many parts of the world. There is just one way out that is 'cooperation for world recovery'. The BJP would urge the government to make a beginning towards it by working for South Asian regional cooperation for trade and commerce leading towards a South Asian common market.

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# National Executive

Lucknow

21-23 October, 1983

## **Mrs. Gandhi's letter to Mr. Andropov**

The National Executive views with grave concern the episode involving the Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the Soviet President, Mr. Andropov, wherein it has been established that a secret letter was sent by the Prime Minister to the Soviet leader. This episode raises fundamental questions about the right of a Prime Minister to indulge in secret, conspiratorial diplomacy, circumventing official channels of the government, keeping the Cabinet, Parliament and the public in the dark.

From various press reports, and from the Prime Minister's own halting and fumbling replies to queries on the subject, it would appear that in this secret communication the Prime Minister had sought the Soviet leader's assistance to defuse the opposition to the government's policies by the CPI which acts as the proverbial Soviet Trojan horse within the Opposition. This is a most astounding initiative. In substance, it amounts to inviting foreign interference in the internal affairs of the country. This differs only in degree, but not in principle, from the letter sent by the unfortunate former premier of Afghanistan who also invited Soviet troops to interfere in the affairs of his country, which eventually became the pretext for the Soviet aggression and occupation of Afghanistan. Had the former premier of Afghanistan not been shot dead, his views on the outcome of his initiative might have been rewarding.

Amazingly enough, for this work the Prime Minister selected a member of the CPI to act as courier. The Defence Minister of India, her senior cabinet colleague, who travelled to Moscow by the

same flight was blissfully unaware of the secret exercise initiated by the Prime Minister. One can only speculate about the measure of contempt and ridicule created in official Soviet circles by this episode. The Soviet government revealed the contents of the letter to the CPI leaders. It is not known what reply or acknowledgment to the Prime Minister's letter has been sent by the Soviet government because presumably that too would be secret.

The specious argument that Mrs. Gandhi's letter was sent in her capacity as Party President and not as Prime Minister does not hold good, because she is both Party President and Prime Minister, while Mr. Andropov is Secretary General of his party as well as President of the Soviet government. This episode only lends credence to the widely held belief that Mrs. Gandhi's reliance and links with Moscow are dangerously acute and that these resulted in the destabilisation of the Janata government.

The National Executive demands that the Government of India release all such secret letters written to foreign powers by the Prime Minister and present a White Paper on the entire subject of Mrs. Gandhi's secret diplomacy to Parliament. The doubts raised in the public mind will be satisfied by nothing less than this.

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# National Executive

Bhubaneswar

12-14 ????, 1982

## IMF conditionalities in action

The most notable, and by far the most dangerous, development since the second coming of Mrs. Indira Gandhi is the systematic and deliberate mortgage of our nation to foreign economic imperialism.

Our last generation attained political freedom at great sacrifice. But it is sad and shameful that while paying verbal homage to the need for economy, the present day rulers are bartering away the economic independence of this country to international economic forces for the sake of wasteful extravaganza.

Three specific aspects of our economy in the past few months will reveal the gravity of the situation. Firstly, there has been a *de facto* devaluation of the rupee against the dollar. From August 1981 to December 1981 dollar depreciated against all the major currencies of the world. At the same time it appreciated against the rupee. It is inexplicable that while Sterling, Mark and Yen gained on Dollar only the rupee has lost. This is not a paradox. Nor is it an accident. It is a deliberate step to fall in line with the dictates of the International Monetary Fund.

Mr. Venkataraman, the then Finance Minister who negotiated with IMF had promised as much. He had, in the memorandum to the loan application promised, "During the programme period the Government intends to pursue a realistic policy in regard to exchange rate..."

Invariably, one of the conditions IMF imposes before giving loans, is devaluation. Discerning critics had expressed their concern At the clear hint of this but the government had flatly denied it. It

has not taken the people long to understand the worth of that denial!

The second important development in our economy, again undertaken at the behest of the foreign lenders is the credit squeeze.

The present squeeze on credit which is suffocating industry and trade in the country is the direct result of the undertaking the Government of India has given to the IMF. Our government gave a commitment that the growth of credit to 25.

The commercial sector would not be more than 18.9 per cent over the fiscal year. Bank credit to the government sector was restricted to 20.1 per cent growth.

To meet the commitment given to the foreign creditor the government has stopped credit to industry.

Results are disastrous. Industry – both in public and private sector – is hard hit. They have no money to pay for their essential requirements even government undertakings are no exception. Manufacturers have little working capital, enterprise is getting paralysed.

Many companies have been forced to turn to the parallel economy to get capital at usurious rates of 24 per cent or more. The effect of all this is simple: cost of production will go up. Things will become costlier though it may take some time for the poison to spread.

Almost the entire industrial world – Textiles, electricals, automobiles, sugar, etc., have all been hit by this policy – with its harmful effects already spilling over. Lacs of growers are unable to sell their cane and huge amounts of arrears due to them have piled up. Cotton growers are in a similar difficulty leading to distress sales.

The small units are of course, the worst sufferers. The policy of reserving items for them or giving price preference to small scale industry has even otherwise remained largely on paper. Instead of giving it a statutory sanction, or making it effective the trend now is of watering down even what existed. This too is presumably in line with the IMF Memorandum which talked of these policies needing “to be implemented in a manner which pays due regard to the efficiency of resources use and production.”

Thirdly, IMF is not the only foreign usury that our rulers depend upon. In fact, the story of borrowings from non-confessional

sources is frightening in itself.

In the current financial year the Government of India has given permission to borrow as much as 106 crores of rupees from abroad – none of it is at less than 10 per cent compound interest and some of it at as high as 20 per cent.

The utter callousness and irresponsibility of the government is shown when an analysis is made of these loans. For instance as much as 37 lakhs dollars loan is to finance the set wool," 26 ting-up five-star hotels in New Delhi.

Borrowing from international market at high rate of interest to set up luxury hotels in the capital is something that makes a mockery of our economic priorities, in fact of plain economic sense for a poor country teeming with crores of unemployed and tens of crores below the poverty line.

While whatever rationale can be put forward for the IMF loan lies in the need to improve our foreign trade balance, plenty needs to be done to rationalise our imports and exports with a view to cutting out avoidable items of imports as well as obstacles in the way of exports. The present policy of liberalisation of imports, which also is at the behest of IMF, needs to be examined from this angle. Imports like those of coconut oil, raw silk and cocoa do not appear to be justified as also products like steel, cement, fertilizers etc., in which we should first utilise our own capacity fully.

The *de facto* devaluation of the rupee, the unprecedented credit squeeze and the record borrowing at non-concessional rates from private bankers are symptoms of the same disease: Our rulers do not hesitate to mortgage the future generations to the overlords of international finance for the sake of their ostentation!

The gravity of this crime becomes clear when we notice that the economic situation international and internal-does not warrant this.

The OPEC prices have come down. Crude is now selling at least six dollars a barrel less than last year – a fall of about 18 per cent. The price in the spot market is even lesser. As a matter of fact the benefit of cheaper crude should be passed on to the consumer in the form of cheaper petroleum products and fertilizers.

Internally, in January 1980, Indira Gandhi government inherited a granary with stocks twice of those she left in March 1977. The weather was favourable and our farmers produced more during

the last two years. Our factories showed better results.

Yet, through typical, sophisticated, slow undermining of the vitality of the economy the recent budgetary measures threaten to play havoc. The Railway freight increase, which came into force only ten days back will definitely push up prices. So will also the new taxation proposals in the general budget itself. As a matter of fact the government is raising prices all over and at the same time claiming control over inflation. Stark indecision and ulterior considerations on the part of the party in power add to the mess.

Announcement of the official purchase price of wheat, for example, is being delayed for no understandable reasons. The price fixed should be remunerative and the wheat grower should not have reason to feel aggrieved at the government being prepared to pay a much higher price to the foreign grower. The manner in which a bonanza has been granted to cement industry in the shape of the new dual policy which has thrown small house builders and small cement based industries at the mercy of the producers to whom hundreds of crores of rupees are being gifted away over and above what they had asked for. What considerations weighed with the powers that be is not clear.

Mismanagement of our economy is not a bonafide mistake. It appears deliberate.

When rulers do not get the power and support they need from the people, they clutch some other, even alien, support. The economic policy of Indira Gandhi government betrays such lack of confidence in the people and in itself. A regime which tilts its foreign policy towards one superpower and its economic policy towards another and claims this spectacle of weakness as an example of non-alignment would have in normal circumstances deserved pity. But the dangerous implications make the matter serious.

The nation is willing to suffer if the fight is for economic freedom. But the present suffering that the country is undergoing is precisely due to the opposite reason — a deliberate, mortgage of our economy to non-imperialism.

One cannot but fight it. And those who are responsible will soon have to account for the consequences not only to their lenders but also to those who have given them the power to borrow.

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# National Executive

Cochin

23 April, 1981

## **BJP rejects concept of spheres of influence**

The current international scene is marked by a heightening of tension amongst nations and a revival of the race for acquisition of suicidally destructive armaments. A new cold war inexorably tightens its strangulating grip on mankind. Overlapping arcs of crisis encircle the Indian subcontinent.

Much more is at stake than is apparent. India's national interests transcend contending political ideologies and transitory regimes in Delhi.

Emergent India adopted non-alignment as an assertion of national independence in the international field. The origins of this concept lay in anti-colonialism and in the rejection of domination in all its forms. It stood and spoke for the racial equality of all mankind. It sought a positive separation from the sterile rivalries of the superpowers. It was a forum for the newly independents. There was and there ought always to be moral content to non-alignment.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that there is need to reaffirm the relevance of this original concept. Such a reaffirmation must start by a rejection of a bi-polar world where only the interests of the superpowers count. We firmly reject the myth that there is any superpower exclusivity in the giving of direction to world events. We reject 'tilts' of all kinds. We reaffirm our rejection of the self adopted role as a 'world policeman' by the USA or its communist manifestation in the deployment of Cuban troops in Africa. We do not recognise the right of nations to intervene or interfere in the affairs of another on the basis of the imperial concept of 'spheres of influence'. It is our view that adherence to this archaic concept is the single biggest contributory factor to a heightening of world tensions, whether in Asia, Africa or elsewhere.

In this context, the Bharatiya Janata Party notes with satisfaction that at the recent New Delhi Conference, the single most significant aspect was the creation of just such an awareness in the non-aligned community. It was for a re-orientation towards and an assertion of the original precepts of the movement, a reawakening

of the very soul of non-alignment. We note with regret that our government, representing the host country, failed singularly in taking the initiative for just such a re-orientation as is evidenced by the advance draft circulated by it, and by the substantial and substantive amendments carried out to it subsequently.

### **Erosion of the principle of non-alignment**

The Bharatiya Janata Party notes with concern the erosion that is being permitted by the present government to the original principle of non-alignment. India's voice no longer commands the respect that it once did in the comity of nations. Ambivalence, not independent views, have come to represent us. Our stand on Afghanistan and recognition of Kampuchea has served neither our national interests nor any principle. We have in the process alienated large and significant sections of the non-aligned. The BJP is appreciative of the commonality of ties with USSR. We would work towards further strengthening of these ties on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. We are, however, constrained to observe that never before in the past 34 years of our independent history has an Indian Prime Minister taken on the role of a spokesman and interpreter of the strategic perceptions of a super power.

It is the view of the BJP that for ensuring the continued positive thrust of the non-aligned movement in the eighties, we need to recognise the ominous similarities in the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, its attitudes towards Poland and the US intervention in Vietnam or its doctrine on El Salvador. We need to work towards an intelligent and viable regional detente. It is equally important that the non-aligned work towards the structuring of a system of bilateral settlement of disputes amongst member countries.

## **Afghanistan**

Current history is moving with a terrifying velocity. As a nation, we need to take particular note of two developments of immediate and vital concern to us: firstly, the consequences of the armed intervention by USSR in Afghanistan and secondly, the moves for a resumption of US arms supply to Pakistan.

The Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan – now congealed to a State of occupation – is based on the questionable concept of ‘spheres of influences’. It is in the BJP’s perception, a strategic water-shed of central significance. It has vital short and long term consequences for us as a nation.

This occupation has the potential to further destabilize adjacent sensitive borders. The BJP considers its bounden duty to warn the government and the nation that such a grave potentiality exists. Soviet troops must withdraw from Afghanistan. We hold that, as a nation we should reaffirm our regional role and take the lead for a regional, non-aligned initiative to ensure that Afghanistan regains its independent status, free from all forms of outside intervention or interference. It is only by doing so that we can hope to regain the goodwill of the Afghan people, with whom the present government has sadly abandoned all our ancient and historical ties.

## **Pakistan**

It is the view of the Bharatiya Janata Party that the contemplated US arms assistance programme to Pakistan is based on a faulty prognosis. From Turkey, through Saudi Arabia to Pakistan, the USA is creating a ‘Cordon Sanitaire’ in its attempts at containment of USSR. The BJP has already rejected such theories. It views any massive supply of arms as contributory to a heightening of tension in this region. The regrettable history of past conflicts goes towards emphasising this apprehension.

The BJP believes firmly that the peace, security and progress of this region lies in friendship between India and Pakistan. What Pakistan needs more is political stability and economic development, not sophisticated armaments of offence.

### **Iran-Iraq conflict**

The BJP views the continuation of Iran-Iraq conflict as being inimical to larger Arab interests and as likely to divert world attention from the crucial aspect of a final settlement of the Palestine question. The Gulf countries have become the core of multiple tensions heightened by a clash of super power interests. The BJP believes that the non-aligned can play a crucial role in assisting towards a resolution of the problems of the region.

### **South Africa**

BJP holds that the riddled question of the continuation of the racist regime in South Africa and the failure of the Geneva talks on Namibia are creating points of acute tension. It will provide a test to the leadership of the West and failure here may carry with it grave consequences for the whole of the African continent.

### **Indian security environment**

The current international scene vitiates India's security environment. Strategically, we face an unprecedented triangular bind with China in Aksai-Chin, USSR in Afghanistan and the USA in Diego-Garcia. An erosion of our non-aligned position severely curtails our strategic flexibility and renders our alternative policy options uni-dimensional.

It needs to be stated that cognizant of this situation, the previous Janata Government had, without building up a war psychosis, initiated moves for strengthening of our defences and diversification of sources of armament supply. The decision for a replacement of obsolete equipment with the Indian Air Force and Navy was that of the Janata Government.

The country's defence preparedness will not achieve the required degree of self-reliance until the defence production base is widened. This highlights the importance of Defence Research and Development programmes. The BJP expresses its concern at the low level of expenditure in this vital field. Barely 7 per cent of our total defence budget goes into an indigenous research efforts. Even this low level of investment is not bearing fruit because of inefficiency and corruption, particularly in some of our Defence laboratories.

The India Ocean, for long an ocean free from tensions, is now an

arena of direct confrontation between super powers. The criticality of dependence on gulf oil finds its focus in the never earlier seen massing of fleets. India is directly affected. The protection of our FFZ, and our island outposts acquire new relevance. Moves towards achieving the aim of Indian Ocean as a zone of peace will bear fruit only if all the littoral states recognise the threats that we perceive as arising from Super Power rivalry in the region.

Pakistan's nuclear aspirations carry within them dangerous portents for a serious destabilisation of the strategic balance in the subcontinent. It is our view that in the nuclear arithmetic of death there are no objective criteria for assessing levels and degrees of deterrence. The path of nuclear armament can only harm the peoples of both our lands, not benefit them in any fashion. The BJP is committed to the concept of peaceful uses of nuclear energy. At the same time the BJP cannot unilaterally abjure the availability of options to the country. It retains the right to assess the requirements of the safety of the Indian nation and its people in the light of its own perceptions.

In the face of these formidable challenges, it is our view that the primary task is that of forging unity of purpose in the nation. We note with regret that in these vital issues no effort is being made by the government towards evolving a national consensus. The Bharatiya Janata Party demands of the government to initiate a debate on the subject to take the people into confidence, to consult with the opposition, to forsake its uni-dimensional tilt and to revert to a credible non-alignment. Only then can the challenges of the future be met.

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# National Executive

Shimla

27-29 June, 1981

English not available



# **National Executive**

**New Delhi**

**5 September, 1980**

## **The current international situation of Afghanistan, Kampuchea and non-alignment**

### **Afghanistan**

Recent events in the North West and South East of India have not only resulted in a setback to global detente, accentuation of super power rivalry and escalation of the arms race, but have also posed new threats to the sovereignty, economic development of the entire region.

The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, which has now resulted in its virtual occupation, is a violation of the UN Charter, and a blow to aspirations and ideals of the nonaligned movement. It contravenes all canons of International law and behaviour:

It is highly regrettable that instead of raising a powerful protest against the Soviet interference in the affairs of Afghanistan our traditional friend and non-aligned neighbour, the attitude adopted by Mrs. Gandhi's Government on this issue right from the beginning has resulted in lowering of our prestige in the eyes of the world, reducing our credibility among non-aligned nations and isolating us from our neighbours.

The Janata Government had succeeded in deepening and strengthening the bonds of Indo-Soviet friendship. A programme of long-range cooperation in the economic field was drawn up in those days. Indo-Soviet friendship was strengthened on the basis of equality and mutual cooperation. The Bharatiya Janata Party would like to see further strengthening of Indo-Soviet ties.

The Party, however, does not believe that the bonds of Indo-Soviet friendship are so fragile as to be shattered merely by calling a spade a spade. The continued presence of Soviet armed forces in Afghanistan is totally unjustified and India's determination to pursue an independent foreign policy demands that words should not be minced in this matter.

The militarily weak and economically under-developed nations had believed that by pursuing a policy of non-alignment they would be able to remain aloof from super power rivalries and to concentrate on their developmental efforts. Increasing foreign interference in the affairs of non-aligned nations is in fact a serious danger to the unity as well as the utility of this movement. Further, the claim of certain nations that Soviet Union was a 'natural' ally of the non-aligned countries has been proved hollow by Soviet action in Afghanistan.

### **Kampuchea**

Kampuchea is yet another country which has fallen prey to the use of force by a comparatively stronger and larger neighbour. After the successful heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea against American intervention in Indo-China, hopes had arisen that these countries would cooperate mutually, foster friendship with other nations in South East Asia and devote themselves to the task of economic reconstruction. A strong and prosperous Vietnam will no doubt be able 'to contribute' significantly 'to promote' stability in this region. Intervention in Kampuchea has, however, revived earlier apprehensions and the atmosphere of goodwill, at least for the time being, has been put into jeopardy.

India never had any sympathy for the tyrannical Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea and the Janata Government had declined to establish diplomatic relationship with them. But when Vietnam

organised a liberation front and sent its forces into Kampuchea, India disapproved the action in unequivocal terms. There has never been any confusion about our stand on this issue.

India could have taken a diplomatic initiative for the defence of the independence of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, and to keep them non-aligned. In any such event support would have undoubtedly come from neighbours and a vast majority of non-aligned nations. Unfortunately, India followed this opportunity to slip by.

### **Need for genuine non-alignment**

Without making any changes in the basic postulates of our foreign policy, the Janata government conducted it in a manner that all misapprehensions about our tilting towards any particular superpower were removed and our image abroad brightened. But during the past eight months, a distortion has once again crept into matters concerning our foreign policy. It is not only sufficient that India remains non-aligned but it is also necessary that we should appear to be so.

The Janata government had given topmost consideration to foster better understandings with our neighbours. The result was an overall improvement in our relations with them. The qualitative change introduced in this region by our pursuing the concept of a good neighbour brought encomiums from all quarters.

Attempts to drag India's relations with other countries in election controversies by Mrs. Gandhi and her companions, have given a serious set back to the process of evolving a consensus based foreign policy. Their allegation, in the Parliament that the Janata government sacrificed national interests and became extra accommodative towards our neighbours with a view to earn cheap popularity, is entirely baseless.

The Salal Dam Pact with Pakistan was signed by the Janata government on the same terms on which Mrs. Gandhi had been trying, unsuccessfully though, for past eight years. The Ganges water distribution between India and Bangladesh was also solved on a bipartite basis. While according to the agreement signed with Sheikh Mujib's government in 1975, India was to receive only 11 to 16 thousand cusecs of water in summers, the amount 11 thousand was raised to 20 thousand cusecs in the agreement signed during

the Janata regime. The agreement also took note of the fact that the requirements of India and Bangladesh would only be satisfied by augmenting the quantity of water from other sources. Suggestions regarding Brahmaputra-Ganga canal and the provisions for the review of the agreement were also incorporated in it.

The interests of different countries in this part of the world are interdependent and they can progress mainly on the basis of mutual cooperation. In order to save this region from the ever increasing superpower rivalry, so apparent from their attempts to reinforce the existing military bases like Diego Garcia, efforts to establish new ones and to increase their naval strength in Indian ocean, it is necessary to promote the spirit of mutual cooperation and trust with added vigour. Being a large country, while it is India's duty to set for the world an example of good neighbourly relationship with the adjoining smaller countries, it is also desirable that our neighbours should increasingly realise that the lasting friendship can be achieved only on the basis of mutuality and reciprocity.

The Bharatiya Janata Party reiterates its resolve to strive for the independence of peoples, the inviolability of the sovereignty and territory of nations, dismantling of all foreign bases and promotion of Human Rights. India should cooperate sincerely with nations in the spirit of the relevant UN Covenants and the Helsinki accord.

Decolonisation, detente, disarmament and development are all intertwined with each other. Only by sincerely adhering to the principle of genuine non-alignment, would India be able to contribute its mite towards freedom, peace and progress in the world.

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# Social Sector

# National Executive

Raipur

18-20 July, 2003

## Reservation for Women

The Bharatiya Janata Party was the first political party in India to adopt a formal resolution in support of 33% reservation for women in Parliament and State Legislatures and to demand a necessary constitutional amendment to this effect. The Party did so at the meeting of its National Executive held in Vadodara on 10-12 July, 1994. We continued to reiterate this demand in our subsequent resolutions and election manifestos.

After it assumed office in March 1998, the government of the National Democratic Alliance introduced a Constitutional Amendment bill in Parliament to give effect to this demand. Our government did its very best, not once but twice, to get this bill passed. Unfortunately, it could not be passed due to lack of consensus among parties in Parliament.

Meanwhile, the Election Commission made its own effort at securing reservation for women in Parliament and State Legislatures. The Election Commission suggested that every political party mandatorily field women candidates in 33% of the total number of constituencies it contests. It also suggested that Parliament pass a law to this effect. This suggestion, if implemented, would not secure 33% reservation for women; nevertheless, it would certainly increase the percentage of women members in Parliament and State Legislatures. The BJP supported the Election Commission's suggestion. However, even this proposal has not received necessary support from other political parties.

The National Executive wishes to strongly restate its



commitment to political empowerment of women through increased representation for them in legislative bodies. It is for this reason that our Party has consistently supported both initiatives to secure this objective – the Election Commission’s suggestion as well as the earlier proposal for 33% reservation through a constitutional amendment.

The issue of women’s reservation is being debated in the country for many years. However, in the absence of any decision in the matter, women’s representation in legislative bodies has remained very low – from zero to around 10 per cent. The positive experience and outcome of women’s reservation in Panchayati Raj Institutions and municipal bodies is already before the nation. Therefore, our Party believes that the basic purpose of the Women’s Reservation Bill, which seeks to significantly increase the level of women’s representation in Parliament and State Legislatures, should be realized without any further delay.

In order to secure this objective, the BJP is now of the considered view that 33% of the seats in the Lok Sabha be made Double-Member Constituencies. One of the two seats be mandatorily reserved for women in these constituencies, which would change on a rotational basis. This would increase the total number of members in the Lok Sabha by 181. The same approach can also be adopted in State Legislatures.

The National Executive of the BJP urges the NDA Government to take necessary initiative in this matter and introduce a suitable constitutional amendment bill in Parliament at the earliest. This is the best way of realizing the long-unrealised dream of reservation for women in Parliament and State Legislatures.

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# National Executive

Bhopal

21-23 June, 1996

## **On Dalit Christians Unconstitutional More**

It is unconstitutional and also an assault on the interests of the Scheduled castes, if Dalit Christians are accorded the status of Scheduled Caste and provided reservation for them.

Indian Constitution has taken special care as to provide reservation in jobs and admissions in educational institutions to SCs and STs in proportion to their population. Presently this reservation stands at 15 per cent and 7.5 per cent for SCs and STs respectively. Prime Minister Shri Deve Gowda has declared to bring forward a Bill in the forthcoming session of Parliament to recognise Hindu converted Christians as belonging to the Scheduled Castes. The declaration has created a sense of social insecurity amongst the Scheduled Castes.

## **Depriving the really deserving people**

Here is a point to be noted that Christian leaders, who demand reservation for the Dalit Christians, are already having hold on more than 20 per cent of educational institutions and interestingly there is no reservation either in admissions or in appointments of teachers and other staff for the Scheduled Castes in these institutions. In fact, today converted Dalit Christians are most progressive educationally and socially and with the proposed reservations coming into effect, they will only grab the reserved jobs of the present Scheduled Caste people.

Prior to independence, in 1936 even the British government did not recognise the Christians as belonging to the Scheduled Castes under its Scheduled Castes Order. It is after 60 years that the Congress and the United Front constituents are coming forward to harm the cause of Scheduled Castes, just to gain a few votes. In the constituent assembly, our Constitution makers had refused to place the Christians under the category of Scheduled Castes. Further, so far Scheduled Castes incumbents have not even been able to avail its full quota of reservation in jobs. Deve Gowda government has

not uttered a single word on this point; on the contrary it is fiercely committing wrongs against the Scheduled Castes by providing reservations out of their present quota.

### **Encouraging conversionism**

The status of Scheduled Caste to the Dalit Christians and providing reservation facilities for them will only encourage conversionism which is an onslaught on the principle of secularism. Shri Deve Gowda government must abdicate its wrongful attitude against the Scheduled Castes and withdraw its decision to provide reservation for the converted Christians, failing which the anguish prevailing against the reservation to Dalit Christians among the Scheduled Castes will outburst in the form of mighty campaign and the BJP will give its full support to it.

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# National Council

Vadodra

10-12 June, 1994

## Reservation for women

The National Council of the Bharatiya Janata Party is of the considered opinion that increased participation of women in politics and public affairs is essential to ensure equality and dignity to women in the Indian society.

The BJP notes that the reservation of one-third seats in Panchayats and Municipalities was a positive step in compelling the political system to ensure participation of women in local self government.

The BJP feels that the next logical step to this is to provide one-third reservation for women in legislatures. Therefore, the BJP demands that necessary legislative changes be brought about to provide for one-third seats in the State Assemblies and Parliament being reserved for women.

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# National Council

Bangalore

18-20 June, 1993

## Social policy

An integrated approach to nationhood, to society and to the role of the individual in society is the hallmark of Bharatiya culture. Its first tenet is that India is one country and Indians are one people. Due to historical factors, the country may have been partitioned, it may appear that even the society was segmented, but appearances are deceptive, as many critics, both Indian and foreign, have discovered to their dismay.

India is one country, but its oneness should not blind us to the diversity of the Indian personality, reflecting aspects of national life that are both common and uncommon and which go to weave the rich tapestry of life and culture that we call Bharatiyata. This multi-coloured rainbow of Bharatiyata, which is only another side of the nation's oneness, is the sheet-anchor of BJP's national and social philosophy.

The BJP's approach rooted to integral humanism, rules out contradictions between the society and its various components as also between the society and the individual, or, for that matter, between the family, which is the basic building brick of our social structure, and the individual. The truth is that the individual and the society have the same relationship as that of the seed and the plant, and there can be no conflict between the two.

The BJP recognises the sanctity of human personality and the dignity of the individual. The BJP does not countenance the politics of minoritism but pledges to ensure fair play and justice to every section of society to promote and strengthen national Integration.

The divisive tendencies evident today are the pernicious effect of the vote bank calculus of the pseudo-secularists which the BJP repudiates.

The Bharatiya Janata Party is determined to eradicate the social and economic disparities which impede the growth of national cohesiveness and solidarity.

The Bharatiya Janata Party is wedded to the ideal of a socially integrated Bharatiya Society, as the very basis for the sustenance of India as a modern, dynamic nation. All socially and economically weak and backward constituents of the society will be helped along, through special welfare and other schemes, to reach their potential for contribution to the society and accord them an honoured place in the Great Society that is Bharat. This is the historic task of the Bharatiya Janata Party and its solemn commitment to the nation.

The Bharatiya Janata Party's Social Policy Statement is shaped by and anchored in the principles delineated above, deriving an inspiration from the vision of Mahatma Gandhi, the integral humanism of Shri Deendayal Upadhyay and the social thought of Baba Saheb Dr. Ambedkar. The BJP believes that the very essence of the Indian way of life is change with perception of the needs of changing times. A vicious campaign of misinformation and disinformation by certain motivated political groups and pseudosecularists has been unleashed that if the BJP comes to power the Manusmriti will condition the governance of the country. It is a palpable falsehood, when BJP comes to power, it will be the Constitution alone which will determine and guide the governance of the country.

### **Equity and Equality**

- 1 . The BJP reiterates its faith in and adherence to the ideals, principles & goals of equity and equality as enshrined in

our Constitution.

2. The BJP believe in a casteless, socio-economic order which would effectively provide access to equal opportunities for all citizens, irrespective of their caste, creed, region and gender.
3. The BJP asserts its faith in the dignity of the individual and in the dignity of work. The place of an individual in the society will not be determined on the basis of his birth.
4. The BJP pledges to eradicate practices, customs, beliefs, usages and institutions which are divisive, discriminatory and in any manner demean the personality of the individual and dignity of the citizen.

### **Untouchability**

1. The BJP condemns unequivocally the practice of the untouchability which is not only against the law but runs counter to the very concept of integral humanism which forms the bedrock of the Party's social and political ideology. Under BJP's constitution, only those who do not believe in untouchability can be members of the party. It should be noted that the first brick of the Shilanyas at Ayodhya was laid by a member of scheduled caste, Shri Kameshwar Chaupal, a BJP worker.
2. The BJP has all along endeavoured to build up an ethos of equality in social and inter-personal relationships, which it will continue to pursue.
3. Pernicious practice of untouchability is nothing but religious perversion. It is well to remind ourselves that the Vishwa Hindu Sammelan at Udupi in 1969, where the various sects (*Sampradayas*) in the Hindu fold were represented, had called upon the Hindu World to banish untouchability in all their religious and social practices. The BJP is of the view that such movements should be strengthened to mould the attitudes for speedy social transformation.

### **Weaker Sections**

1. The existing institutions and constitutional safeguards for scheduled castes and tribes should be made operationally

more effective. Institutions like the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, as well as the Commission for Women should be made more effective and representative.

2. As early as 1981 and 1985, the BJP made clear its stand and approach to the problem of reservation. The BJP views the provision of special facilities and special opportunities in the Constitution as practical steps to advance the deprived and unprivileged components of the society. The BJP wants that the existing policy of reservations for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should continue as it is. The quota in services should be filled according to a time bound schedule. The BJP advocates, as recommended by Mandal Commission, reservation of 27% for other backward classes. Among the backward classes the benefit of reservation must flow in ascending order from the bottom so that the most backward of the backwards should get the benefit first. As poverty is one of the main causes of backwardness in any section of society, BJP pleads for 10 per cent reservation on the basis of the economic criterion to all economically weaker sections, other than the SC/ST and the OBCs. If deemed necessary, to give meaningful shape to an effective policy of reservation, the Constitution be suitably amended. The Party believes that progress of all sections can be ensured not by generating social deviousness but by promoting social harmony.
3. Apart from general backwardness, the Vanvasis or scheduled tribes have special problems like non-access to forest produce and other issues related to their traditional way of life. For them as well as other weaker sections, including nomadic tribes, BJP proposes special social welfare programmes including facilities like medical aid, free elementary education, liberal scholarships for higher education, free or concessional housing, financial support for self-employment and settlement schemes, etc.
4. Demeaning practices like the carrying of night soil on the head should be done away with, through the provision of alternatives. The Udupi Municipality in Karnataka, which

has been under the control of BJP since 1972, has a record of being the first Municipality in the country to do away with such practices. It is necessary that adequate steps for economic rehabilitation of those rendered redundant are taken by the authorities, by way of concessional housing, educational and self-employment facilities.

5. During the last five years there has been an increase of almost 25 per cent in the atrocities against SC and ST. The BJP is determined to put an end to this dismal state of affairs.
6. The lot of the handicapped and disabled should be improved through special facilities, and, if necessary, special legislation, so that they can lead a fruitful life, develop a sense of self-dependence, and contribute to social progress along with other members of the society.
7. In view of the increase in the life expectancy and rise in the problems faced by senior citizens, adequate measures have to be taken for the welfare of the senior citizens and the aged.
8. The problems of the bonded labour and the unorganised labour have so far attracted only peripheral interest. The BJP expresses its determination to eradicate the demeaning practice of bonded labour and tackle the problems of unorganised labour in a comprehensive manner.

### **Women and Children**

1. The BJP strongly believes in the equality of men and women and is opposed to any kind of discrimination against them in the name of scriptures, established traditions or social practices and personal laws.
2. The BJP strongly condemns heinous crimes against humanity like, Sati, Dowry and Child Marriages, Dowry-linked atrocities on women, infanticide, etc. It calls for strict enforcement of laws and deterrent punishment as well as creation of strong public opinion against such practices which are a blot on society.
3. Women's participation is confined to a few low- productivity and women-specific jobs. As the economic position and

social status of women in society are inter-connected, effort has to be made to widen occupational avenues so that they become equal partners in country's progress. Efforts have to be made through education, social movement and legislative measures that gender-based discrimination in any form is eradicated.

4. The implementation of family welfare programmes in their wider perspective must be pursued in a sustained manner. Investment in human capital (education, health, skills training etc.) and need for access to factors of production (credit and secure property rights) must be ensured to enable women to be economically self-reliant.
5. The BJP expresses its deep concern over child labour system prevalent in the country. Children are the future of India, and the BJP pledges itself to the all-round development of our younger generation.

## **Human Rights**

The BJP has always maintained that there should be a Human Rights Commission, instead of a Minorities Commission. The Minorities Commission of the kind set up only feeds the sentiment of separatism apart from giving rise to imagined grievances. Only a properly constituted Human Rights Commission will ensure for every citizen the fulfilment of the promise of a better quality of life held out by the Constitution. At the same time, BJP rejects all foreign interference in our internal affairs on the excuse of human rights.

## **Common Civil Code**

1. There can be only one law in a country, a common law that governs the life of all individuals and communities, irrespective of caste, region or religion. A Common Civil Code, as envisaged in the Constitution, will help bring all the communities together and place them on the same footing before the authority and majesty of law. A Common Civil Code will promote a sense of fellowship as well as common citizenship, and reinforce the process of national

integration.

2. The BJP calls for a thorough study of the existing laws, traditions, rites, customs etc. with a view to formulating model Common Civil Code as early as possible.

The BJP stands for special opportunities and facilities to ensure the levelling up of those sections of our people who, for geographical historical, social or religious reasons, have been left behind in the march of progress.

The BJP is of the view that so far the government has been long on words and short on action. We believe that not enough has been done in a systematic, sustained and imaginative manner to formulate as well as implement the policies and programmes for the uplift and empowerment of the weaker sections of society, especially SC and ST, women, children, the disabled and the senior citizens. For the BJP performance is the real touch-stone of promise and policy. Due to lack of conviction, inadequacy and inflexibility of conception and the weaknesses and leakages in implementation, these policies and programmes have not only failed to attain the ends in view but have also generated a feeling of disenchantment and frustration in the people concerned. The entire approach requires a re-examination and review, both conceptually and operationally. Our focus should change and we must view the disadvantaged and the deprived not just as beneficiaries of some programmes but as critical agents for achieving the total development of society.

The BJP pledges itself to fulfil and complete the unfinished agenda of our Social Renaissance so that all our countrymen live and work in an atmosphere of social harmony as equal partners in the progress and prosperity of our country.

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# National Executive

Agra

7 April, 1988

## Policy Statement on the Problems of Scheduled Castes

*“These common people have suffered oppression for thousands of also years suffered it without murmur, and as a result have got wonderful fortitude. They have suffered eternal misery, which has given them unflinching vitality. And, besides, they have got the wonderful strength that comes of a pure and moral life, which is not to be found anywhere else in the world. Such peacefulness, such contentment, such love, such power of silent and incessant work, and such manifestation of lion’s strength in times of action, where else will you find these!”*

Swami Vivekananda

## Progress is Extremely Slow

After centuries of oppression, suppression and segregation the scheduled castes saw the dawn of Independence with hopes of abundance and amelioration of sufferings. Efforts of social reformists, and some religious saints which inspired Mahatma Gandhi to identify himself with their cause and the relentless struggle of Dr. Ambedkar was ultimately recognised when the Constitution abolished untouchability and several provisions were incorporated for the socioeconomic development of the scheduled castes. Social disabilities were removed and exploitation prohibited under Articles 17, 23, 25 and 46. Articles 16 (4), 320 (4) and 335 have guaranteed reservation in services and economic development. Articles 330, 332 and 334 provide reservations in the political arena. We are sorry to say that while the founding fathers of our Constitution had desired a speedy implementation of these provisions but the progress in this direction has been much too slow and the Constitutional guarantees have not been fulfilled in the right spirit. In spite of the enactment of protection of Civil Rights Act the evil of untouchability is still plaguing our society. Reports of atrocities are on the increase.

## **Rules violated with impunity**

The rules of reservation in services and educational institutions are violated with impunity. The much publicised economic developmental programmes are to be found on paper but not on the ground.

## **Pitiable condition of scheduled castes**

As per 1981 census the scheduled castes are 10.48 crores constituting 15.75% of the population. Some 84% of them live in the rural areas while the rest live in urban areas mostly in slums. The bulk of scheduled castes population are agricultural labourers mostly landless – a small percentage of them are having miniscule holdings. The rest of scheduled caste population pursue some other traditional occupations such as leather work, handicrafts, especially bamboo and cane, weaving, fishery etc. which are of low economic and social status. The report of the working group on the development of scheduled castes set up by the government in 1985 admits that they have hardly any assets and suffer from dual handicap of social disability and economic deprivations. These miserable conditions make them virtually bonded labour. According to, a National Survey about 66% of bonded labour in the country belongs to scheduled castes and government has failed to make any dent on the problem despite Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976.

The literacy level amongst the scheduled castes is only 21.38% as against the all India average of 41.3% and scheduled castes women literacy is 10.93% as against 29.43% of the national women's average. The school dropouts from 1st standard onwards have assumed alarming proportions amongst the scheduled castes due to their socio-economic backwardness.

### **This has come to adopt a time-bound programme**

The scheduled castes who have contributed so much to Indian society, economy and culture for so many centuries are receiving half-hearted attention from people in general and authorities in particular. The Bharatiya Janata Party which is committed to a democratic and egalitarian socio-economic order, stands for all round development of scheduled castes. The Party feels that the time has come to evolve a time bound programme for accelerating the process of upliftment of the scheduled castes. The BJP considers the upliftment of the SCs as an imperative for India's unity and integrity. Vast sections of society remaining underdeveloped, undernourished and under-privileged and, above all, deprived of human dignity would continue to pose a serious threat to social harmony and progress. The need to improve the lot of the Scheduled Castes should, therefore, be considered in the wider context of nation's unity and existence.

### **Social discrimination**

With the advent of Independence the caste consciousness should have died a natural death. But actually it has only grown more. The atrocities on scheduled castes particularly against their women folk and practice of untouchability in many forms, are continuing unabated. The protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 is not being enforced effectively. The number of cases registered under P.C.R. Act are low enough but what is disturbing is the large number of acquittals. Those acquittals were 69.34% in 1980, 82.54% in 1981, 89.14% in 1982 and 87.54% in 1983. So much so that the annual reports on P.C.R. Act are no longer being laid on the Table of the Parliament as required by the Act. According to the government's own admission 104 atrocities per day are taking place. We, therefore urge action on the following lines:

1. Government should identify the districts in the country which are prone to the practice of 'Untouchability' and post Collectors, S.Ps., and other district officials committed to the cause of the scheduled castes.
2. The annual report on P.C.R. Act should be regularly discussed in the Parliament and similar provision should be made for states, so that, the Act is kept under constant

review.

3. Mobile courts should be set up in sufficient number to take cognisance of untouchability cases.
4. Summary trials for minor cases should be undertaken in the states and a time limit fixed for disposal of cases under P.C.R. Act.
5. State level committees for proper implementation of P.C.R. Act are dormant. They seldom meet. They should be renewed and made active.
6. Dereliction of duty on the part of enforcing officer should be treated as an offence under P.C.R. Act.

The evil of untouchability and atrocities against scheduled castes cannot be rooted out only by means of laws. A massive campaign to rouse social consciousness by official and voluntary organisations is necessary.

### **Economic Neglect**

Notwithstanding the fact that there has been some development activity, under the successive Five Year Plans, there has not been any perceptible improvement in the living conditions of scheduled castes. The expectations of the planners that investment in agriculture and industry would trickle down to the poor have been belied. The working group on development of SCs for Seventh Plan admitted that “real producers of rural wealth live in conditions of appalling poverty, misery, perpetual indebtedness and ruthless exploitation making many of them bonded labourers”. During the successive plan periods allocations for SCs never approached even 1% of the total and actual expenditure invariably short of even this poor allocation.

### **Strategy conceived during Janata Regime not being followed**

The new strategy of Special Component Plan conceived during Janata Rule and incorporated in the Sixth Plan which envisages flow of benefits to SCs in proportion to their population both in financial and physical targets from each sector has not been faithfully followed.

As against the total outlay of Rs. 9,445.49 crores in 1982-83 Rs. 675.76 crores constituting 7.15% were allotted under S.C.P. In

1983-84 as against total outlay of Rs. 1,120.80 crores S.C.P. was allotted Rs. 754.86 crores constituting 6.79%. Even these reduced allocations have not been fully utilised as is evident from the fact that during the Sixth Plan period, a sum of Rs. 048.07 crores have lapsed under S.C.P. alone. Even the Special Central Assistance for funding income generating schemes for development of SCs, is infact not much, have been either mix-spent or left unspent.

The scheduled castes development corporations working in the states are far from satisfactory due to the general apathy of Commercial Banks.

We, therefore, demand that:

1. The back-log in S.C.P. should be made up in the next five years by doubling the allocations.
2. No sector should be allowed to claim exemption in the name of 'Indivisibility' and must be made to allocate funds under S.C.P.
3. No proposal which do not project a fair distribution of assets so generated to SCs, be given clearance.
4. Special Central Assistance formula should be revised in such a way that it is used for overall development in cluster schemes and income generating programmes and not spent on subsidies.
5. The expenditure in respect of S.C.P, and S.C.A. should be recorded under a separate head of account.
6. There should be decentralised planning with the district as unit for formulating and implementing the schemes in an integrated manner, with an officer of the rank of Collector should be made incharge.
7. The institutional credit requirement of SCs are getting a raw deal at the hands of commercial banks. A national level Financial Agency on the lines of NABARD with Rupees two thousand crores to meet their credit needs be set up in place of the proposed national SC/ST financial and Development Corporation with a meagre capital of Rs. 50 crores.
8. To reduce dependence on land-based activity, traditional professions and unsavoury jobs, government should

formulate schemes to encourage SCs to undertake Small Scale Industries and ancillary units under large scale industries. For this, government should:

- (a) Allocate liberal funds at lower rates of interest;
  - (b) Provide special facilities for imparting the required know-how;
  - (c) Provide Industrial sites and buildings on no profit no-loss basis; and
  - (d) Constitute a separate cell in the State Industries Department to plan, monitor and evaluate these enterprises.
9. Government and public sector undertakings should earmark 16 per cent of agencies, dealerships, depots licences etc. for educated scheduled castes.

### **Agriculture**

Over 76% of the scheduled castes population are depending on agriculture either as landless labour or as marginal cultivator living below the poverty line. They have been left high and dry on land reforms. Out of a total estimated surplus land of 54,26,120 acres only 44,74,852 acres of land was declared surplus; 31,24,014 acres were taken possession of and only 22,61,415 acres actually distributed. The land assigned to SCs was only 36.46% when landless scheduled castes labour force is twice that number.

We, therefore, demand that:

1. Speedy implementation of land reforms should be undertaken and all surplus land be distributed by 1990, if need be by making statute stringent.
2. These landless scheduled castes who have been in possession of lands for more than 12 years should be given ownership rights and incentives to develop their lands.
3. Endowment lands attached to places of religious worship should be leased out on long term basis, preferably to SCs.
4. The rehabilitation of bonded labour on cluster basis apart from utilising their skills in nonagricultural sectors should be undertaken. For this the funds available under schemes like IRDP, NREP and RLEGP be linked for effective rehabilitation.

5. Minimum wages for the agricultural workers, though fixed in many states are rarely received. Government should set up a machinery for effective implementation of wage laws. Apart from this social security benefits like group insurance and old age pensions may also be introduced.
6. The government should direct the banks to advance loans under a hypothication scheme to those SCs who would like to purchase land and recover the same in easy instalments.
7. Poultry, dairy, pisci-culture, piggery programmes should be taken up in a bigger way by identifying SC families in a cluster.
8. Excess forest reserves should be distributed amongst SCs living in adjoining villages.

### Education

According to 1981 census 80% of SC population remains illiterate. It is still worse amongst the SC females.

There are several districts in the country where the literacy rate of SC women is less than even 1%. This alarming situation is not being viewed with all the seriousness it deserves. The present dual education system which promotes social and economic inequalities has aggravated the situation. The doors of some private educational institutions are closed to SCs even today. The enrolment gap between SCs and others is growing. The drop-outs in classes 1 to 7 is almost 75%. In higher education also although there is 15% reservation the enrolment is far from satisfactory. The following summary in respect of various courses is quite revealing:

S. No.	Faculty	Scheduled Castes Under Graduates	Percentage Post Graduates
1	2	3	4
1.	Arts	9.85	10.54
2.	Science	4.44	2.93
3.	Commerce	4.76	5.42
4.	Education	6.24	3.42
5.	Engineering & Technology	6.16	1.92

6.	Medicine	9.98	3.69
7.	Agriculture	8.39	4.48
8.	Veterinary Science	7.02	1.37
9.	Law	7.47	3.97
10.	Others	5.93	3.56
11.	Professional	7.45	3.48
12.	Non-professional	7.30	8.17

The total number of seats in engineering and medical colleges which have gone unfilled are 6984 in medicine, 9546 in engineering at graduate level.

We, therefore, demand that:

1. A time-bound, free compulsory basic education for all as enshrined in the Constitution should be implemented.
2. The dual system of Education-one for the classes and the other for the masses, which promotes social discrimination should be abolished and a unified neighbourhood education system be introduced.
3. 6 to 8 per cent of gross national product as against the present 3% should be set apart for education for effective implementation of the above.
4. Subject to the availability of the SC students all aided educational institutions, should compulsorily Education-one admit at least 15 per cent of SC students in the opening classes.
5. Mid-day meals, supply of free uniforms, and books etc.. should be introduced both in primary and middle schools to check the heavy drop-out rate of SC students.
6. The amount of relief in scholarships and hostel charges for SC should be increased on the pattern of increase in dearness allowance to government employees.
7. The income limit for the grant of fee-concession and scholarships should be suitably enhanced in view of the erosion in rupee value. For the purpose of income limits only basic pay should be taken into consideration on the pattern of merit scholarship.
8. The network of institution for preparatory courses for SC

students seeking admissions into vocational technical and professional courses should be started on regular basis as a centrally sponsored scheme so that the reserved seats do not go unfilled.

9. The Adult Education System needs revamping and a new thrust. Unless efforts on war-footing are made to take education to door-steps of SCs, adult education will remain a mirage.
10. Provision of incentive scholarships for attendance for girls should be introduced to speed up education among SCs.
11. Government agencies and public undertakings should be made to provide training and special financial incentives to the SC candidates studying in higher and professional courses to be subsequently absorbed by them.
12. SC teachers may be appointed in adult education centres for both males and females. In dark villages SC teachers be appointed even by relaxing the qualifications.
13. There should be provision of hostels particularly for girls.

### **Reservation in services**

The underlying idea behind the policy of Reservations was to enable the scheduled castes/scheduled tribes to participate in the administration of the country. The Supreme Court recently noted “Obviously Art 16(4) of the Constitution was not designed to get more Harijans in government as scavengers and sweepers, but as officers and bosses, so that administrative power may become the common property of high and low homogenised and integrated into one country”.

The following statistics from the latest report of the commission for SC and ST and the annual report of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India speak for themselves.

<i>Sl.No.</i>	<i>Group of posts</i>	<i>% of representation as on 1.1.1983</i>	<i>% of shortfall as on 1.1.1983</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
1	A	6.71	55.27

	B	10.16	26.93
	C	14.61	2.60
	D	19.58	
	(including Sweepers)		
2.	Defence Services		% of Representation
	Army Officers (Civil)		0.44
	Air-force (Civil)		0.15
	Navy (Civil)	figures not available	
3.	Railway Services		% of Representation
	Group A	7.8	
	Group B	10.9	
	Group C	11.3	
4.	Cabinet Secretariat		% of Representation
	Class I	Nil	
	Class II	9.68	
	Class III	13.33	
	Class IV	16.95	
5.	Ministry of Home Affairs		% of Representation
	Class I	3.83	
	Class II	6.51	
	Class III	11.76	
6.	Representation of SCs in the public undertaking as group of posts.		
	A	3.93%	
	B	5.38%	
	C	18.23%	
	D	27.37%	
7.	Representation of SCs in banking and other financial institutions as on 1.1.1984 is given below:		
	Officers	5.05%	
	Clerks	13.48%	
	Sub-staff	22.92%	
8.	Representation of SCs in teaching and non-teaching staff in universities as on 1.1.1981 is given below:		
	Professors	0.42%	
	Readers	0.58%	
	Research Assistants		1.98%
	Tutors & Demonstrators		0.94%

Non-teaching	
Class I & II	5.96%
Clerical	5.40%
Subordinates	16.50%

9. Number of vacancies de-reserved during the 5 years from 1977 to 1981 in Central Services.

Grade A	Grade B	Grade C	Grade D
1161	2806	2583	266

**Unfitted reserved seated**

Not all but many may be aware that seats in government services remain reserved and unfilled year after year and in course of time they become dereserved. If this state of affairs were related only to higher posts, the plea of nonavailability of qualified personnel may perhaps have been plausible. But when one finds from successive reports of the SCs Commission, that even posts of peons and other Class IV employees shown as going abegging and subsequently are de-reserved, the total failure of government in letter and spirit to implement the constitutional mandate regarding reservations becomes patent.

The Parliamentary Committee on the welfare of SCs & STs has pointed out in its successive reports, how even in the category of sweepers the posts are not being filled on grounds of non-availability of candidates. The report of 1944, *inter alia*, says “The study group pointed out that out of 46 sweepers only 4 belonged to SC none to ST. The representative of Cochin Port Trust stated that SC and ST sweepers were not available in Cochin”.

**Reservation Policy not implemented**

The position regarding representation of SCs in state services is still worse. In many institutions like cooperatives where both Central and State Governments provide the bulk of finances, the policy of reservation is not implemented at all.

There is a continuing dishonesty, apathy and callousness in the administrative apparatus entrusted with the implementation of reservation policy.

We, therefore, demand that:

1. The Central Government should publish a White Paper giving full facts about the extent and manner in which the reservation policy is being implemented at the Centre and in the States.
2. The reasons for governments failure for non-implementation of reservation are the non-existence of legislative sanctions to back up the reservation policy. The Central and State Governments should enact laws to implement the provisions of reservations in services contained in Art. 335 of the Constitution, with a penal clause making non-implementation, as cognizable offence.
3. The role of liaison officers must be made important by making him a full time officer for this purpose.
4. The roster system is not strictly followed in many departments. Action should be taken against the defaulting departments.
5. Orders should be immediately passed to make up backlog in the reserved quotas and until the backlog is completed the practice of de-reserving should be given up.
6. The Policy of Reservation in promotion should be implemented in order to make up short-falls that have occurred in previous years.
7. Separate SC cells in all Employment Exchanges for SCs and STs should be set up.
8. It must be ensured that in those sectors where government is extending major financial help the policy of reservation is implemented.
9. SC organisation to keep watch on implementation of service safeguards must be given encouragement, recognition and they should be consulted on a continuous basis.
10. Wherever reservations in higher judicial services have not been provided, they should be provided.
11. Pre-examination coaching centres for all higher posts should be provided in every state for SC candidates.
12. Recruitment of SCs on large scale in defence forces should be undertaken. This will accelerate the process of economic development and pave the way for a large section to cross

- over the poverty line.
13. High power committees under Chief Ministers at State level and Home Minister at Central level should be set up to review implementation of reservation policy twice a year.
  14. State level special cells, wherever not already existing, to rectify the situation and punish the guilty for violation of reservations should be put under the charge of a senior I.A.S. officer.
  15. Age restriction should not be there for a SC candidate who has been on the live rolls of Employment Exchange.
  16. All application forms for recruitment, should be supplied free of cost and no examination fees should be charged from SCs.
  17. Free legal aid should be given to the aggrieved SC candidates fighting injustice and lawlessness.

### **General**

The SCs constitute the largest proportion among the people below the poverty line in the country. Therefore, anti-poverty programmes like IRDP, NREP, RLEGP etc. should provide minimum 50% share to these sections. It has been observed that the funds allocated for some of these programmes are spent on providing subsidies rather than spending on income generating and capital forming schemes. This has to be kept in view while finalising the remaining two years plan of the 7th five year plan and also while formulating the 8th five year plan.

### **Special assistance for SC artisans**

The traditional SC artisans like leather workers, weavers, fishermen and others need special attention. Though our exports of leather goods are increasing the primary leather worker continues to be neglected. Concerted efforts should be made to make him economically self-sufficient by modernising tanning process in the villages. An organisation on the lines of handlooms weavers and handicrafts men headed by a development commissioner should be set up for primary leather workers. Similar exclusive organisations for other artisans also should be taken up.

It was expected that during the 7th five year plan, through the minimum needs programme amenities and facilities like drinking water, housing, health, electricity, link roads and slum improvement would be provided to the maximum extent. But the mid-term appraisal of the 7th five year plan indicates that very little has been done. In spite of a lip service in the successive five year plans to putting an end to the practice of carrying night soil as head loads, the nauseating practice continues in most part of the country to this day.

We, therefore, demand that:

1. Drinking water sources like overhead tanks should be located near SC *bastis* and those *bastis* which do not have drinking water should be treated on par with problem villages.
2. Pending applications for housing sites should be disposed of by 1990 and construction of houses should be completed within 12 months of allotment of sites.
3. A minimum of 50% of weaker sections Housing Schemes should be reserved for SCs.
4. The practice of segregation and housing of SC colonies far from the main village should be given up and pucca houses built on the same sites where they are living now.
5. HUDCO, L.I.C. etc. should provide loans on easy terms to SC members.
6. 15% of houses and flats built by urban development authorities, housing boards etc. should be reserved for SCs.
7. Street lights in SC *bastis*, one electric point to each house of SCs should be provided free of charge.
8. Fair-price shops of essential commodities should be located as far as possible in each SC *bastis*.
9. Link roads and drainage in SC *bastis* should be provided on priority basis.
10. A time-bound programme for slum improvement should be drawn up for the slums having 50% or more of SC population.
11. On the lines of Tribal Research Institute a scheme of

Research and Training should be undertaken in each state by the Centre.

12. To put an end to the carrying of night soil as a head load, modern technique to be introduced and effective rehabilitation programme taken up.
13. SC people should not be ousted from their residential plots, small places of work where they have been living, working for one year or more without providing a suitable alternative accommodation.
14. The birthdays of Maharishi Valmiki, Guru Ravidas and Dr. Ambedkar should be declared as National Holidays.
15. The personal belongings, photographs etc. of Dr. Ambedkar should be preserved at 1, Tilak Marg, New Delhi, where he lived while drafting the Constitution of India and it should be declared a national monument.
16. The SC Welfare Department should be under the charge of Home Ministry.
17. There should be central enactment to implement the provision contained in Article 338 of the Constitution to make the institution of Commission for SC & ST effective so that the various recommendations contained in its annual reports are implemented.
18. The constitutional guarantees provided for the Scheduled castes in the Indian Constitution should be made applicable to all those who are covered by the definition of Hindu in the Hindu Succession Acts.

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# National Executive

Vijayawada

1 January, 1987

Report of SC & ST Cell



# **National Executive**

**Vijayawada**

**31 Dec., 1986 & 1 Jan., 1987**

Report of Mahila Morcha



# National Executive

Bhopal

19-21 July, 1985

## Reservation Policy

The controversy which has emerged in the country on the question of reservation has been assuming grave dimensions. The double-faced policy of the ruling Congress Party has made the problem even more complicated, while that party sitting in Delhi speaks of economic criteria in the matter of reservation. But the same party in the states determines reservations purely on social considerations and in this manner the Congress Party for its vested narrow political interests has been bent upon igniting the violence and hatred for destroying the fabric of social fraternity. The Bharatiya Janata Party strongly condemns all such elements and their actions.

The important question like reservation must be viewed with an open mind free from all prejudices of any kind. The BJP is committed to the creation of an egalitarian society free from any social inequalities and economic exploitations and it is its firm conviction that serious imbalance has arisen in the social structure on account of a number of distortions and injustice in the past. This has resulted in the deprivation of a massive section of people of their human and social dignity. It has also deprived them of their rights and opportunities of obtaining their rightful economic status.

The time has come when this sorry state of affairs and social distortions which have gone on for centuries are put an end and the socially, educationally and economically depressed, neglected and backward classes are brought at par in the entire social fabric so that their active involvement and participation may evolve in

the tasks of nation building. It is, therefore, the considered view of the BJP that the policy of giving 'special facilities' and 'special opportunities' to those who have been victims of social inequalities, caste-based discriminations and ill-treatment on the concept of high and low, be accepted.

Reservation is one of the means of giving practical shape to this policy. While the Congress has derived maximum political benefits from the reservation policy, it has deliberately kept the depressed, exploited and backward section of society, deprived of many of the benefits of this policy for the last 38 years since independence.

In 1981, the BJP in its National Council Session at Cochin had adopted a resolution demanding that the government may publish a White Paper regarding facilities to which the backward classes were entitled and their actual implementation. It was also demanded that the Central Government may enact a law for a time-bound implementation of such provisions of Constitution. It is a matter of regret that the government has tainted mysterious silence on this burning question.

The BJP supports reservations and it is the considered view of this National Executive that:

1. Reservation should be continued for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as before.
2. Reservation should also be made for other backward classes as recommended by the Mandal Commission. While giving the benefits of reservation preference be given on the basis of poverty among these very classes.
3. As poverty is an important contributory factor of backwardness, some reservation should also be provided for members of the other castes on the basis of their economic condition.
4. The implementation of reservation in services through the

'Roster and carry forward' system particularly at the stage of promotion, during the last 38 years has resulted in deep resentment and heart burning both amongst Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes and other communities. It is, therefore, imperative that the national consensus particularly on these matters be evolved.

# National Council

Indore

6-8 January, 1984

## **An approach paper on tribal problems**

The tribals have been the repositories of the forests and their produce for centuries in this country. Looking to the announcements made before the independence of India, it was thought that the problems of the tribals would be solved in accordance with the changing circumstances, but, unfortunately, this has not been done.

## **Failure to implement proper policy for tribals**

After independence, a provision was made in the Constitution for the development of the tribal people and they were provided with certain special safeguards. A separate department was set up and machinery was constituted separately to execute the schemes for the development of tribals. Later on tribal development blocks were set up. But, unfortunately, the basic problems of the tribal people still remain unresolved even after 35 years of independence due to faulty planning by the government. The tribals who have been nursing the forests and have been repositories of the forests and the forests had been the mainstay of their life for ages, are now considered by the government and the authorities concerned as exploiters and enemies of the forests. It is this perverse mentality which needs to be changed.

The main sources of livelihood for people are to grow forests, agriculture, animal husbandry, collection and sale of forest produce and to sell articles made of raw material obtained from the forests.

These tribals have got the following problems which are required to be tackled:

## **1. Problem of agricultural land**

A large number of, tribal population still depends upon agriculture. With the growing pressure due to increasing population they continued to reclaim the forest wherever available but the ownership of the land was not entered into any of the government documents and they were regarded as intruders.

### *Ownership of land*

During the Janata regime joint Inspection Committees, including forest and revenue officials, were set up in several states and they took into their hands the resettlement work, but this was subsequently discontinued due to change in the government. In contravention of this, in 1980, an ordinance was issued by the Central Government under which no forest land could be exchanged without the prior permission of the President. Therefore, the land settlement work came to a standstill completely. It is, therefore, imperative that the cases of those tribals should be settled immediately who were in possession of the forest land before the ordinance issued by the President was enforced and they should be owners of the land which was in their possession before that date.

### *Election of tribal farmers*

Ever now forest officers continue to evict the tribal farmers every year from their land and set fire to their crops. Therefore all this eviction process should be stopped immediately until they are properly settled.

There are lakhs of villages in the forests in the country today. These villages in the forests were set up at some time in order to get the services and co-operation of the tribal people in the development of forests and they were settled there with this very view. But today they have lost all their utility. It is, therefore, essential to convert all these forest villages into revenue villages.

### *Acquisition of tribal land*

Nowadays so many major industries are set up in the forest areas, irrigation projects are constructed and some of them are declared as wild life sanctuaries in the country and for that purpose the agricultural land of the tribals is acquired at a very nominal

rate. These tribal people are affected in large numbers due to acquisition of their land for various purposes. Therefore, land for land should be given the topmost priority in such cases if some villagers are uprooted from their hearths and homes, when those who acquire the land should be made to provide new settlements to rehabilitate them.

## **2. Problems arising out of change in forest policy**

Previously, the tribals were considered to be the true guardians of the forest. They used to exploit the forest produce for their own benefit. Now the government have changed its forest policy and had, initially nationalised the main forest produce, such as timber, bamboo, pasture land etc. Later on, even the small forest produce was nationalised. At that time it was argued that the nationalisation of the forest produce was essential in order to save the tribal people from exploitation by the interested middlemen. But today the government itself is fully exploiting these poor people. The tribal, who was the sole repository of the forests, has been deprived of his rights. He is working like a bonded labourer of the government and crying at his fate.

It is, therefore, imperative that the tribal people should again be associated with the forests. The active role, which the tribals were playing in the afforestation, growing forests, plantation of trees and other development work in connection with the forests should be restored to them.

### ***Unabated exploitation***

Several states have adopted the monopoly, purchasing policy of the small forest produce. This system has also degenerated into disorder and corruption due to mismanagement. In some states co-operative societies of the tribals have been constituted but this is only a change in the nomenclature and the exploitation of these people goes on unabated. Therefore, government should fix support price for each and every produce and should made arrangements for their payment immediately.

### *Need to safeguard interests of the tribals*

In the present circumstances the entire forest policy should be reviewed and a suitable policy for the development of forests be prepared in order to safeguard the interests of the tribals and to get their co-operation. There has been a continuous deterioration in the facilities provided for the disposal of forest produce after its nationalisation. Therefore, tribals should be provided timber for house building, bamboo, firewood and pastures to graze their cattle.

During the last few years the tendency to harass the tribal farmers by the officials is on the increase. Therefore, this harassment of the tribal farmers should be put to an end immediately with a firm hand.

### **3. Employment problem**

As has been stated above, unemployment problem among the tribals has assumed serious proportions due to pressure of population and changes brought about in the forest policy throughout the country. And to cap it all, the policy of nationalisation of forests and other forest policies pursued by the government have never taken care to utilise their labour and to provide them with means of livelihood and alternative jobs resulting in an explosive situation in that area. Therefore, following steps should be taken to retrieve the position:

- (a) Government should give a guarantee to all the tribal people for providing job and minimum wages throughout the year.
- (b) Wherever agricultural land is available priority should be given to allot this land to the tribal people expeditiously.
- (c) Tribal people should be encouraged to set up cottage and small industries such as animal husbandry, dairy farming poultry farming, fishery sericulture and other such industries as are based on forest produce. Suitable procedure should be made to provide training and guidance to set up these industries.
- (d) A tribal is attached to forest by his very nature and he does not feel homely while doing other kinds of work. Therefore, he should be encouraged to engage himself in afforestation, tree plantation and social forestry. Recently,

the Madhya Pradesh Cabinet has decided to lease out land to industries and other people for growing forests. Such decisions are a blow to the interests of the tribal people. Therefore, other people should be strictly forbidden from doing such kind of work.

- (e) Where industries have been set up in the tribal areas priority should be given for their pre-job training and they should be invariably appointed. It should also be ensured that this is put into practice.
- (f) Although provision has been made for reservation of posts for Scheduled Tribes in the services of states as well as of the Centre but this is not followed strictly in practice. In future, causes for this backlog may be ascertained and arrangement should be made to rectify it.
- (g) Several tribes in the country are engaged in animal husbandry on a large scale mainly to earn their livelihood. These people largely depend upon forests to graze their cattle. After the nationalisation difficulties this grazing of cattle has been prohibited without taking into account their difficulties, which has created a problem for grazing their cattle such as sheep, goats and camels.

On the one hand, government is providing loans to the tribal people to purchase sheep, goats, camels and other such domestic animals under the Integrated Rural Development Plan, and on the other they are being forbidden to graze their cattle in the forests.

During the last years this problem of grazing the cattle has become so explosive that at several places fights have broken out between the forest guards and tribals and their cattle had been killed during these incidents.

This is a problem which concerns the whole country but the government has never thought over it. Immediate steps should, therefore, be taken in this direction in order to resolve this problem after thoroughly examining it.

#### **4. Development of tribal areas**

Announcements were made several times in connection with the development of tribal areas. Agencies were set up for the development of these areas. But in spite of this, no proper

development of these tribal areas took place. There are several reasons for this. Therefore, following remedial measures may be taken:

- (a) The governments at the Centre and the states should be forced to prepare their tribal sub-plans and they should be compelled to use the amounts allotted for the development of tribal area only for that purpose. If any state government defaults, then that amount should be withdrawn from its consolidated fund and should be utilised invariably for the development in those very areas.
- (b) The implementation of tribal sub-plans should not be left to the mercy of state and district level officers but separate arrangement should be made up to the grass root level to implement them. A separate engineering service should be constituted for this very purpose.
- (c) Officers should not be appointed in the tribal areas in order to penalise them, but only competent and persons imbued with the feelings of service should be appointed there.
- (d) In the tribal areas amenities like roads, electricity, hospitals and such other essential basic amenities should be provided rapidly.

## 5. Educational problems

It is said that in every state separate schools have been established for the education of tribal people, but in practice most of them remain closed throughout the year. The teachers appointed in these schools only visit the schools once or twice a month in order to draw their salaries. There is no effective arrangement to supervise the schools.

There are no buildings for these schools. Several buildings remain in a dilapidated condition for years together. Even basic amenities like tables, chairs, and hessian in cloth are not provided in the schools.

In several states residential (Ashram) schools and boarding houses have been set up for the boys and girls of these tribals, but their number is inadequate and the level of education there is not upto the mark.

Revolutionary changes from top to bottom should, therefore, be brought about in the educational system prevailing in the tribal areas after thoughtful consideration so that an educational system which is conducive to generating employment and showing positive results in a short period be introduced.

The teachers having service and suffering as their motto should be appointed in these areas.

Effective steps should be taken to provide scholarship, text books and uniforms to the students in time and regularly.

## **6. Problems arising out of conversion**

Secularism has been provided as the main tenet in the Indian Constitution and every citizen has freedom of religion. According to this every individual is free to follow any religion or faith according to his belief.

In contravention of this, a vicious circle of forced conversion of these tribals has been going on in our country, taking advantage of their poverty and illiteracy and by providing inducements to them. Although several states have enacted laws for restricting conversion but they are not put into practice effectively. Therefore, anti-national and separatist tendencies are raising their heads in the country.

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# **National Executive**

**Bhubneswar**

**12-14 February, 1982**

## **Atrocities on Harijans**

### **Miserable failure to protect weaker sections**

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its grave concern over the horrifying incidents of inhuman and barbarous atrocities on Harijans of which Sarhupur in UP and Kestara in MP are the latest examples. In fact, after Mrs. Gandhi's second return to power the country has witnessed some of the most gruesome murders of Harijans and inhuman rapes committed on their womenfolks. Reports are arriving almost every day from different parts of our country detailing the oppression and tyranny perpetrated on the Scheduled Castes shamefully by those also who were charged with the responsibility of protecting the weaker sections. No part of our country is today free from this virulent disease and a deep social crisis is rapidly engulfing the society. The record of past two years amply demonstrates that under Mrs. Gandhi's Prime Ministership, Central and State governments, have miserably failed to protect the life and honour of the weaker sections.

### **Growing sense of insecurity**

In UP, from Banda to Behmai, one finds a series of breath-taking and hair-raising incidents of outraging the modesty of Harijan ladies, of brutal murders and wanton destruction of whatever little was found as personal belongings of these weak and poor victims. From Dehuli to Sarhupur, the tale of two villages, separated by about 30 km, is in fact the story of national shame, of inhuman

and heinous carnages. Immediately after the Sarhupur episode, a BJP delegation visited the area and was shocked to find how mercilessly the innocent and the dumb were gunned. Nobody could explain the motive behind this massacre. While at Dehuli some sort of caste friction could be attributed as the provocation but what about Sarhupur? Caste rivalry was non-existent there and people informed that neither the greed for property nor the lust for women could have been the reason for this killing. The general impression in the area was that the culprits, whosoever they were, simply wanted to eliminate these Harijans. The result is a growing sense of insecurity in the minds of the downtrodden whose faith in the law enforcing agency and the good sense of society has been shaken.

### **Burning of Harijans**

In Kestara, a small hamlet in Durg district of Madhya Pradesh, fourteen Satnami Harijans were burnt to death on 24 January 1982. The insensitivity of MP administration towards the protection of weaker sections is highlighted by the fact that when on 7 January the house of Kedar Satnami was set to fire, the policemen at Nandghat police station refused to register the case despite repeated requests. Had a proper concern been shown and had the matter been investigated promptly, precious lives of children, men and women could have been saved. But the Cong (I) run administration took a perfunctory attitude towards the safety of these people, may be because they were Harijans. It was only when the BJP leadership took up the matter that the government in Bhopal awoke from slumber and the Superintendent of Police has been asked to proceed on long leave.

### **Merciless police beating**

At Bombay, Dinesh Baria, a young Dalit of 22 years was done to death by merciless police beating in police lock-up. He expired on 10 January in police custody. His poor widowed mother working as a sweeper was never informed of the truth but was asked to sign a document so that the matter could be conveniently hushed up. A memorandum has been submitted to the Chief Minister but to no avail.

### **Deprived of land**

Five families of Scheduled Castes were harassed and forced to leave their agricultural land and homes in Morlem village of Goa. Matter was referred first to the Chief Minister and later to the Prime Minister. No relief has yet been provided to these poor victims.

### **Inhuman torture**

In Andhra Pradesh the family of a Harijan who contested on a general seat in the Town Municipal elections of Karim Nagar was subjected to inhuman torture. He sustained severe burns and his wife and children were burnt to death. At Hyderabad the peaceful procession of Harijans going to submit a memorandum to the Governor protesting against the Dehuli-Sarhupur killings was brutally lathicharged and people were arrested.

At Punnayoor of the Trichur District in Kerala atrocities on Scheduled Castes by the ruling party members were committed. Instead of providing safety to the aggrieved, the policemen colluded with the tyrants. The list can be enlarged *ad infinitum*.

### **Shri Vajpayee undertakes Padyatra**

The National Executive takes serious note of this deepening crisis and considers the issue as very vital for the maintenance of social harmony and unity of the country. It was in this spirit that the BJP President Shri Vajpayee undertook a padyatra in the Dehuli-Sarhupur sector. The mission was aimed at restoring a sense of confidence and mutual trust between different sections. The BJP would continue to take the follow up action in such areas by organising community gatherings of all sections, inviting local leaders belonging to various shades of opinion, social workers and youth activists dedicated to the cause of national integration with a view to emphasise the need of social cohesion and restoring the sagging confidence of the weaker sections.

### **Failure of administration**

The National Executive also takes note of the fact that the governments at the Centre and in the states have completely failed in discharging their constitutional obligation towards the Harijans and the Tribals. Not only that the government has failed to uplift

them economically and a vast majority of them has been made to live under subhuman conditions below poverty line, the failure is also complete in providing normal protection to their life and honour which they rightfully deserve like any other citizen of the country. The general breakdown in the law and order situation has compounded the problem and aggravated the matters. Serious attempts are therefore to be made for shaking the administration.

### **A special meeting of N.I.C. should be convened**

It is the considered opinion of the National Executive that the conscience of the country has to be aroused in this matter and a national consensus is to be evolved on this issue. The BJP, therefore, demands that a special meeting of the National Integration Council be convened immediately to consider the question of growing atrocities on the Scheduled Castes and to spell out measures for giving a thorough shake up to the administration and to create a climate so that this vital issue can be discussed in a non-partisan manner without bringing political overtones.

### **BJP Workers to Struggle for Protection of Harijan**

The BJP directs its workers to engage themselves in a relentless struggle to protect the weak, the poor, the Harijan, the Dalit and the Tribal from all kinds of oppression—economic or social, administrative or political. The BJP workers should rededicate themselves for the noble cause of rekindling a new hope and confidence in the hearts of the downtrodden and to assure them their rightful and honourable place in a modern Indian society; they should also engage themselves in some of the constructive programmes for improving the quality of life of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

### **Samata Diwas**

The Party also directs its units to observe 14 April, the birthday of Baba Saheb Ambedkar as Samata Diwas. Every year the Party workers, on this occasion, would emphasise the need to eradicate social inequality and creation of a social order in which no discrimination is made on the basis of birth or caste. □

# National Executive

Surat

2-3 June, 1982

## The plight of women

The BJP National Council expresses its deep concern over the rapidly rising rate of crimes against women primarily due to the deterioration in law and order situation, loose administration and depletion of moral and human values in the body politic.

Right from the village to the metropolis, all over the country, women find themselves unsafe. Working women out in the sun in the struggle to earn a livelihood in a situation of back-breaking price rise, would be molested. None, be it the educated or otherwise, rural or urban, the rich or the poor, can possibly escape the evil eyes of the goondas and the anti-social elements. Almost every day newspapers are full of reports involving ignominious tales of affront to or outrage against women within their house, in market place, in field or factory, hospital, or educational institution. Even police stations or government premises are not safe refuge for women seeking to protect their honour. Their cry for justice brings them nothing but despair. Incidence of gang-rape, murder and suicide is on the rise. Almost everyday somewhere in the country some unfortunate woman does suffer the insult and the outrage as did Smt. Maya Devi of Baghat, Smt. Balbinder Kaur of Ambala, Smt. Shiela Devi of Dabwali, Smt. Shanti Devi of Bombay, Smt. Rene Dak of Assam or Smt. Chhabi Rani of Orissa.

The housewife is the one who suffers most the direct malefic impact of the scarcity of consumer goods and inflation that has continued to climb in the last two years. If they seek jobs to contribute to their family budget, they face nothing but frustration.

Lakhs of educated women desirous of work are jobless. In the circumstances they fail to maintain their self-respect and mental and physical health. The Scheduled Caste and Tribal women suffer most indignities and cannot even protest for fear of being further ill-treated by the powers that be. If engaged in productive work in fields and factories along with their male counterparts they are not paid proper wages.

The international decade for women is coming to an end. Yet the social disabilities and distortions in the Indian society continue to be as strong as before, in fact stronger. For instance, in Rajasthan there yet exists the malevolent practice of *en masse* child marriages. Trafficking in women including their export to other countries is also on the rise.

Despite the Anti-Dowry Act of 1961, the malady has taken deeper roots. A materialistic outlook in social behaviour has further worsened the situation, making not only the respectful existence of women impossible, but even an honourable death is denied to them. For want of dowry, their life is made miserable, brides are often burnt, and later the case is sought to be depicted as an attempt to commit suicide.

Prostitution is getting more prevalent though in different garbs. Purdah is still observed, which is an insult to womanhood. The Purdah culture is bad and unhygienic and an impediment to women's education and employment. It is regrettable that the marginal progress that was made in the field of women's education immediately after independence has come to be retarded since 1961.

Whereas the marriage law are so stringent that a wife is not able to get divorce even under most distressing circumstances, yet men do get away with easy Talaq making use of legal loopholes. As a result, women are often left with no sufficient means of livelihood. It is, therefore, high time that Talaq laws are reviewed.

The National Council, while expressing its grave concern over the gruesome state of Indian women who form 48.33 per cent of the country's population, calls upon its branches all over the country to persistently strive to create a society that would provide full equality and social justice to every one.

The Council regrets that the state and Central Governments have singularly failed to provide adequate protection to women,

and it calls upon its women workers to inculcate in women self-confidence and bring among them a general awakening so as to make them capable of struggling against crime and injustice.

The National Council makes the following demands:

### **Education**

1. A comprehensive plan of women's education be drawn up for providing free education from primary to the University level.
2. Physical training be imparted to women to make them capable of self-protection.
3. Proper facilities be provided to women for technical education. Sufficient number of technical training centres should be opened.
4. In rural areas, women should be trained in their traditional vocations.

### **Health**

1. Mother and Child Welfare centres upto the Panchayat level need proper organisation and upkeep. The poor should be given free treatment at these centres.
2. Provision for the supply of drinking water and construction of public latrines for women be made upto the Panchayat level.

### **Economic independence**

1. Special Women Employment centres be established and they be manned by women.
2. The age limit for government service be raised from 25 to 35 years.
3. Creches be compulsorily provided at every work centre for children of working women.
4. Part time jobs be created for housewives.
5. Low interest loans be given to women for handicrafts and cottage industries. Their products be purchased by government departments.
6. Women be paid equal wage for equal work.

### **Social security**

1. The 1961 Act banning dowry need be made more stringent and effective. Persons demanding dowry should be socially boycotted.
2. In case of a woman dying in mysterious circumstances within two years of her marriage, special investigation should be invariably undertaken by the government.
3. Nari Raksha Centres and similar institutions that are presently reduced to centres of growing corruption need be purged, and their management improved so as to create a healthy atmosphere of honesty and sincerity.

### **Legal protection**

1. A high powered Commission for Women's Welfare be constituted that would look after their interests, guard against discrimination, and assist in solving their difficulties.
2. Family Courts comprising of lady judges be appointed to solve family disputes that may provide speedy justice.
3. Free legal aid be provided to women in cases arising out of problems pertaining to women as such.
4. Law against rape should be made deterrent so as to provide exemplary punishment to the culprit. A lady officer should be essentially present during policy investigation and reformatory measures. Lady police officers be appointed at every police station to entertain complaints from women.
5. Women's vigilance committees should be organised.
6. Vulgar exhibition of women in advertisements and movies should be prohibited.
7. Women need be given proper status and representation in every sphere of life so that they may be able to bring to light problems faced by them at different levels.

Women are supposed to be the repository of a society's social and moral values, and therefore their status in the society is regarded as an index of a country's progress. For all-round national development proper status and protection to women is a must. Proper realisation of the needs of the modern society in the right perspective of our moral values would best serve the national interests.

The BJP workers should doggedly strive to generate a proper

milieu to implement this Charter for Women's Progress. We pledge to serve their cause with love and care in response to their distress and difficulties, and to consciously engage ourselves in a manner that would create atmosphere conducive to achieve the ultimate high ideals of Indian womanhood.

Sarnath (Varanasi), 15 March, 1992: Bharatiya Janata Party urges the government to take initiative in re-negotiating the Dunkel proposals as these are against the interests of the nation. BJP feels that Dunkel proposals in its present form are detrimental to country's economic growth – both agriculture as well as industry.

While the objective of GATT was to develop economies, the aim of Dunkel proposals is to open up markets. Also while GATT covered only goods (excluding agricultural produce), Dunkel proposals cover, besides goods, Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMs), Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) and Services including banking and insurance and, now also agriculture. Another basic change in the new proposals is that while GATT recognised developed, developing and least developed countries (LDCs) as belonging to three different categories, calling for differential treatment, the Dunkel draft abolishes the second category and so throws a developing country like India into an unequal competition with highly developed economies.

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# National Council

Cochin

25-27 April, 1981

## The issue of reservations

The BJP expresses its sense of deep anguish over the ugly manner in which the controversy relating to Scheduled Castes and Tribes reservations has erupted during the past few months. For more than two months, parts of Gujarat were in the grips of a bitter fratricidal frenzy'. Following the withdrawal of the anti-reservation agitation by Gujarat medics, the violence has somewhat abated. But the strains continue. And the wounds caused by these recent caste clashes will take quite some time to heal.

Police repression and high-handedness in Gujarat has only added fuel to the fire raging in that state. The Gujarat government would do well to order an immediate judicial enquiry into all incidents of police firing and atrocities, so that problems relating to reservation can be considered on a separate plane, in insulation from matters relating to police excesses.

For a proper diagnosis of problems pertaining to reservation it would be in place to recall briefly the Constituent Assembly's approach to the issue of sectional reservations. Originally, the draft Constitution had envisaged reservations not only for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes but also for quite a few other sections. But after prolonged deliberations the Constituent Assembly came to the conclusion that the reservation remedy is an extraordinary remedy which should not be generally resorted to, and that it is only in the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who have suffered social deprivation and discrimination for centuries that reservations in legislatures, services and educational institution

should be provided for. So, necessary provisions in this regard were incorporated in the Constitution.

The BJP is of opinion that the rationale which made the Constituent Assembly favour reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes still holds, and so reservations must continue.

The objective of reservations was to raise these neglected sections to the level of the rest of society. If, even after the laps of three decades, there has been no appreciable change in their overall conditions, the responsibility lies squarely with the establishment, the ruling politicians no less than the bureaucrats — who have failed to implement the reservation policy earnestly.

Not many may be aware that large numbers of reserved seat in government services remains unfilled year after year, and in course of time, become dereserved. If this state of affairs were related only to higher posts, the plea of non-availability of qualified personnel may perhaps have been plausible. But when one finds from successive reports of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission, that even posts of peons and other class IV employees shown as going a-begging and subsequently are dereserved, the total failure of government to implement the constitutional mandate regarding reservations becomes patent.

One of the reasons for government's failure on this account is the non-existence of legislative sanctions to back up the reservation policy. Everything has depended on executive orders. The BE urges the initiation of suitable legislation in this regard.

In the matter of government services, there was reservation originally only at the stage of induction. Later, it was extended to promotions. The Supreme Court has upheld the decisions. We note that in this Supreme Court Case an affidavit filed by government says that in view of the carry-forward and interchangeability arrangements obtaining, "100 per cent posts may go to reserved caste candidates according to 40 point roster". This statement naturally caused serious concern among a large body of government employees and has made promotions a disruptive issue. If the government statement is correct, the position needs to be objectively reviewed.

In the field of educational institutions, the reservation policy in its implementation has varied from state to state. One of the

main factors for the recent agitation of Gujarat Medicos was the lack of uniformity. The internal feud of the ruling party only made matters worse.

The National Council of the BJP calls upon the government to publish a White Paper giving full facts about the extent and manner in which the reservation policy has been implemented at the Centre and in the states, both with regard to services as well as educational institutions.

While reiterating our commitment to reservations, the BJP demands that a high powered committee comprising of distinguished public men, social scientists etc., should be set up to examine all issues relating to implementation of reservations and to report early how best the reservation policy can be implemented so as to subserve the objectives our constitutional makers had in mind.

These recent happenings in Gujarat and in some other places have underlined the fact that caste prejudices and caste animosities still run very deep. Untouchability is still rampant. Antipathy against the weaker sections is a fact of life. These make society an explosive powder-keg which is particularly inflammable at a time of economic crisis, as the present is, when unemployment has assumed serious dimensions.

The BJP calls upon all its units to undertake a vigorous campaign against untouchability and caste prejudices. Even while exerting our full strength for strengthening social harmony, BJP units, in keeping with our commitment to the Gandhian concept of Antyodaya, must stand up resolutely for the defence of the interests of the under-privileged.

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# Elections

## 2004 - 1980



# National Executive

Hyderabad

11-12 January, 2004

## Electoral verdict – Assembly Elections

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its deeply felt gratitude towards the people of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh for giving the BJP a thumping victory in the recently concluded Assembly elections. This was not an ordinary electoral verdict. There was anger in the people's antipathy towards the Congress. At the same time, there was deep appreciation for the initiatives and achievements of the Vajpayee government at the Centre. The Congress lost in Mizoram too. Its victory by a reduced margin in Delhi made little difference to its overall debacle. The outcome of the Assembly polls has made a powerful political statement whose significance is not local but national. Expectedly, it has accelerated the pace of political developments across the country. Equally expectedly, it has crystallized the people's already dormant desire to give the BJP and allies in the NDA, under Shri Atalji's leadership, another term to govern at the Centre.

The National Executive is meeting in Hyderabad at a defining moment in India's economic and political history. There is an unprecedented peacetime resurgence in national pride, owing to India's remarkable achievements in various fields. A popular mood of hope and self-confidence, also called the 'Feel Good' factor, pervades the country today. Many things that seemed impossible have become possible in recent years. Never in the past had the international community expressed so much admiration for and hope in India. There is keen expectation and a gathering belief that India is poised for a big leap forward. The people are crediting

this rapid transformation of both the reality and the mood to the visionary leadership of Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee and the good performance of the NDA government.

The reasons for this are numerous and varied. Bucking the fate of earlier coalition governments at the Centre, many of which were wantonly destabilized by the Congress, the NDA under Shri Atalji's leadership has not only provided stable governance, but also good governance. His is already the third longest tenure as Prime Minister. Between 1985 and 1998 India had seven Prime Ministers; but since March 1998, only one – Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Remarkably, he is the only Prime Minister with a non-Congress background and who has never depended on Congress support for occupying the country's highest executive office. He and the NDA have thus demolished the Congress Party's self-serving myth that it alone can provide a stable government at the Centre and that only a person from the Nehru dynasty can provide leadership to the country. Shri Atalji has been in the saddle for six consecutive years, but his popularity and stature have continued to grow year after year.

The people have seen how Shri Atalji, ably assisted by Shri Advaniji, has steered the ship of the nation through troubled waters with courage and equanimity. He has carried every section of our diverse society with him. Contentious issues have been handled sensitively and are sought to be resolved through dialogue. He has strengthened the Centre-state relations, which suffered much tension in the authoritarian Congress era. The needs and concerns of all states have been sincerely addressed, without any discrimination on political grounds. He has sought to create a national consensus on all major issues. All this has enriched India's democratic traditions, created a culture of working together, reinforced national unity, and strengthened social cohesion. '*Pradhan Mantri ho to aisa*', is the common refrain of the people of India.

The NDA government has taken such bold measures for strengthening India's national security – in its external as well as its internal dimensions – as have no parallel since 1947. Making India a nuclear weapons power was a decision that our government took in its very infancy. It not only defied pressure from big powers, but also turned critics into friends. Deftly responding to the challenges and

opportunities in a fluid and fast-changing world, our government's conduct of foreign policy has strengthened India's voice and raised her prestige in the world.

With the steady broadening and deepening of economic reforms, India has today become the second fastest growing economy of its size in the world. Increasingly, the world is talking about India in the same breath as China, seeing our two countries as the economic powerhouses of the world of tomorrow. The NDA government's developmental initiatives and achievements outshine those of the Congress and Congress-supported governments in the previous fifty years.

India's political leadership is now being universally seen as having both the determination and the capability to deal with challenges that seemed insurmountable not long ago. For example, Jammu and Kashmir is now on the road to peace and normalcy. The level of cross-border infiltration and terrorism has come down. The Prime Minister's statesmanlike journey from Lahore to Agra to Islamabad has created all-round expectations of a breakthrough in the relations with Pakistan. Pakistan's declaration that it will not let its territory be used for terrorist activities against India is a matter of satisfaction for us. Our government has taken up another challenging problem from the Congress era – namely, the border dispute with China – for resolution through mutual dialogue.

There is a new mood of optimism in the North-East. The past five years have seen an unparalleled level of Centrally supported developmental initiatives in the region. There is also good progress in the peace process, as a result of the government's sincere efforts to win over the confidence of the people of different ethnic groups in the North-East. At the same time, insurgent and anti-national forces have been firmly dealt with. In this context, the National Executive expresses its sincere appreciation and thanks to the King of Bhutan and his government for their recent resolute action to flush out ULFA and other militants from that country.

It is thus becoming obvious to pundits and lay people alike that the BJP alone is capable of resolving the several intractable problems created by the Congress misrule. The BJP is also being seen as the only Party that has a clear vision for India's future. This is evident from the enthusiastic response, especially from young

Indians, to the Prime Minister's call to make India a developed nation by 2020.

This is the broad canvas of the NDA government's performance against which the National Executive of the BJP assesses the current political situation in the country. We have several obvious advantages: Shri Atalji's leadership; our government's excellent all-round performance; the NDA as a cohesive pan-Indian political platform; and an energizing vision and a concrete action plan for the next five years.

In contrast, when the people look for an alternative to the BJP, they find that there is not only no alternative, but the only alternative is a terrible alternative. The opposition is cleaved by disunity and distrust. It is without a common leader, without a common vision, and without a common agenda. Since they have nothing else to mobilize themselves around, the Congress and the Communists are once again playing their failed card: "Secularism is in danger". The utter falsehood and irrelevance of this issue is clear from the simple fact that it has not helped them to bring all the non-NDA parties onto a common platform. Hence, the Congress and the Communists are enacting a first-rate comedy on the national political stage by proposing to create not one but two 'secular' platforms to defeat the BJP!

The Congress governments in the states where it is in power, are a study in non-performance. They are also mired in corruption and scandals, the most shocking being the Telgi scam in Maharashtra and Karnataka. In both Kerala and Punjab, they present a picture of paralysis and open infighting. In Bihar, the Congress is a partner in a government that has become a synonym for 'Jungle Raj'.

Panicked by the prospect of suffering another defeat in the Lok Sabha elections, the Congress Party has become a sudden convert to the virtues of coalition politics. However, its moves lack credibility since everyone knows that the Congress is doing so out of compulsion. The Congress is not seen as a trustworthy party as it has a history of destabilizing 'friendly' governments.

The Congress seems to be realizing that the people of India are not willing to accept a person of foreign origin as the country's Prime Minister. This has also not found favour in a large section of India's political spectrum, including several opposition parties.

As far as the BJP is concerned, we are firmly of the view that only India-born Indian citizens should occupy the country's top positions.

Summing up, as the people survey the political choice before them, this is what they see:

- Continued stability under the NDA versus Return to instability under the Congress
- Faster economic growth versus Stagnation and regression
- Consolidation of the gains in J&K and the North-East versus Revival of old problems
- Resolution of longstanding issues with neighbours versus Drift
- Steady rise of India's prestige in the international arena versus Old indifference
- Atalji versus .....?

All the feedback that the Party has received from different parts of the country points out that the people of India think that the Vajpayee government has not got sufficient time to accomplish its mission and hence deserves another term. They are in a mood to give a renewed and larger mandate to the NDA under Shri Atalji's tried, tested and universally acclaimed leadership. Responding both to this popular mood and to the prevailing political situation in the country, the National Executive of the BJP makes a strong recommendation to the government to call for elections to the Lok Sabha as early as possible. It calls upon all the party units, all party workers, and sympathizers to gear up for the elections in right earnest.

Destiny has placed the responsibility of shaping India's future in the BJP's hands. The unstoppable rise of the BJP since the late '80s, Shri Atalji becoming the Prime Minister for the first time in 1996, the formation of the NDA government in March 1998, the people's renewed mandate to it in September 1999, and the excellent performance of this government for nearly five years – this is not an ordinary chain of events. Rather, it points to a tectonic shift in Indian politics. It shows that the people of India have rejected the Congress as their preferred party and have accepted the BJP in its place.

We are confident, that once again, together with our allies in the NDA, we shall create history. And continue to serve Mother

India with redoubled devotion and commitment.



# National Executive

Mumbai

22-24 June, 2004

## Peoples verdict in elections to the 14th Lok Sabha

*The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party, meeting for the first time since the conclusion of the elections to the 14th Lok Sabha and the formation of the Congress-led government at the Centre, discussed the current political situation in the country. It adopted the following resolution.*

Elections to the 14th Lok Sabha will be remembered for yielding two notable outcomes: one of the most fractured and indecisive mandate till date, and the emergence of the first Congress-led coalition government that marks a victory for the regressive forces in our political system and portends to push the country back into the vortex of instability and unforeseeable negative developments.

The Bharatiya Janata Party accepts with humility the people's verdict. The verdict requires that the BJP and the NDA play the role of a constructive and responsible opposition. Our party and alliance suffered an unexpected setback in the polls, contrary to the expectations and assessments of one and all, including those who are in government today. All the pre-poll election surveys, all the exit polls, and the analyses of almost all seasoned observers of the Indian political scene had forecast that the National Democratic Alliance government, under the able leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, would get a renewed mandate. However, the people decided otherwise.

The National Executive extends its sincere thanks to the electorate for their support to the party. We are especially grateful to the people of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Chhattisgarh,

Maharashtra, Gujarat, Orissa, Punjab, Uttaranchal and Arunachal Pradesh for electing BJP candidates in large numbers. We thank the people of Orissa for re-electing the BJD-BJP alliance in the Assembly elections. We also thank the people of Karnataka for making the BJP, for the first time, the largest party in the Legislative Assembly.

The National Executive places on record its deepest appreciation for the inspiring and visionary leadership provided by Shri Atalji during his tenure as India's Prime Minister for six long years. The BJP considers these six years of governance at the Centre as a proud milestone in the party's future-focussed journey.

In what will be recorded in history as a valuable contribution to the maturing of Indian democracy, Shri Atalji demonstrated that a non-Congress coalition could govern our country in a stable and successful way. Our government has left behind a proud and abiding legacy of achievements in every area of national life—security, economic growth, infrastructure development, social sector development, information technology, political reforms, governance and international relations. India is stronger, more prosperous and more self-confident nation than ever before.

The National Executive expresses its gratitude to Shri Atalji, under whose leadership we went to the polls, for the inspiration and guidance he provided to the party at all stages of the electoral battle. Both he and Shri Advaniji set personal examples for lakhs of our *karyakartas* by undertaking highly grueling responsibilities in the election campaign.

The BJP views its electoral setback seriously. It is now evident that our pre-election assessment and expectation did not in many ways conform to the realities on the ground. We were unable to see the negative trends in several major states and take corrective action in a timely manner. We were also unable, in many states, to transform the enormous goodwill and support we enjoyed into votes in our favour. The party has constituted a committee to conduct a comprehensive review of all aspects of our electoral performance and also make recommendations for a plan of action for the future. This review will be carried out with the widest possible participation of party functionaries, workers and well-wishers at all levels. By initiating a party-wide dialogue in a structured manner, we shall convert the exercise of election review into an

opportunity for thousands of our devoted and hard-working *karyakartas* to introspect, speak up and rededicate themselves to the cause of the party.

The National Executive views the formation of the Congress-led government, with outside support from the Left and other parties, as a regressive development in the life of our Republic. It is of course natural in a parliamentary democracy for any pre-poll or post-poll alliance to form the government once it is able to muster adequate numerical support. However, what is disturbing is the wanton and self-serving way in which the Congress has been misinterpreting and misprojecting the people's mandate, and has been building the edifice of the new government on this deliberate distortion. Its claim that the people have given a mandate for the Congress Party is completely ill-founded. Sheer numbers puncture this claim. Indeed, in many Congress-ruled states, it has either been routed or fared badly.

The claim of the ruling United Progressive Alliance, as stated both in its Common Minimum Programme and in the President's Address to the Joint Houses of Parliament, that the mandate is for 'secular forces' is bogus. The so-called 'secular forces', who are actually pseudo-secular and anti-secular forces, never fought the elections together on a common platform of 'secularism'. Indeed, they fought against each other. Two of the parties engaged in competitive pseudo-secularism – the Congress and the Samajwadi Party, which has pledged outside support to the UPA government – are already on a confrontation course in UP. Several constituents of the UPA, or its supporting parties, were indeed a part of the NDA or had shared power with the BJP at the state-level.

In Karnataka, the Congress and the Janata Dal(S) fought against each other in the recent Assembly elections. The Janata Dal (S) promised to set up a special court to try the cases of corruption against the Chief Minister and several ministers in the previous Congress government. The Congress lost the mandate in the elections. Nevertheless, the Congress and the JD(S) have formed an unholy coalition government in the state, which has the same ministers against whom the JD(S) had threatened to take action. This too is done in the name of 'defence of secularism'.

Congress Party's perversion of the principle of secularism is

evident most starkly in its shocking decision to induct a member of the Muslim League, a rank communal party, into the Union Council of Ministers. For the first time in independent India, a party responsible for the partition of India has been given representation in the Central Government in the name of 'secular solidarity'.

Under the compulsion of maintaining 'secular solidarity', the Congress Party has compromised the very sanctity of the Government of India by inducting several persons with well-recorded involvement in heinous crimes into the Council of Ministers. Far from contributing to the fight against the menace of criminalisation of politics, the Congress Party has blemished the Indian Republic by criminalizing governance at the Centre. The BJP, along with its allies in the NDA, has launched a campaign demanding the removal of tainted ministers. This campaign will be intensified. The BJP demands that Parliament pass an effective law for barring persons who are chargesheeted in cases of heinous crimes from contesting elections and holding offices in public life.

The Congress Party has also blemished the system of governance by creating two power centres, in which Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh plays second fiddle to the 'Super Prime Minister', Smt. Sonia Gandhi. For the first time in our country's history, we do not have an elected Prime Minister, but a selected Prime Minister bereft of real authority. The Congress Party and its allies are systematically diluting the dignity and honour of the office of the Prime Minister. A clear case of the negation of the Prime Minister's prerogative to form his own government was the so-called "MoU" signed between Dr. M. Karunanidhi, president of the DMK, and an emissary of the Congress party, on which DMK representative would get what portfolio.

The BJP wishes to alert the entire political class in this country that the belittling of the high office of the Prime Minister, and the emergence of an extra-constitutional power centre in the person of the Congress president, and the new phase of the Congress Party's craven surrender, yet again, to dynasticism are ominous developments in our democracy.

The BJP views with much concern the rise of the Communists as the third power centre in the new ruling establishment. It is now clear that, although the UPA is numerically led by the Congress

Party, it is ideologically and programmatically led from outside by the CPI(M), which also holds the veto power and the rope to the guillotine. The West Bengal Chief Minister Shri Buddhadeb Bhattacharya was not letting out any state secret when he publicly stated that “the new government will stand up when we ask it to stand up, and sit down when we ask it to sit down”. With only 63 seats, the Left parties should not nurse the delusion that they can hijack the people’s mandate.

The lack of cohesion in the new ruling establishment has become clear from Day One. The External Affairs Minister has been making offhand statements on important policy issues, reportedly without consultation with the Prime Minister or within the Cabinet Committee on Security, in ways that have embarrassed both the government and the country. The Civil Aviation Minister made a policy statement, against which a politburo member of the CPI(M) sat on dharna in front of the minister’s office. The Human Resources Development Minister made a statement on FDI in education, which was immediately condemned by the Left parties. Again, Left leaders made certain statements on the government’s economic policies, which caused a massive meltdown in the capital markets and scared away investors, forcing both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister to get involved in damage control. This is a government in which the Minister of Ocean Development makes statement on Ayodhya, and the Minister of Railways makes statements on Godhra.

The BJP voices its alarm at the deliberate omission of any mention in the CMP of either the menace of cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and in other parts of the country, or the danger of large-scale infiltration from Bangladesh. The relentless rise of anti-India jehadi forces in Bangladesh, who are actively aiding extremist elements in our North-Eastern region, is a matter of deep concern for us. In his very first pronouncement on the issue of infiltration, the new Home Minister dismissed it as a ‘human problem’. The BJP reiterates its demand for the repeal of the IMDT Act in Assam. The party condemns the UPA government’s decision to repeal POTA. It is shocking that certain pseudo-secular parties in the UPA have been defending terrorists and anti-nationals involved in the failed assassination attempt on Gujarat Chief Minister Shri

Narendra Modi, in the name of human rights. The BJP cautions that the threat of terrorism should not be downplayed, nor politicized. The National Executive resolves to launch a nationwide mass awareness campaign about the Congress-led government's soft-peddling of the issue of terrorism and infiltration. The BJP will act as the watchdog of national security.

The NDA government left behind a legacy of one of the fastest growing economies in the world. This has been grudgingly acknowledged even by some ministers in the new government. This growth momentum is today threatened by a retrograde thinking process. The BJP condemns the recent ad hoc price hike in petroleum products, especially LPG, and the steep hike in the prices of coal. These are bound to have a cascading effect on the price situation, causing the prices of essential commodities to rise across the board.

The BJP will keep a close watch on the implementation of the CMP, especially the promises made to the unemployed youth and kisans. Our MPs will forcefully put forward our party's point of view on all aspects of the government's functioning, both inside and outside Parliament. The BJP has the patience to sit in the opposition for five years. However, the new government has all the birthmarks that raise doubts about the longevity of the government. This rickety ruling establishment cannot hide its internal contradictions, compulsions and compromises.

The National Executive expresses deep concern over the daily cases of suicide of farmers in Andhra Pradesh. These expose the hollowness of the promises made by the Congress government in the state. We are equally concerned about starvation deaths of adivasis in West Bengal. After being in power for 27 years, the Communists have become so apathetic to the plight of the poor that one of its ministers had the audacity to brush aside this tragedy by stating publicly that Adivasis could survive by eating 'snakes, rats and toads'! The BJP condemns this insensitive statement.

The BJP demands that the new government immediately introduce a bill for women's reservation in Parliament and State Legislatures. We also demand that the river-linking project be started in right earnest.

The National Executive resolves to energise the party at all levels so as to meet both immediate-term and long-term challenges.

Notwithstanding the setback in Parliamentary elections, our party continues to enjoy enormous goodwill among the people of our country. As we have so often done in the past, we shall certainly overcome the present setback – and we shall come back.

Specifically, the National Executive directs the Party units at all levels to focus on five tasks:

1. Rededication to ideology and idealism.
2. Redoubled commitment to development issues, especially those concerning farmers, the rural poor, the unorganized urban poor, unemployed youth and women.
3. Energising the party by overcoming organizational shortcomings, especially in states that are facing the next round of Assembly elections.
4. Steadily expanding the party's appeal in new geographical areas and social sections, especially among the SCs, STs and backward classes.
5. Vigorously exposing the contradictions, compromises, compulsions and failures of the Congress-led government at the Centre.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

3-4 November, 1999

## **Mandate for Vajpayee's leadership**

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its heartfelt gratitude to the people of India for giving us and our allies in the National Democratic Alliance a clear mandate.

Our victory in the recent General Election is, in fact, a positive mandate for political stability. It is a vote for Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee's mature leadership. The people have endorsed the performance of his government and affirmed their faith in the NDA's common manifesto, agenda for a proud, prosperous India. The federal character of our national polity is reflected in the popular choice, which has overwhelmingly favoured the NDA, itself representative of the spirit of federalism.

The mandate of 1999 is a defining moment in India's political history. It is for the first time after 1984 that an incumbent government has been returned to power. After the 1984 General Election, four consecutive elections failed to produce a clear majority for any political party or alliance. Each of those elections resulted in a hung Lok Sabha. It is after 15 years that a pre-poll alliance, the NDA, has received an absolute majority.

## **BJP widens its appeal in different parts of the country**

For the BJP, the results of this election have been very satisfying. We have established that ours is a party that continues to grow, increasing its appeal among people across the length and breadth of India. This time, the BJP has sent its representatives to the Lok Sabha from every major state, barring Kerala. From Kanyakumari

to Kashmir and also in Andaman, our party flag flies high.

### **Regional parties are important partners**

The BJP's decision to align with non-Congress regional parties has no doubt contributed to our overall success. But it has also strengthened the federal character of our national polity. Today, regional parties are important partners in the task of governance at the national level. This will enable the Union Government to address regional aspirations more effectively and thus prepare India for the challenges of the new century.

### **Decisive rejection of Congress**

A significant outcome of this election is the decisive rejection of the Congress, lock, stock and barrel. The Congress, which has ruled India for 45 years, has been reduced to its lowest-ever parliamentary strength. If the Mandate of '99 is an expression of overwhelming faith in the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, it is also a strong rebuff to the negative politics and inexperienced leadership of the Congress.

### **BJP's positive platform**

The National Executive is proud of the fact that the BJP contested the General Election from a positive platform and sought a positive mandate. On the other hand, the Congress ran a highly negative and a 'lie-a-day' campaign, launching vicious personal attacks on our senior leaders, including the Prime Minister. However, the people were not swayed by the Congress campaign and it is a tribute to the maturity of the Indian voter that he chose the positive over the deplorably negative.

### **The Left fully exposed**

The Left parties are the other big losers in this election. The Left, so fond of moral posturing and self-righteousness, stands fully exposed before the people of India. Never one with national aspirations and always scornful of democratic processes, the Left first helped the Congress to bring down the previous Vajpayee government and then tried to bring in a Congress government through the backdoor. They failed in their dubious enterprise, but

that did not deter them from joining hands with those who have come to symbolise corruption. The Left contested the elections along with the Congress, the AIADMK and the RJD, abandoning whatever remains of the Third Front and dropping the fig leaf of ideology that it wore all these decades.

In the end, clutching at the apron strings of the Congress did not serve the Left's desired ends. The Trinamool Congress-BJP combine in West Bengal has increased its vote percentage substantially in West Bengal. The lead of the Left over the TMC-BJP combine in popular vote has been confined to a mere 10 per cent. This is a gap that could be easily wiped out in the next poll.

### **Setback for BJP in some states**

For the BJP, however, the election results in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka have come as a disappointment. We shall introspect on the reasons for our setback in these three states and learn from our mistakes.

Now that the elections are over and the government has started fulfilling the promises, we call upon all opposition parties to play a constructive role. The Prime Minister has already called for consensus on major national issues. We strongly endorse that call and hope that the opposition parties will respond positively. The need of the hour is to concentrate all energies on 'nation building'.

### **Successful record of Vajpayee government**

Notwithstanding the fact that it did not have an absolute majority, the previous Vajpayee Government chalked up major achievements. Its performance brightened up the economic situation. Its commitment to probity ensured corruption-free governance. Its bold measures strengthened India's security. In those 18 months, India emerged as a nation proud of herself and confident of her place in the comity of nations.

### **Decisive response to Pakistan's aggression**

The Government responded decisively to Pakistan's aggression in Kargil. Our brave jawans inflicted a crushing military defeat on the Pakistani army. Our government inflicted a stunning diplomatic defeat on Pakistan. Since then, Pakistan has stepped up trans-

border terrorism. Recent developments in Pakistan are a matter of concern and our government has responded in the right manner to the military takeover. We fully endorse the government's view that Pakistan must immediately stop trans-border terrorism and halt its hostile propaganda against India.

The National Executive hails the speed with which the present government has started implementing the agenda for a proud, prosperous India. Shri Vajpayee has himself set the pace for the government by articulating its priorities and urging early delivery.

### **BJP welcomes government's focus on socio-economic development**

We welcome the government's decision to focus attention on rapid socio-economic development. The government has rightly identified its priorities as speedier economic reforms consistent with the NDA's agenda, infrastructure development, generation of employment opportunities, agriculture, rural development, financial and fiscal reforms and greater foreign direct investment in high-tech and capital intensive areas. Particularly noteworthy is the government's decision to concentrate all efforts on providing primary education, drinking water, basic health, rural roads and shelter for the homeless.

### **BJP supports comprehensive electoral reforms**

The National Executive hails the government's steps to empower socially, politically, economically disadvantaged sections of our society. A separate Ministry for Tribal Affairs has already been set up for rapid development in tribal areas. We urge government that the Lokpal Bill be passed so that a frontal war can be launched against corruption in public life. Similarly, we urge early action for the creation of the new states of Uttaranchal, Jharkhand and Chattisgarh, and granting full statehood to Delhi. The Prime Minister has already announced the government's intent to introduce a comprehensive electoral reforms bill and we welcome this move.

### **NDA manifesto will be fully implemented**

The BJP dedicates itself to honour the trust vested in it by the people of India. We pledge ourselves to the highest standards of probity in public life. We promise to fulfil the promises contained

in the NDA Manifesto. We resolve to fully back the government's efforts to eradicate poverty, hunger and illiteracy from this great nation.

**Let us build a proud and prosperous India**

The National Executive resolves to ensure that the dream of a proud, prosperous India comes true in the early years of the new century that is knocking at our doors. In this noble task we seek the participation of all people, and we call upon them to seize the moment so that history records the opening years of the new century as the stepping stones to a brighter, more equitable and enlightened future. The path ahead is full of challenges. To meet these challenges successfully, government needs the full support of the people. The National Executive calls upon all party workers to mobilise public opinion and galvanise the nation so that people and government participate in the building of a new India.

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# **National Executive**

**New Delhi**

**11-12 April, 1998**

## **BJP's Election Victory-Government Formation and the Tasks Ahead**

### **Next century will be India's century**

The Bharatiya Janata Party National Executive hails the formation of government at the Centre by the BJP and its allies. The BJP wholeheartedly thanks the voters for bestowing upon us the privilege of serving the people of this great nation. The National Executive also gratefully acknowledges the contribution of the BJP's pre-election allies towards our victory as also that of our post-election allies in securing the crucial vote of confidence on the floor of the Lok Sabha.

At the 1995 Plenary Session in Mumbai, the BJP had resolved to lead India into the 21st century. That destined moment has arrived. The BJP shall now strive to ensure that the next century, now barely two years away, becomes India's century.

### **Dawn of a new era**

That this opportunity has come our way in the 50th year of Independent India makes it doubly significant. This is both the end of an era and the dawn of a new one. The Vajpayee government heralds a new chapter of optimism in India's post-Independence history, having set itself to the task of renewing hope, regenerating resources and reviving nationalist fervour so that India is fully prepared to meet the challenges of the 21st century and the new millennium.

### **A truly Non-Congress alternative has emerged**

The 1998 General Election to the 12th Lok Sabha, which the BJP contested with Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee as its prime ministerial candidate, was a watershed in Indian electoral history. For the first time, a truly non-Congress national alternative to the party that has ruled India for 45 of its last 50 years, has emerged. The BJP has added to its parliamentary strength and popular vote share. It has expanded its social and geographical base.

### **A Positive mandate for BJP**

The Mandate of 1998 is a positive mandate for 'stable government' and 'able leadership' which the BJP and its allies are in a position to provide. It is a vote for efficient governance and clean governance. It is a verdict that vindicates our stand on national issues and gives us the responsibility of setting right the grievous wrongs of the past. The people aspired to see Shri Vajpayee as the nation's Prime Minister and through their verdict they have fulfilled this aspiration. Shri Vajpayee's universal appeal as the tallest national leader in recent times played a significant role in the Mandate of 1998.

On the other hand, the Congress has suffered further erosion in its popular vote share which has hit an all-time low, while barely managing to hold on to its 1996 tally. The party's pathetic attempt to play the 'dynasty' card to halt the erosion of its support base has foundered.

The UF's electoral plank of anti-BJPism has collapsed. The barricades that the UF erected to isolate us have come crashing down in this election. We have defeated the 'stop BJP' campaign of the pseudo-secularists.

### **BJP's acceptability is rapidly increasing**

The BJP today has more friends and political allies than any other party, indicating our ever-increasing acceptability as also support for our vision of a resurgent India, free from *bhay* (insecurity), *bhookh* (hunger) and *bhrashtachar* (corruption). Ours is a government that represents the popular aspirations of the entire country – from the north to the south, the east to the west. Those who sought to isolate us stand isolated and even deserted.

While in 1996, the pseudo-secularists were successful in ganging up against us and preventing the 13-day Vajpayee Government from securing a vote of confidence, this time they were in no position to indulge in subverting the Mandate of 1998. This is primarily because, along with our pre-election allies, we were able to secure a tally significantly higher than that of 1996 and only a trifle short of a clear majority.

### **The Left fails to form another front against BJP**

The Left did try to once again hijack the mandate in favour of the BJP and its allies. But it failed miserably in its effort to cobble together yet another UF-Congress compact. Indeed, for all its straining, all that the Left has achieved is the break-up of a truncated UF.

### **Gratitude for Advaniji's true leadership**

The National Executive expresses its profound gratitude to the party President, Shri LK Advani, for leading the BJP to victory. His stewardship of the party through the troubled waters of Indian politics is a shining example of true leadership. His tireless efforts to spread the party's message across the length and breadth of the country have contributed enormously to the phenomenal expansion of the BJP's social and geographical base.

### **National agenda based on Consensus**

The BJP-led government has adopted a National Agenda for governance that seeks to close the gap between people's aspirations and government's performance. The Agenda, a proactive and pro-people document, also emphasises on the need for cooperation and consensus on all major national issues. The National Executive hails the new government's commitment to securing broad national consensus on all contentious issues as that is the only way governance can be effective in ushering in social, political and economic changes and in implementing them.

The National Executive acknowledges that the tasks ahead for the new government and the party are by no means easy. The misgovernance of the last 50 years and its resultant ills, the accumulated problems of the past, cannot be wished away overnight.

The immediate task of the government is to put on course

India's national economy that has badly floundered over the last many years. There are other areas, for instance agriculture, physical infrastructure, social sector and internal security, in crying need of government's urgent attention.

### **Party to play pivotal role to strengthen government's hands**

The National Executive expresses full confidence in the government's ability to attend to the tasks ahead. The National Executive resolves to help the government in every manner in its noble mission. The party will have a pivotal role to play in the days ahead to strengthen the government's hands. And we shall succeed in this task.

### **Party workers take a pledge**

On the occasion of the BJP's 18th anniversary on 6 April, party workers across the nation took a pledge to cooperate with the government in achieving the noble objective of bringing about a change in the social order; of not doing anything that could bring a bad name to the Government; of devoting themselves to freeing India from the scourge of *bhay*, *bhookh* and *bhrashtachar*.

The National Executive solemnly reiterates this three-fold resolve and rededicates the party to the task of working shoulder-to-shoulder with the government for the creation of a new India. It is our resolve to fulfil the dreams of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay who would have been proud of this day. We also owe it to the thousands of party workers who dedicated their lives to the cause – many of whom made the supreme sacrifice – in the hope that India would one day get a dispensation it deserves, that this government is able to accomplish the goals it has set for itself.

Let the coming years see the India of their dreams emerge from the morass of the past.

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# National Executive

Bhopal

21-23 April, 1996

## Emergence of BJP as the premier Party

The 1996 General Election is a watershed in India's contemporary political history. It is a major turning point in Indian politics. The most significant aspect of this verdict is the removal of Indian National Congress from the centre stage of national politics and the Emergence of the BJP as the premier party. The party which has ruled India for forty five of the forty nine years since Independence is now the third force in Parliament. Henceforth, politics will be bifurcated into camps either friendly or hostile to the BJP. The BJP thanks the people of India for their enthusiastic support.

## Mandate for Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee

The 1996 Mandate was obviously against the Congress (I). Its strength in Parliament has been halved. On the personal level it was a mandate for Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, and against the leadership of Shri PV Narasimha Rao. While Shri Vajpayee personifies probity in public life, Shri Rao symbolises deviousness in politics.

Perpetuation of personal power even at the cost of decimation of his own party was Shri Rao's prime objective. Nepotism and corruption were the hallmarks of his governance. The electorate has given a resounding defeat to this politics. In fact, Shri Rao has only accelerated the process of disintegration of the Congress Party. Bereft of power and devoid of political confidence, the Congress today is an utterly demoralized party.

### **United Front is fragile and opportunistic**

1996 election also marks the formation of a thirteen party coalition, which notwithstanding such a plethora of parties is yet a minority government. The United Front is actually a disunited front, and inherently fragile. It represents political opportunism, sordid power lust and extreme ideological contradictions. Its farcical Common Minimum Programme is a mere camouflage. It is a one point programme to keep the BJP out of power.

The front is a curious political conglomerate. The largest political segment in the Front is the Janata Dal, and this has less than 8% of the seats in the Lok Sabha confined mainly to two states, Karnataka and Bihar. Its political strength depends upon its ability to create tensions in society and thus generate a constituency for the party. Along with its new-found ally in UP the Samajwadi Party, the two represent politics of casteism, gangsterism and opportunism.

Some Congressmen hostile to Shri PV Narasimha Rao have taken temporary refuge in the United Front. They are making a common cause with their traditional political opponents. Groups like the Tamil Manila Congress contested the election on an anti-Congress, anti-Rao platform. Within days of the electoral verdict they betrayed their constituents by making a common cause with the Congress. The moment the leadership issue in the Congress (I) is resolved, the Nation may witness the collapse of the United Front with these Congressmen returning home.

### **Left Parties join Anti-BJP Jingbang**

The Left Parties after the ideological collapse of Communism are in search of some new identity. However, in the name of anti-BJPism they have made peace with Congress' corruption and have teamed up with those who represent criminalisation and casteism. Marxist Economy and Mr. Chidambaram's commitment to a free market and indiscriminate globalisation can only produce an impossible cocktail.

### **Phenomenal growth of BJP**

Amidst this ideological collapse and moral decay, the BJP stands out today as the only stable pole of Indian politics. The BJP did not get a majority. But it certainly received from the people a

larger mandate to govern than any other party. It emerged as the largest single party in the eleventh Lok Sabha. The groundswell support and desire for a BJP government was evident when the Vajpayee government had to resign. The phenomenal growth of the BJP in the last one decade is attributable to the ideological debate launched by the BJP on the real content of Indian secularism. The cultural nationalism propagated by us has struck a positive cord with the Indian people. The BJP is committed to the construction of the Ram Temple at Ayodhya. It cannot jeopardise India's security by permitting an unchecked infiltration of Bangladeshis into India. The BJP has always demanded the enactment of Uniform Civil Code based on the Constitutional principles of gender equality and the right to life with dignity. We have always stood for the repeal of Article 370 and a ban on cow-slaughter. The BJP has always campaigned for establishment of the Human Rights Commission. The blind Anti-BJPism of our opponents is due to our nationalistic commitments. The massive support to the BJP is an evidence of an increased acceptability of our ideology.

### **Congress support to UF boosts BJP vote**

The Congress (I) support to the United Front government has resulted in a noticeable increase in the BJP vote. The results of the three Lok Sabha constituencies which went to the polls after the Vajpayee government's Vote of Confidence on 27-28 May, 1996 are conspicuous indices of this. We scored a landslide victory in Udhampur, evidently due to a vindication of our ideology and an electoral negation of the Congress (I)'s support to the United Front. Similarly, in Nalgonda in Andhra Pradesh and Belgaum in Karnataka Congress (I) was pushed to the third place. The Congress support to the Mulayam government in UP in late 1990 undermined its base significantly. This phenomenon will now be repeated at the national level.

### **UF will soon collapse**

The United Front is the creation of ideological compromises and political opportunism. It will collapse sooner than expected. The civil strife in the Karnataka unit of the Janata Dal has reached a war level. Its government is dependent on Mr. Narasimha Rao's

support for survival. It is getting engaged in the exercise of covering up investigations against Rao.

The St. Kitts investigation still remains in cold storage.

The government had the audacity to even challenge the Delhi High Court's direction to register an FIR against the former Prime Minister in the case relating to the JMM MPs being paid during the vote of the 1993 'No Confidence'.

### **Urea Scam: A downright dacoity**

The Urea Scam has unparalleled dimensions. This nation has witnessed in the past kickbacks being received by those in government in various deals. However, the Urea Scam represents a downright dacoity of the public exchequer wherein the money has been looted from the public funds with no purchases received. The pathetic defence by Prime Minister Deve Gowda of some 'able son of an able father' involved in the deal during his speech in the Parliament on the Vote of Confidence is a significant indication of government's pussyfooting in this investigation also.

### **UF government – a Congress proxy**

The electorate rejected the Congress and its leadership. The Congress has however succeeded in installing an unstable, fragile and puppet government which will seek to cover up its crimes. The United Front government is a Congress proxy to whitewash its sins of corruption. Having sought a mandate on the issue of corruption, the United Front partners have now done a volte face.

### **Regional parties in a Dilemma**

The regional parties which are presently with the United Front are a product of struggle against the Congress misrule. These regional parties secured an electoral mandate by defeating the Congress Party. They represent a rejection of the Congress politics in their respective states. The BJP is convinced that these regional parties will find the Congress (I) company at the centre politically very costly. The political paradox of support at the Centre and Opposition in the states cannot last long.

**BJP has a special responsibility**

In this situation, the BJP has a special responsibility. The mandate for the BJP to rule was also a mandate against the Congress. Today the mandate stands hijacked. The people have been betrayed. The Deve Gowda government, remote controlled by the Congress Party, has no relevance to the electoral verdict of 1996. A mere arithmetical aggregation does not constitute a political mandate. This setup is thus a government sans mandate. Today the entire opposition space belongs to the BJP. The BJP will strongly oppose this national betrayal by the United Front.

Let those responsible for hijacking the people's mandate beware that an injured public opinion strikes back with a vengeance. The BJP commits itself to struggle against those responsible for the hijacking. The BJP will sharpen the on going ideological debate on *Swaraj, Suchita, Swadeshi, Samrasta* and *Suraksha* to secure a more decisive mandate.

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# National Executive

Panaji

2 -4 April, 1995

## Results of the State Election held in March

### BJP has emerged as a real national alternative

The political map of India, hit by electoral earthquake after another since December last when the first round of state elections was held, has once again been redrawn, after the results of the second round held in March. The biggest loser in what amounts to a mini-general elections is the Congress Party which has been drubbed out of power in as many as four out of six major states which have gone to poll since December, *viz.* Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat. It has met with disaster in Bihar which it lost five years ago and has managed to wrest only one state from the opposition, namely Orissa. The states now ruled by the Congress account for barely a quarter of the population, quite a comedown for a party that once bestrode the nation like a colossus.

The BJP has now emerged as a real national alternative with powerful political presence in every nook and corner of the nation. Today, in nine states, that together account for 327 of 542 seats in Lok Sabha, BJP is either in power or is the main opposition party. With gradual erosion of the Congress from the political mainstream, the BJP is now poised for a big leap in the coming Lok Sabha election.

### Enhanced presence in Karnataka and Goa

In December last, the BJP registered impressive gains in Karnataka where it made a quantum jump from 4 to 40, to emerge as the main opposition relegating the ruling Congress to poor

third position. In Goa it made more than a niche for itself when the BJP-MGP-Shiv Sena alliance nearly captured power, though it was the first time the party had opened its account with four solid seats including the prestigious seat of Panaji, Goa's political capital and Margao, the commercial capital of the state.

### **Maharashtra and Gujarat wrested from Congress**

The victories in the south have now been crowned with even bigger triumphs in the west where it has dug its heels in the industrial heartland of the nation. The party has wrested Maharashtra and Gujarat from the ruling Congress Party, the former in alliance with Shiv Sena and the latter on its own, where it has won a smashing 2/3rd majority, increasing its strength from 67 to 121 seats out of a total of 182. In both the states, traditionally held by the ruling party all these years, the Congress has seen its strength dwindle from 141 to 80 seats in Maharashtra and from 103 to 45 seats in Gujarat. In Orissa the BJP has increased its strength three fold capturing Cuttack, the heart of the state and marched ahead of the two communist parties allied to Janata Dal. In Bihar the party acquired for the first time the status of a recognised opposition group in the Assembly, pushing the Congress, which used to be main opposition, to the third place. The Congress suffered a steep decline in its strength from 72 in the last assembly to 27 only.

The voting patterns speak for themselves. In Maharashtra the BJP-Shiv Sena alliance won more seats than the Congress in five out of six regions. In Bombay, the state's as well as the country's commercial and financial capital, the alliance won 30 out of 34 seats, leaving the former ruling party with just one seat in Colaba. The Congress suffered total rout in Bombay and Konkan and could not win even a quarter of the total seats in Vidarbha and Marathwada. Even in western Maharashtra, the ruling party's sugar bastion, the alliance wrested 15 out of 75 seats, 9 more than in 1990.

In Gujarat, the Congress debacle was complete. In south Gujarat, it could manage only 4 out of 29 seats or less than 15% and in north and the central Gujrat only 24 out of 95 seats, or just about a quarter. Even in Kutch and Saurashtra where it tried to put up some resistance, it sneaked through with less than one third of the seats.

### **BJP now a genuinely Pan-Indian Party**

The BJP has acquired the contour and character of a genuinely pan-Indian party in geographical, social and economic terms, with a sweep that not only raises it above all other opposition parties but also brings it at par for a direct race for influence and power with the once mighty Indian National Congress. It is significant to note that BJP has now spread out not only to urban and rural areas but within that to all sections of the society. In Gujarat BJP won 10 out of a total of 13 ST seats and 15 out of 26 ST seats. Similarly in Maharashtra the party was able to win 8 out of 9 allotted SC seats and 5 out of 8 allotted ST seats. It was also for the first time that in these two states the minorities came out openly in support of the BJP candidates on a substantial scale. In Orissa, out of 9 seats which were won by the BJP 3 were SC and 2 ST seats.

The BJP focussed its campaign on three key issues corruption, growing criminalisation of politics and vote bank politics.

Our emphasis on *Hindutva* and *Swadeshi* also played its part in the consolidation of grassroot support of the party. The popular revulsion in Maharashtra against the manner in which politics has been criminalised was a big factor in the rejection of the ruling party in the state. In Gujarat apart from the politics of criminalisation the people rejected the politics of defection and opportunism indulged in by the Congress and the Janata Dal which had to pay the price of total elimination from the state's political arena. In Andhra Pradesh, it was the growing corruption at the high level that brought about the downfall of the Congress in the Prime Minister's home state. And in Karnataka, the disgusted voters revolted not only against blatant vote bank politics and rampant corruption which have been the ruling party's stock-in-trade for several years but also against dubious economic policies. In Bihar, the caste factor, unfortunately overshadowed everything else and has provided the ruling Janata Dal in the state with a temporary respite.

### **A new mould for Indian Polity**

The electoral earthquake has smashed the mould in which Indian polity had been set for nearly half a century since independence. The nation is now heading for a new mould, a new

leadership, that can take the people of India into the 21st century now beckoning us. The BJP acknowledges humility, tinged with a little pride, the over-whelming support of the nation's teeming millions in bringing it to what is undoubtedly a cross-roads in the nation's history and renews its pledge of total commitment to national resurgence and progress in the momentous days ahead.

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# **National Executive**

**Panaji**

**2-4 April, 1995**

## **The proposed Assembly Elections in Jammu and Kashmir Grave Situation in Jammu and Kashmir**

The Interservices Intelligence (ISI) saboteurs and Kashmiri fundamentalists, terrorists and separatists established their stranglehold on the valley and Doda district of Jammu region and are making concerted attempts to extend their tentacles to other parts of the state. The administration has lost grip over affairs of the state. Militants and separatists have infiltrated into almost all the vital departments, gravely undermining the efficacy of the state administration. Militants have the advantage of choosing the time, target and venue of their attack. They have thus become a serious menace for the country's unity and integrity. The army and paramilitary forces who are shedding blood in defence of national interests in the state are under fire. They have become targets of attack not only from the militants but also from the so-called secularists and the champions of human rights.

## **Terrorism is the Order of the Day**

In short, the situation is very grave. Most institutions have been taken over by the militants or have ceased to function. The administration has virtually collapsed. Development funds go openly to the militants with the active connivance of anti-national officials. Terrorism, loot, plunder, destruction and death are the order of the day. Over three lakh Kashmiris have been forced to flee the valley and become refugees in their own land.

### **Absence of prerequisites for holding free elections**

Under these circumstances, it is amazing that the centre should think of holding election in the state, instead of first subduing the forces of subversion which hold the valley in their deadly grip. Apart from that, there is an absence of elementary prerequisite for a free and fair poll. The list of voters has not been revised for over 15 years. The work of the Delimitation Commission is still incomplete. While the dead continue to be in the voters' list, a large number of young men and women of 18 years and above have still not been enfranchised. There is no progress in regard to the issue of identity cards which is a must to prevent infiltration from outside the state. And although Scheduled Tribes like Gujjars, Bakerwals and Gaddies have been recognised after a long struggle by BJP, they have yet to be given reservation in the assembly seats.

### **No election machinery**

The election machinery is in total disrepair. There is no election staff worth the name and, in the absence of law and order, the government's capacity to hold elections is highly suspect. The government plays hot and cold on its intention to hold elections which not only sends wrong signals to the militants, but has also undermined its own credibility in the matter.

### **Election will be a farce**

Elections are the very heartbeat of democracy but there is a time and place for everything and it is the Bharatiya Janata Party's considered view that this is certainly not the time for holding elections in Kashmir. The government will be only playing into the hands of the terrorists and fundamentalists who have no love lost for democracy and who are doing everything possible to thwart the process of normalisation in the state. Under the prevailing circumstances, elections will be worse than a farce; they will be a cruel joke on the suffering people of Kashmir by desperate and unthinking government which is itself responsible for the terrible state of affairs in the state.

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# National Executive

Bombay

17-18 December, 1994

## Assembly Election Results-1994

### Continuing decimation of Congress Party

In an unprecedented rash of disgust and anger – disgust at rampant corruption in all walks of life and proved complicity of the Congress leadership in its cover-up and anger at its betrayal on all fronts – the voters have knocked off three state governments out of the four that the Congress Party had. They have virtually wiped out the party south of the Vindhya after decimating it in the Gangetic bed three years ago. The once-mighty Congress has suffered total rout in what has been traditionally its bastion and has been reduced to a shadow of its former self, with no base either in the north or in the south. It is only a matter of time before it is also uprooted from the rest of the country.

The marginalisation of the ruling party in the south, especially in the Prime Minister's own state where it could manage less than 10 per cent of the total seats in the assembly, is a telling commentary on the debacle the party has suffered under the leadership of PV Narsimha Rao who was the sole campaigner of his party and had made the elections in his home state an issue of personal prestige. The plight of the Congress is so pathetic, that it cannot even lay claim to leadership of the opposition in the two assemblies where it was in power before the poll.

### BJP's triumphant entry into the South

As against this, the Bharatiya Janata Party has made a triumphant entry into the south and registered a quantum leap in

its strength compared to its performance in the 1989 elections. In Karnataka, the BJP has increased its strength ten-fold from four to 40 members in the new assembly, where it will be the main opposition party. Its share of votes has increased manifold. In the process, the Congress in Karnataka has been relegated to the third place.

### **BJP opens its account in Goa**

In Goa the BJP has opened its account with four seats in the 40 member assembly and a tally of nine per cent of total votes, representing a 20-fold leap in votes. It has captured Panaji and Madgoa, the state's political and commercial capitals, respectively, and increased its presence substantially in other urban and rural areas.

### **Andhra Pradesh and Sikkim**

In Andhra Pradesh, inspite of the TDP sweep, we have stood our ground while the Congress has lost miserably. In Sikkim, the BJP has successfully registered its organisational presence and is sure to build on the strength gathered.

### **Institutionalisation of corruption**

The most important issue which influenced the recent elections was the rampant corruption of the Congress governments at the Centre and in the states and the Prime Minister's brazen attempt to cover-up corruption. The late Smt. Indira Gandhi corrupted institutions. The late Shri Rajiv Gandhi encouraged corruption through shameless cover-ups. Shri PV Narsimha Rao has, by his policy of drift and immoral conduct, institutionalised corruption and is seeking to convert it into a way of life.

The BJP has consistently highlighted the issue of corruption ever since the Bofors scandal. It had prepared and presented to the people a chargesheet against the Narasimha Rao government at the national executive meeting in Patna in September. Since last year's Bangalore session, it has been emphasizing that the present government is one of the most corrupt ever, with a memorable record of one mega-scam per year. The new government launched its scam-tainted career within a few months of Shri Rao taking over with the stock market scam, in which as much as Rs. 10,000

crore was looted by men close to the party and the government, and in which the Prime Minister's son is also involved. To this day, the government continues to systematically block all attempts to punish the guilty. From all the facts which have become available now, the Prime Minister appears to be directly responsible for the sugar scam also. The sale of shares of public sector units was also marked by a similar scandal resulting in a loss to the exchequer of over Rs. 5000 crore.

While the people were reeling under the impact of sky rocketting prices and a stagnating economy, the Prime Minister chose to project his so called economic liberalisation programme as the centre-piece of his election campaign. The people, by rejecting the Congress Party have also at the same time rejected the economic programme of the government as structured now. In their mind, corruption and economic reforms have become closely inter-related.

### **Minority communalism: A new challenge to nationalism**

The blatant bid of the Congress, Janata Dal and the Telugu Desam Party to whip up minority communalism during their election campaign poses a new challenge to Indian nationalism. These pseudo-secularist parties, in pursuit of competitive minoritism, are once again leading the minorities up the garden path. Thus while the Janata Dal makes the fantastic promise of re-building the Babri Masjid at the Janmasthan site, the Congress government at the Centre goes to the extent of apologising to the Muslim community for the Central Intelligence Bureau's raid on Nadwa College hostel in Lucknow. The other pseudo-secularist parties maintain a criminal silence on such an important issue of national security. The ISI espionage network especially in ISRO has opened the eyes of the electorate and the people of India are not going to forgive these pseudo-secularists. In their craze for power these pseudo-secular parties are vying with each other in promising the sky to the minority vote-bank, so much so that this abject appeasement pursued by them leads one to the irresistible conclusion that for their electoral success they have come to look upon this minority vote-bank as the deciding factor.

## **BJP condemns vote-bank politics**

The national executive of the BJP strongly condemns this shameless pursue of vote-bank politics and competitive minoritism of these parties. The national executive reiterates that BJP stands for justice for all and appeasement of none and calls upon the Muslim community not to be misled by the false and unrealistic slogans of these pseudo-secularists.

## **BJP's success in Karnataka**

While the Janata Dal in Karnataka, and the Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh have benefited largely from the anti-establishment mood of the electorate, the BJP's success in Karnataka can be largely ascribed to positive support for its ideology and appreciation of the hard work put in by its cadres among the farmers and the weaker sections at the grass roots level.

The BJP's performance in Karnataka is significant in many ways. It has won 1 of the 2 seats reserved in the state for the Scheduled Tribes. Out of 40 seats won by it, 27 are in the rural areas. 4 out of the 40 winners belong to the Scheduled Castes and 7 to the Backward Classes. The party has swept the Hubli-Dharwar area by winning all the 3 seats thus securing a dear popular mandate for its stand on Flag-hoisting at Kittoor Ram Chennama Maidan.

## **BJP – the only alternative to a dying Congress**

The unseemly scenes which were witnessed at the swearing-in of the Janata Dal Chief Minister in Karnataka, amply proves the fragile nature of the truce among the Janata Dal leaders in that state. The Janata Dal will also face the anti-establishment mood of the people of Bihar and Orissa in the coming Assembly elections. The Telugu Desam Party is already in deep trouble as a result of its populist and unrealistic electoral promises. Apart from their individual problems, no conglomeration of these parties in any form or shape is going to convince the people of India of their stability. The BJP is the only alternative to a dying Congress. The BJP is fully conscious of the historic responsibility which has been cast upon it by the collapse of the Congress. As the only other truly national party, the BJP is fully prepared to shoulder this responsibility in the coming Assembly elections and in the Lok Sabha elections

which will follow.

The next task before the voters is to throw out the self-seeking and corrupt Congress governments in Maharashtra and Gujarat, and dislodge the equally corrupt, incompetent and divisive Janata Dal government in Bihar and Orissa. It is to this task that the BJP is all set to address itself at this critical juncture in the history of Bharatmata.

### **BJP demands Rao government's resignation**

The humiliating defeat of the Congress Party at the hustings is a massive vote of no-confidence in the Prime Minister personally and his government's policies generally. The Rao government has clearly lost its mandate to govern and is no more than a caretaker government now. The nation is not safe in the hands of such a government. The national executive of the BJP demands, therefore, that the Rao government should resign forthwith and people called upon to elect a new government in its place at the earliest in larger national interest.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

18-19 December, 1993

## Resolution on States Assembly Elections, November, 1993 Strength and Weaknesses of the Party

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party undertook a detailed analysis of the recently concluded elections to the State Assemblies. The Executive went into the strengths and weaknesses of the party organisation as shown by these elections.

The National Executive noted the following features of the election results:

1. The BJP polled 36.14% of the total votes in these states and emerged as the single largest party. It's percentage of votes in the state assembly elections was 10% more than that of the Congress Party and 22% more than the JD. These elections have firmly established that the BJP is the principal pole of Indian politics.
2. The BJP has won 40.18% of the total seats in the Assembly elections, much higher than the other parties. In all these five states put together BJP wins the largest number of seats. BJP got 448 seats, the Congress 348 and the JD a mere 42. It is significant that, of the 9.84 crore votes polled, BJP secured as many as 3.57 crores. This is one crore votes more than what Congress has secured (2.59 crores) and four times what the JD has secured ( 89 lakhs)  
The party secured second place with UP and 176 seats in Madhya Pradesh. It is also at the Congress lost deposits in more than 200 constituencies in UP. alone.
3. In Uttar Pradesh the party increased its poll percentage

and emerged as the largest single party. However, the decimation of the Congress Party and the Janata Dal in UP helped the combination of SP and BSP to win a large number of seats despite their 6% less vote than the BJP. The increase in vote percentage of the BJP is an endorsement of the BJP ideology. However, the vote increase position is not reflected in the number of seats.

4. The party suffered a set-back in MP and a serious set-back in HP. The decline in vote percentage was 0.2% in MP and 6% in HP. In comparison to the 1990 Assembly elections the party suffered seriously in terms of seats won. The BJP state governments in HP and MP had undertaken several developmental programmes and taken some hard administrative decision to improve the finances of the state. But these UP+MP intentioned decisions, taken in consonance with good govenance, proved bad politics. On account of their tenure being cut short, the state governments and the cadres could not explain the long term advantages of some of these policies.

### **Our Confidence leads to poor resulting**

5. Inspite of the best efforts by the party to influence the voters on the burning national issues, the local issues dominated the mind of the voters. Our ever-confidence in UP and MP also contributed to the results.

Out of the five states the party has enlarged its support base in three states, namely UP, Rajasthan and Delhi.

If one analyses the results it is clear that the set-back to the party and not a set-back to our ideology.

### **Enlargement of Party's popular base**

The substantial enlargement of the party popular base is proof that the party's ideology of cultural nationalism continues to gather more and more adherents. The fact that in UP where the impact of Ayodhya movement was directly felt, the party has not only increased its poll percentage but has secured 40 lakh votes more than the SP-BSP combine which is presently ruling the state, reinforces this point. The resounding victory of the BJP in the

nation's capital further highlights the same point.

### **BJP's Nation First**

BJP is a party with a difference. For us, nation comes first. Power is not the be-all and end-all for the party. The party is an instrument in the task of overall social change. BJP has viewed Rama Janmabhoomi issue not in religious perspective but from a national angle; the issue closely relates to national identity and national honour. The party's onward journey from 'Ram mandir' to 'Ram Rajya' is not only in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people but also a reflection of the political philosophy of the BJP.

The Executive is of the opinion that the nation today faces a serious challenge. A non-performing government at the Centre and a casteist and communal combination capturing power in UP, as frightening situation in Jammu and Kashmir, growing militancy and terrorism in some other parts of the country, political persecution and arrest of national leaders of the party, and total surrender of our government to the Dunkel Scheme are only some of the more serious challenges of the day.

The Executive calls upon the party workers to exert spiritedly and unitedly to expand the social base of the party and by championing the just cases of different sections, giving the political balance in favour of the party, to achieve its objective of decisive national mandate.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

18-19 December, 1993

## General Secretaries' Report On State Assembly Elections, 1993

Last month elections were held to six State Assemblies – UP, MP, HP, Rajasthan, Delhi and Mizoram. These elections have shown that BJP is, by far, the biggest single party. It is the one solid pole of the Indian polity. Congress, the runner-up, is behind us more than one hundred seats and one crore votes. This is an achievement of which one may be proud.

However, we had expected to do even better. We have formed government in Delhi and Rajasthan. In UP though our vote went up by couple of percentage points over the 1991 performance when we formed a government there, we emerged the first party but we could not form the government. In MP our vote went down by less than 0.25 percentage over the 1990 figures when we formed the government with a more than two-thirds majority, but our Assembly strength, was almost halved. In Himachal Pradesh we lost both in terms of popular support and Assembly seats. In Mizoram we contested elections for the first time. Although we did not win any seat, our vote in the 8 constituencies contested by us was a respectable 14.12%. Overall, we polled 36.14% vote against Congress 26.10%.

Actually, realistically viewed, there need be no surprise. Because we were earlier running four states, we expected to re-win them all and add Delhi to the kitty. However, the earlier elections were held in a wholly different situation.

The MP, HP and Rajasthan elections were held in March 1990 in a very different political scenario. JD was ruling the Centre with BJP support. We had alliance or adjustment of seats with JD in all

these states. And the Bofors Gun scandal had shocked the country into flatly rejecting the ruling Congress. It was almost all political elements, including BJP, versus the Congress, generating a tidal wave against the latter. And since BJP was the first party in these states it emerged triumphant in a big way.

This time there was a sea change in the ground reality. There was Congress government at the Centre. There was Congress Governors Rule in the four states. And all parties I-lad ganged up against us.

There were major issues before the country like Ayodhya, dismissal of four state governments, the securities scam and the Dunkel Draft Treaty, price rise and corruption. It seems that local issues dominated the voter's mind. Though the performance of BJP government in four states was satisfactory, the image of performance was not in accordance with reality.

### **Himachal Pradesh**

Our weakest poll performance was in Himachal Pradesh. Here, in a House of 68, we came down from 46 seats to just 8. Our popular vote also declined from 41 % in 1990 to 35 % in 1993.

One reason for this was no doubt the pendulum character of HP politics. Congress itself had gone down to 9 seats in 1990 and to just 5 seats in 1977. But a significant factor this time was the several policy decisions of our government. These decisions were taken in public interest; but we failed to educate and prepare public opinion for the same. There were four major policy decisions:

1. Ending of apple subsidy;
2. 'No Work: No Pay' policy for striking government employees;
3. Increase in electricity charges; and
4. Increase in medical charges.

When the BJP government took office in 1990, the HP Treasury was empty. Cheques issued by the government were bouncing. Economy was very much called for. The government, therefore, stopped the heavy subsidy to the Apple Lobby. (It is significant that even the Congress Governor of HP did not find it possible to revive this subsidy). This alienated the powerful Apple Lobby.

In a state where the government's salary bill exceeds the total

locally raised revenues of the state, government employees went on a strike urging higher salaries. The BJP government rejected the demand. When sections of employees went on strike, the government announced the policy of 'No Work: No Pay'. The National Press acclaimed the step. The strike collapsed. But the employees never forgave the government. And in a state where every fourth person is a government employee – the smaller the state, the higher the percentage of government employees this can be serious.

The State Electricity Board was suffering heavy losses. There was large scale theft of power. Government sought to meet this situation by imposing a flat rate of Rs. 25/- per family per month. This was resented by people who were till then paying lesser bills.

For the same reason of better economy – and better services – government raised medical charges from 25 paise to Re 1/-. The poor resented this increase even though the additional revenue was to pay for additional facilities and better maintenance.

In government hospitals, deliveries used to be free. With a view to encouraging family planning, government imposed a fee of Rs. 250 on third and all subsequent deliveries. Many people viewed it as a 'Tax on Birth'. It is significant that Congress states are dismissing striking government employees and doubling power rates etc., with impunity but the Congress leaders including the Prime Minister exploited the same actions of BJP government to incite the people against the BJP.

The HP government had given water connections to 60,000 households; it had constructed 92,000 Sulabh Shauchalayas and 6,000 School Rooms. It was giving subsidised rations – Rs. 1.5 a Kg. for Wheat and Rs.2.5 a Kg. for rice – to the one lac poorest families, under its Antyodaya schemes. The people took the new facilities for granted but resented the government's economics.

A special feature of HP like all other small states is its extra dependence on Central financial aid. People, therefore, tend to vote for the party in powers at the Centre. It is significant that BJP assumed office in HP in 1977 and 1990, that is when there were BJP backed governments at the Centre.

## Madhya Pradesh

Here BJP has come down from 221 seats to 116 in a House of 320. We have done even better than 1990 in the cities. As for SC seats, there are 44 of these in MP. Our share came down from 34 to 27 still well about 50%. But we have suffered big losses in the tribal areas with their 75 reserved seats. Here our strength has come down from 54 seats to just 17. The surprise is that, much had been done for these tribals. Loans upto Rs. 10,000 had been waived, and this had benefited ST and SC in a big way. Also tribals in forest lands had, for the first time, been given Pattas, securing their possession of land. Tendu leaf rates had been raised from Rs. 12/- a bag to Rs. 15/- earning the tribal tendu-leaf pickers an additional Rs. 83/- crore a year.

However, there was a problem here; tendu-pickers had been promised bonus. A sum of Rs. 113 crores was available for distribution. But the Congress-controlled cooperatives had no lists of members, showing who had picked how many bags. In this situation the government reserved this money for Kalyan Kosh (Tribal Welfare). The Coop/office-bearers and their Congress godfathers raised a hue and cry and misled the tribals. The Congress Governor handed over Rs. 55 crores to these Coops.

There was another problem; tribals were allowed to brew 5 litres of alcoholic drink for their own use. The BJP government banned this private brewing. It also earned Rs. 100 crores in the process. The tribals resented these curbs on their drinking and their profiting by sale to non-tribals.

Unfortunately the image of the party in the state was of a divided house which was not to the liking of the people. This also contributed to the outcome of the results.

In Madhya Pradesh BJP and Congress are about equally matched. Even a marginal vote shift can produce very contrary results. In the 1989 Lok Sabha elections Congress was only 1.7% points behind BJP and its allies, but it gave BJP 27 seats, JD 5, and only 8 to Congress. In the 1990 Assembly elections, BJP was 5.5% above Congress but we got a more than two-thirds majority. In 1991 Lok Sabha elections, a 3.4% lead for Congress gave it 27 seats and BJP 12, leaving a seat to BSP. In 1993, Congress is only 1.94% points ahead of BJP but that has almost halved our Assembly strength. It

is always photo finish in Madhya Pradesh.

### **Uttar Pradesh**

While in MP, HP, Rajasthan and Delhi it was almost BJP versus Congress, in UP it was BJP versus all the rest. This became clear when Sharad Pawar said Congress should leave UP to Mulayam Singh. And so even while our vote went up by 2% our Assembly strength came down from 221 to 178. As polling day approached, the Congress and JD campaigns almost petered out. Most of the Yadavs, Harijans and Muslims voted for Mulayam Singh and Kanshi Ram because of the caste and communal appeal of the combine. It is, however, a matter of satisfaction that apart from others many Backward Castes and the Jats voted for BJP in a big way. Over 20% SC also voted for BJP.

The Kalyan Singh government had earned much credit for BJP in UP and even in other states by its anti-goonda and anti-copying drives; by its payment of arrears to canegrowers and its generally clean and competent performance; and by its removal of obstacles one by one in the way of construction of Ram Janmasthan Mandir. However, three factors contributed to UP results: over-confidence in BJP ranks (“We have 280 seats in the pocket”) and the massive flow of Gulf and Bombay underworld money for the Mulayam-Kanshi Ram outfit, and their castiest and communal appeal. The BJP campaigned against Congress whereas our main target should have been the Mulayam-Kanshi Ram duo.

### **Rajasthan**

In Rajasthan we contested all the 200 seats for the first time ever. Earlier we had never contested more than 120 seats and then contested them generally with understanding with some other opposition parties. We have won 95 seats and in addition 3 independents have been elected with BJP support.

We would have done significantly better had not the Congress Governor blatantly used the state apparatus against us. However, we must take note of the fact that among the losers are 21 of 34 erstwhile ministers, the Deputy Speaker and the Chief Whip.

## Mizoram

In pre-dominantly Christian and Tribal Mizoram, we fought elections for the first time. We put up 8 candidates, 3 Buddhist Chakmas, 4 Reang Christians and 1 Mizo Christian – for a House of 40. The ‘secular’ Congress let loose a communal tirade against BJP as ‘pro-Hindu’ and ‘anti-Christian’. But many Mizo citizens appreciated the candid BJP position on cultural nationalism. In the 6 constituencies where BJP gave a serious fight, we polled 19.9%. BJP exposed the misuse of Army planes by Congress campaigners, who were duly pulled up by the Election Commission. A good BJP foothold has now been established in Mizoram.

## Delhi

In the national capital we have won 49 of the 70 Assembly seats, polling over 42% of votes. This is very significant. Delhi is India in miniature. The Delhi results, therefore, reflect the new national mood that is very favourable to BJP. As there was no state government on the scene, the national issues dominated the campaign and people gave their clear cut verdict.

The cumulative lessons of these and earlier elections are many:

1. Organisation is very important; it must always be fighting fit.
2. Well before an election, major issues must be identified, discussed, thread-bare clarified and properly projected.
3. Even policies schemes and reforms of great public interest must not be launched until and unless public opinion has been prepared for the same through public debate. It must be clearly understood that facilities or concessions once given cannot be lightly withdrawn.
4. The 1991 Lok Sabha elections were a warning in Madhya Pradesh and the Shimla corporation elections were a warning in Himachal Pradesh, that all was not well in the two states. But we did not heed the warning and take enough timely corrective actions.
5. Party elections at times led to controversy, damaging the image of BJP as the party of dedication and discipline. We need to work by consensus. There has got to be a proper balance between democracy and discipline making for unity.

6. Relations between party workers, party legislators and BJP Ministers have got to be cordial and warmer.
7. The organisational-legislative wing coordination needs to be institutionalised through regular consultations.
8. Generally most of the sitting legislators are repeated. Close losers are also often repeated. But we invite applications for all seats. This makes it a free for all, causing unnecessary uncertainty and confusion. Before an election the party must decide the constituencies it proposes to change its representatives and invite applications only for these constituencies. Suitable mechanism in this regard must be evolved.
9. BJP government in the four states were proceeding on the assumption of a 5 year term, expecting their policies to fructify over this period. But they got less than half their term. Government must get time to show results and give stability. To this end public opinion must be mobilised to amend Articles 356, requiring as now in the case of declaration of Emergency a two-thirds majority in the Lok Sabha for dismissal of any state government, and dissolution of any State Assembly.
10. And considering the way the Centre has been prostituting the August Office of Governor for partisan purposes and electoral mal-practices, public opinion must be mobilised to have the Sarkaria Commission recommendations on the subject implemented in letter and spirit.

The BJP has come a long way, won more than 36% of the popular vote and emerged as the leading party. The task before us is to consolidate this vote and further augment it – by widening our social base to emerge as the majority party in all India.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

18-19 December, 1993

## **A Note for the Consideration of BJP's National Executive from Shri LK Advani (Presently in Detention at Pipri)**

This is the first meeting of the BJP National Executive after the November elections. I am sorry I am not able to attend the meeting. Like me, Dr. Joshi and Shri Kalyan Singh also are similarly forced to stay away from this Executive meet.

This meeting would have to take stock of the poll results, analyse the verdict dispassionately, draw the necessary lessons, apply correctives where need be, and plan the party's future course of action.

I am sure that as decided at the meeting of party office bearers held on 29 November, 1993 our General Secretaries must have visited the states which went to the polls, held discussions with state office-bearers, and prepared a consolidated report for the consideration of the National Executive.

The Executive's deliberations on the Report, the conclusions it draws, the counsel it gives to party cadres, and the action-plan it formulates for the future, would be keenly awaited.

The Executives, of course, would be a micro-analysis of the results, based on the detailed inputs provided by our state units. However, taking a macro-view of the party's poll performance, I would like to share with the Executive some of my broad perceptions:

1. The November 1993 elections have firmly established the BJP as the principal pole of Indian politics. For all these past decades since independence, the main touchstone for evaluating

the outcome of any major election has been: how has the Congress fared? Has it won, or has it lost? The touchstone has now changed. Today, the test is: how has the BJP fared? Has it gained, or has it lost?

2. Let it be candidly acknowledged that the BJP has not fared well. That we have fared much better than the Congress or our other opponents is no longer deemed very relevant in the people's perception.

Out of the five states in which we had major stakes, we have suffered a setback in two, Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

The party has enlarged its support base in the remaining three. In two of these, Delhi and Rajasthan, the BJP has formed governments. But in the third, namely, Uttar Pradesh, the growth in popular support has not been translated into seats.

3. It is significant that in all these five states put together, of the 9.8 crore voters who exercised their franchise, as many as 3.57 crores (36.18 %) backed the BJP. This is one crore votes more than what the Congress has scored (2.59 crores i.e. 26.24%) and four times what the JD has secured (89 lakhs i.e. 9.08%).

I recall that in 1989, when the BJP's tally in the Lok Sabha shot up spectacularly from a miserable 2 to an impressive 86, the *'Economist'* of London carried an analytical piece on Indian elections under a telling title: "Winner comes second!" An apt comment on the recent elections may well be: "Loser Stands First"!

4. Let it be properly appreciated that the set back suffered in this election is a set back for the party, and not for its ideology. The substantial enlargement of the party's popular base is proof that the party's ideology of cultural nationalism continues to gather more and more adherents. The fact that in UP too where the impact of the Ayodhya movement is directly felt, the BJP has not only increased its poll percentage but has secured 40 lakh votes more than the SP, BSP combine which today is ruling the state, only reinforces this point. The resounding victory of the BJP in the capital further emphasise the same point.

The drop in poll percentage is confined to two out of the four states where the BJP was in power earlier, namely Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. I hold that the BJP governments of these two states performed reasonably well, but the image of our

governments in these two states was somewhat negative. This cost us dearly. In a democracy, very often, the image is as important, if not more, than the reality.

5. The plight of our principal adversaries is, of course, pathetic. In the largest state of the country, UP, both the Congress and the Janata Dal, have not only been decimated, they have been forced to support a government one of whose principal leaders has publicly denounced the Congress President as 'the last Moghul' and the Janata Dal President as 'a snake in the grass'.

6. In this election, we had set a high target for ourselves to form a government in all the five states. If, indeed, we had succeeded in achieving this objective, it may well have been some sort of record in Indian political history. Our supporters hoped and our adversaries feared, that we would achieve this objective. That has not happened. The sprinter has failed to break another record. That he is still numero uno is inadequate compensation.

In the past few years, the party's progress graph has been shooting upwards at a dizzy pace. Judging purely by this election result, the momentum of growth would seem to have slowed down.

Naturally, our supporters are disappointed, and our opponents feel relieved. The task before the party is to so fine-tune our approach and strategy that this disappointment or relief, as the case may be, proves a fleeting phase. The momentum of our activity must not be allowed to slacken.

Before concluding this note let me take this opportunity to convey to members of the executive and through them to party units and workers, to our MPs, MLAs and MLCs all over the country on behalf of Dr. MM Joshi, Shri Kalyan Singh, Shri Vinay Katlyar and myself our sense of deep gratitude for the forceful manner in which they have mobilised the people to protest against our arrests.

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# National Executive

Gandhinagar

1 May, 1992

## **BJP emerges as the principal opposition party**

The 1991 elections to the Lok Sabha yielded some very significant results.

For the BJP this election was a major milestone. The party emerged as the principal opposition party in Parliament. While in the past, the success of opposition parties including that of the BJP, had its roots mainly in an anti-establishment, anti-Congress feeling of the electorate, in 1991, the achievement of the BJP was on the basis of its positive ideology and programmes.

## **Deteriorating political situation**

The Congress Party failed to secure a majority; but the minority government it managed to forge was not hamstrung by the constraints of the dynasty. This characteristic could have been converted into a major advantage, and the 1991 elections could have thus proved a real watershed in Indian political history. It is extremely unfortunate that this has not happened. As the Narasimha Rao government nears completion of one year of its tenure, there is among the people an intense feeling of having been badly let down.

Deterioration and drift are the words which readily come to mind to describe the political situation in the country today. The high hopes which the personality of Shri PV Narasimha Rao and his initial conciliatory stances in matters of state and of politics had raised now lie shattered, more particularly, in the wake of the Tirupati Session of the Congress Party and government's latest mendacity in the matter of Bofors investigations.

### **Economy in a bad shape**

On the economic front, hundreds of announcements are being made; but down the line there is no implementation. The supplies of daily necessities are becoming scarce; price rise remains unchecked; the public distribution system continues to be a scandal; the supply side of the economy is deteriorating. All sorts of excuses are being trotted out for the failures on these fronts. Every new act of government seems to confirm the fear that the rich continue to grow richer without any gain to the poor or even to the state.

In the state of confusion that prevails today government recently sold a chunk of PSU shares to mutual funds for Rs. 3000 crores, whose shares according to the market were worth Rs. 11,000 crores. This meant a loss of Rs. 8000 crores to the exchequer. In the Lok Sabha, the BJP warned government twice last year to be careful in valuing PSUs but the warning was not heeded.

### **Successful Ekta Yatra**

Since the National Council last met watershed event in the party's and country's history was the BJP President's Ekta Yatra, from Kanya Kumari to Srinagar. 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 people would not brook any dilution of India's sovereignty in any part of the union and that in the specified case of J&K, they must insist the removal of the last barrier in the path of its full integration into the Union in the shape of Article 370 of Constitution.

### **Congress manipulates Punjab Elections**

The internal security situation has been rapidly deteriorating. Elections were held in Punjab in a manner which only complicated the problem instead of solving it. The possibility of bringing all sections of society into the political process was sacrificed at the altar of political expediency. The Congress Party's sole interest in this election seemed to lie in bolstering its own minority position in the Lok Sabha. Electoral malpractices were indulged in on a massive scale. In the aftermath, the Congress Party has certainly got more seats in Parliament; but Punjab has neither peace nor security. The Khalistanis have become more aggressive and more

murderous than ever.

### **Punjab terrorists pose a threat to the nation**

The resolution passed by six panthic organisations, including three Akali Dals, in a conclave at Anandpur Sahib on 18th of March demanding 'a sovereign Sikh State' i.e. 'Khalistan' has added a new dimension to the already vexed problem of Punjab. It has lent respectability to the terrorist outfits who had already reclaimed that they were urging an armed struggle to create Khalistan. It has posed a challenge to the nation, and to political parties. The Bharatiya Janata Party, committed as it is, to safeguard the unity and integrity of the nation, pledges to oppose this demand tooth and nail, arouse the whole nation about the impending dangers and compel the government to take a firm and uncompromising stand on the issue.

### **North-East continues to feel alienated**

In Assam, the government claims, the situation is stable but the reality is otherwise. In the North-East, the present government continues to use the methods from the armour of the past. The sordid efforts relating to imposition of President's Rule in Nagaland, the sacking of the Nagaland Governor, the murky goings-on in Meghalaya and Manipur, indicate more reliance on the discredited practices of the past than any improved understanding of the Indian polity. The net result is that the feeling of neglect and alienation prevalent in the people of North-East region continues to grow.

The circumstances under which India had agreed to the transfer of 'Tin Bigha' to Bangladesh have changed. Over 59000 citizens of Tin Bigha are extremely agitated about the proposed transfer in view of the prejudice likely to be caused to them. The issue of the transfer of Tin Bigha, therefore, requires fresh look.

Thus, the hopes that were raised in regard to Punjab, Kashmir, Assam, North-East and the Prime Minister's own backyard of Telangana where Naxalite violence has acquired alarming dimensions remains unfulfilled.

## **Corruption and scandals**

Charges of corruption continue to rock the government. In Parliament, in the press and in the country, numerous scandals relating to several ministries, more particularly the Railway Ministry, the Power Ministry and the Petroleum Ministry keep surfacing periodically. Government's defence of these deals in the face of harsh and inconvenient facts generates only countrywide cynicism. Government's handling of the Bofors investigations has seriously undermined the credibility not only of the ruling party, but after the Solanki episode, of the Prime Minister personally. After this recent spate of revelations it is obvious that Shri PV Narsimha Rao also has become an accomplice in the Operation Cover-up. Government fails to realise that Bofors is an issue that will simply not go away, unless it is honestly and conclusively resolved and the guilty brought to book. The Bofors scandal was messy enough; its Solanki bye-product has only added to the stink.

The steep decline of standards at the Centre is naturally influencing political and administrative behaviour in the Congress-ruled states. Karnataka particularly reeks of corruption. A large number of Congressmen themselves have been affirming this.

## **Judiciary in disrepute**

The judiciary, as corner stone of the Indian State, has acquired alarming disrepute in the wake of the Justice V. Ramaswamy affair and the effort by a section of the judiciary itself to stall the impeachment proceedings. All concerned must exert to get this matter settled in a manner that will restore the dignity of the tallest pillar of the Indian State. The august office of the Election Commissioner remains by unbecoming controversy. Here too the government has shown no desire to get this premier institution of democracy out of the mud into which it is mired.

## **Lawlessness in Bihar**

Consequent upon the devaluation of the institutions of state and of governance, the law and order situation in the country has suffered to a point where the citizen is insecure. Apart from the states engulfed by terrorism, there are states like Bihar where a virtual state of anarchy prevails. Mafia gangs, murderers and

kidnappers, often with the patronage of the ruling party operate with impunity. The worst sufferers of this lawlessness are the weaker sections of society, particularly the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes.

### **Congress aids and abets communalism**

The political resolution adopted by the Congress(I) at Tirupati claimed that “we have never entered into an understanding, implicit or explicit, with any communal party.” Fact of the matter, however, is that Congress has blatant coalition with the Muslim League in Kerala right now. The Congress Party has always aided and abetted communalism. Before independence, this approach was sought to be justified on the ground that this was the only way to keep the country united. Appeasement, however, failed to avert partition. This is the lesson of history. It is, therefore, all the more regrettable that even after independence, Congress has been unwilling to shed its communal approach. Listed below are some of its numerous sins of commission and omission in this context.

### **Article 370**

Kashmir was temporarily given Article 370 because of the special circumstances prevailing at that time, namely, because of Pakistan’s invasion. But Congress insists today on retaining Article 370 and that too permanently only because the state is Muslim-majority. This is plain communalism.

### **Kashmiri Hindus become refugees**

Pakistan-directed terrorism and violence in the Kashmir Valley has forced nearly 2,00,000 Hindus to abandon their hearths and homes and become refugees in their own country. An entire community of Kashmiri Pandits with its rich cultural background and high intellectual talent has been driven to the brink by forces of fundamentalism. This, of course, is extremely unfortunate. But even more unfortunate is the fact that the Congress Party as well as its government refuses to do anything to ameliorate the miserable plight of Kashmiri migrants. The only reason is that they are Hindus. This is rank communalism though in reverse.

### **Opposition to uniform Civil Law**

Article 44 of the Constitution, directs the state to adopt a Uniform Civil Law. But the Congress has reduced this Directive Principle of State Policy to a dead letter. Indeed, after Shah Bano case, Congress has communalised even sections of the criminal law.

### **Proposal to make Minorities Commission a statutory body**

When late Justice Baig was Chairman of the Minorities Commission, he had publicly expressed himself in favour of converting the Minorities Commission into a Human Rights Commission. Disregarding this sage counsel the Narasimha Rao government now proposes to make the ill-conceived Minorities Commission a statutory body.

### **Communal riot police**

Instead of reforming and streamlining existing police forces, the Congress government is right now busy raising a riot force, whose composition is proposed to be determined on communal considerations. It is contended that thereby the police force would be cured of the communal virus.

Anyone can see that this kind of remedy is bound to prove worse than the disease itself.

### **Opposition to Ram Mandir**

The people of UP have given a mandate to the BJP to reconstruct the Ramjanma Bhoomi Mandir. Instead of helping to honour the will of the people, the Congress and its accomplices in the act are putting all kinds of obstacles in the way, just to curry favour with the communal vote.

### **Illegal Bangladeshi immigrants**

It has been computed that, in the last few years, some fifteen million Bangladeshi Muslims have illegally entered the country. Already this influx has led to a variety of socio-economic tensions in the North-East, in West Bengal, parts of Bihar and even in far away Delhi and Bombay. All this constitutes a serious strain on the national economy, a severe stress on the national society and, above all serious threat to the stability and security of the country.

And yet the Congress takes no action to stem this flood or push back the illegal immigrants, because it views them as its Vote Bank.

### **Exploiting the minority vote bank**

Indeed, in so far as secularism and communalism is concerned, the Congress Party's track record is so shady, that the Party can well be described as the fountainhead of communalism. Despite its recent admission about minority communalism – a fact it ignored for 45 crucial years – it is a party on the decline, hoping to survive by exploiting the minority vote-bank. That is the core-rationale of its Tirupati resolution.

### **Justice for all and appeasement of none**

As carriers of the heritage of cultural nationalism propounded by Swami Dayanand and Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo and Lokmanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi and Madan Mohan Malviya, Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Deendayal, we in the BJP reiterate our faith in "Justice for All and Appeasement of None", as the one and only way to ensure national unity, national peace and national progress.

### **Doubtful nationalist credentials of Indian Communists**

The break up of the Soviet Union and the rejection of the communist ideology in most countries of the world has exposed the fragility and contradictions of Marxian thinking. Faced with this ideological dissipation the Indian Communists are resorting to anti-BJPism as the prime basis for their existence. However, the recent exposures, relating to the massive foreign monetary assistance being given to the Communist Party of India have once again raised doubts about the nationalist credentials of Indian Communists.

### **BJP's major concerns**

The National Council of the Bharatiya Janata Party regards the ten month tenure of Shri Narasimha Rao's government as disappointingly dismal. The Council:

- (a) urges adoption of an effective action plan to stem the rot that has set-in in Kashmir, Punjab and Assam;
- (b) demands urgent steps to provide appropriate relief and

- rehabilitation to migrants from Kashmir;
- (c) warns the Union Government to keep its hands off Ayodhya and let the BJP government of Uttar Pradesh lawfully discharge the mandate given to it by the people for the restoration of the Ram Temple at the Janmasthan;
  - (d) suggest setting up of a National Commission on the Constitution in order to have a second look at the Constitution with a view to make recommendations as to how national unity can be strengthened by decentralisation of political and economic power, and by redrawing the political map of the country in respect of Uttaranchal and Jharkhand, about which there is a broad consensus, the Council urges that these two new states be carved out of UP and Bihar respectively;
  - (e) pleads for poll reforms that can contain the pernicious influence of money power, muscle power and custom. The voter list must be checked and the names of these foreign and illegal migrants must be excluded. Voter's identity cards must be provided to all Indian citizens in elections;
  - (f) urges early legislation to set-up a Lokpal to deal with corruption at high levels;
  - (g) demands inclusion of Nepali, Manipuri and Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution;
  - (h) demands proper rehabilitation of Buddhist Chakma refugees who have been driven out from Bangladesh and Myanmar.

The National Council feels gratified that in all the welfare schemes undertaken by the BJP-ruled states of Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are the principal beneficiaries. The Council urges these state governments, to undertake the Antyodaya programmes with redoubled vigour.

**The National Council accepted the following four amendments:**

1. Konkani language be also included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, alongwith Nepali and Manipuri. Demand for the latter two was already included in the resolution.

2. Indira Gandhi-Mujib Agreement regarding Tin Bigha not be implemented, and it be emphasized that grave human problem involving a population of about fifty-two thousand in transferring Tin Bigha corridor to Bangla-desh has been grossly overlooked and that the Pact be re-negotiated with Bangladesh.
3. Initially identity cards be issued, particularly to people living in border states, and the scheme be ultimately extended to cover all Indian citizens.
4. Separate Regional Councils be created for Jammu and Ladakh.



# National Executive

New Delhi

20-21 June, 1991

## Poll Rigging

### Serious concern on poll rigging

While the BJP is happy to note the successful holding of the Tenth Lok Sabha elections, the party expresses its serious concern on the poll rigging and violence that marred these elections in parts of the country. The only exception to widespread rigging were BJP ruled states where polling was free, fair and orderly.

In UP the tidal Ayodhya Wave made it impossible for the lawless CM of that state to rig elections widely. But that did not prevent him from staging mayhem in Kannauj, Etawah and some other places.

### West Bengal

West Bengal, ruled by Communists, who see themselves as 'scientific socialists', indulged in 'scientific' rigging. This consisted of preparation of voters' lists including numerous bogus names and excluding many bonafide ones. The same policy is pursued by the 'scientific socialists' of Kerala. In West Bengal, Leftist lumpens, armed with bombs, were posted on the polling day at key points to keep many non-left voters away. In many places infiltrators were used to cast bogus votes.

### Hyderabad

In Hyderabad, 203 booths in Owaisi's area registered over 90% votes, a clear case of bogus voting. Some of the booths have 103%

voting: However, 8-year-olds were seen voting. In Rayalaseema, one to 3 Assembly segments were rigged by the Congress-I in every Lok Sabha Constituency. Andhra witnessed fifteen political murders on polling day. In Naxalite areas, while there was proper police bandobast in pro-Congress(I) constituencies, there was none in pro-BJP constituencies.

### **Bihar takes the cake**

Even in traditionally peaceful Gujarat, six BJP workers were murdered and, for the first time in the history of Gujarat, repoll had to be ordered in several booths. Laloo Prasad's Bihar was of course the limit. Here two Lok Sabha candidates, including our Shri Ishwar Chawdhry of Gaya, were murdered. The CM appointed mostly his loyalists as Returning Officers, who played havoc with the poll process. Many strong rooms with ballot boxes were found broke open. The CM's men freely roamed the state with lethal arms. In Muzaffarpur Shri Brij Bihari, Deputy Minister for Rural Development was found personally stamping ballot papers even after 5 p.m. In this situation the BJP which was poised to win at least twenty seats got only five and these too only in constituencies where the ROs refused to obey the CM's rigging orders. By and large, elections in Bihar were a farce. Elections in many more constituencies other than Patna and Purnea needed to be countermanded. Here is a fit case for a judicial inquiry by a sitting Supreme Court Judge.

All this rigging of polls is a serious threat to our democratic system. While Shri Laloo Prasad out Chautalaed Chautala in Bihar, his party leader, Shri VP Singh maintained a guilty silence and did not utter one word of reproval.

The BJP calls upon the people to see to it that nobody indulges in any rigging in their area. We also expect the Election Commission to take a more serious view of this poisoning of the political process than it has done so far.

It should take early steps to issue Voter Identity Cards and record voting by Electronic Voting Machines.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

20-21 June, 1991

## Punjab Poll Postponement

### Congress Party's petty politicking

Even before the Congress formally assumed office this noon, the Election Commission did that party's bidding at midnight, and put off the Punjab poll, which was only some hours away. This can only mean prolongation of the agony of Punjab.

The whole thing underlines the petty politicking of Congress(I) in the Punjab. To begin with, Punjab Congress(I) joined hands with BJP, CPI and CPI-M to give the terrorists a united electoral fight. But the central leadership of the Congress(I) decided to boycott the Punjab poll while BJP and CPI stuck to their earlier decision to let the political process counter the politics of murder. But the Congress-I did not relish the idea of being left out in the Punjab, although it itself had opted out of the same. And so it mounted pressure on the Election Commission to put off the Punjab elections. And now the badly battered Election Commission has obliged them. This volte face by the Election Commission has proved beyond any doubt that the EC, instead of discharging its duties independently and impartially, is functioning as an instrument of the policies of a political party.

This unwise and politically motivated decision will have many consequences. The four Akali factions which had entered the election fray and which, therefore, would have become part of the peaceful political process, will resent this postponement and denial of democracy. Crores of rupees spent on moving 500

companies of para-military forces and a huge electoral staff, will go waste. During the two months of campaigning, 3 Lok Sabha and 21 Vidhan Sabha candidates lost their lives. Three months' delay in polling can only expose many more candidates to the terrorist's bullets. The responsibility for all this waste and violence will rest squarely on the Congress(I) and the Election Commission.

It is a bad day for the Election Commission and not a good start for the new government.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

20-21 June, 1991

## The Tenth Lok Sabha Elections

### **BJP's popular vote has more than doubled**

The Bharatiya Janata Party felicitates the people of India on a successful conduct of elections to the tenth Lok Sabha. The party expresses its profound gratitude to the great electorate of India for reposing confidence in it in such unmistakable terms. This has demonstrated the deep roots that democracy has struck in our country. Prophets of doom have been proved wrong. The nation has stood as one in its commitment to essentials. India will not break apart. That, and national good is the BJP's commitment. In this hour of success, we salute the many BJP workers who lost their lives in the campaign and the lakhs of workers who gave their time, money and matchless dedication to make this success possible.

In the course of a brief eighteen months our popular vote has more than doubled. At the same time the Congress(I) and Janata Dal vote has actually declined. While these two parties have polled a lower percentage of votes in eight and ten states, respectively, our vote has declined in only couple of states. While the Communists have lost Kerala, and Congress (I) has won Assam, Haryana and Kerala, we have won Uttar Pradesh, by far the biggest state in the country. Our performance is equally remarkable in Gujarat where we have won 20 of the 25 seats and 119 out of 175 Assembly segments. In Karnataka we have not only won four Lok Sabha seats, our popular vote has dramatically gone up from 2.6% to 30%. In Assam the people have given us 2 Lok Sabha and 10 Assembly

seats. Our popular vote in Andhra Pradesh, Bengal and Orissa is around 10%. A comparative study of the May and June votes leaves us in no doubt that, but for the unfortunate tragedy of 21 May, we would have emerged as the First Party in India.

The results in some of the states have not been satisfactory. The party will undertake a detailed study of these cases and take remedial actions.

### **BJP's increasing responsibilities**

The new result place tremendous responsibility on Bharatiya Janata Party. We will fulfil our pledge in UP and redouble our efforts to serve the people of Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan. Our commitment for the reconstruction of Shri Ram Mandir at Ayodhya has received overwhelming public mandate in UP. It is our hope and expectation that all parties will recognise the enormous strength of this sentiment and cooperate with the BJP government in UP for early, amicable settlement.

### **A new direction to India's polity**

More than anything else, these elections have given a new direction to India's polity. Results have vindicated our political agenda. The Bharatiya Janata Party and its leadership has redefined the strategic parameters of political debate and activism within the country. Ideologically the polity now stands clearly polarised, between archaic thoughts of yesteryear and pseudo-secularism and BJP's renascent nationalism and new economic thought. This turn in our politics is the most significant development.

The BJP is the premier party now in five states and one Union Territory, it has established its political presence markedly and with significance in the South, in the N.E. as also political development following out of these elections.

The BJP re-dedicates itself to demonstrating the excellence of governance, a different political ethos and a new economic thought in all the states of its direct responsibility. It is committed to achieving this status where it does not at present have such a responsibility.

The BJP is of the view that the present minority Congress government does not truly reflect the existing political reality in

the country. Nevertheless the BJP will, as always act only with national interest uppermost in mind.

We hope the new government will act responsibly and consult the Opposition in all important matters—as is the paractice in all healthy democracies—so that there is no confrontation, and continued cooperation for national good.

The Bharatiya Janata Party re-dedicates itself to the service of *Janata Janardan*.

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# **National Executive**

**New Delhi**

**20-21 June, 1991**

## **Chief Election Commissioner**

### **Chief Election Commissioner must be Non-partisan**

The Chief Election Commissioner was appointed in controversy. And he has continued to be controversial all through his brief career as CEC. We had expressed our serious apprehensions even at the time of his appointment. He has been widely perceived as neither independent nor impartial. We are extremely sorry to say that, by his arbitrary behaviour, the CEC has lowered the dignity of his office. The BJP, therefore, calls upon the CEC to resign his office forthwith.

The BJP is of the considered opinion that the office of CEC is too delicate to be filled by partisan hands. We would, therefore, expect the government to establish the convention of appointing the CEC in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition.

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# National Executive

New Delhi

1-2 December, 1989

## **BJP's resounding success in Elections**

### **People Have Spoken Against Corruption and Dynastic Rule**

The largest democracy in the world has spoken through the ballot box and it has spoken resoundingly against corruption and dynastic rule at the Centre. The BJP congratulates the people of India on rising to the historic occasion. We salute them for making democracy a living reality.

## **BJP makes substantial gains**

The BJP is particularly happy at its emergence as the third largest group in the Lok Sabha with a strength of 86 MPs in a House of 524. What makes the performance even more remarkable is the fact that the party had only two seats in the just dissolved Eighth Lok Sabha.

## **BJP becomes a major National Party**

Although on the face of it, most of the seats would seem to have been won in the so-called Hindi-speaking belt and Gujarat and Maharashtra, a closer analysis indicates that this is not so. There has been steady all-round progress in all states including those where its presence used to be slight, to the point of being negligible. In the 1984 elections, which were the first to be fought under the new BJP symbol, the party has secured 7.4 per cent of the total votes. This time, BJP's share of the total votes is likely to be more than twice that. Every fifth or sixth voter in the country is now a BJP voter, a fact that not only reflects the party's status as a

major national party in every sense of the word but places a heavy responsibility on all those on whom falls the exciting but onerous task of guiding it to still more glorious heights in the years to come.

### **Party gains votes all over the country**

BJP has won over three quarter seats in Himachal Pradesh (three out of four) and over two-third in Madhya Pradesh (27 out of 40), half the seats in Rajasthan (13 out of 25) and Gujarat (12 out of 26) and over a fourth of the seats in Maharashtra along with its ally, the Shiv Sena (14 out of 48), in addition to re-establishing its dominance in the very heart of the nation's capital, capturing 4 out of 7 seats in Delhi. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar our tally has gone up to 17 seats. Even in triangular contests, for the UP Assembly, the BJP has increased its strength more than three times from 16 to 57.

In a state like West Bengal, the percentage of votes has increased six-fold. Already BJP is being recognised as the Third Force in the State.

### **BJP – A national organisation in the fullest sense**

In Kerala the party played a crucial role in at least 4 out of 20 constituencies where the Communists were pinned down and could manage only two wins, and those too by miniscule margins. In five years our vote has doubled. The party's victory in Bombay City, the industrial capital of India, was no less significant. BJP and its ally romped home in 4 out of 6 constituencies. Today BJP is a national organisation in the fullest sense. We have 5 women MPs., 7 Scheduled Tribe MPs and 12 Scheduled Caste MPs. One of the Tribal MPs has been elected from a General Seat – Bharuch. A majority of the seats have been won from rural constituencies. The youth rallied round the BJP with immense enthusiasm. Sikhs in overwhelming numbers and Muslims in sizeable numbers have voted for BJP. The Sikh support reflects appreciation of our sound Punjab policy.

### **Robust appeal of BJP's ideology**

The party's success reflects the robust appeal of its ideology, the discipline and devotion of its hard-working cadres which form the core of its organisation. All these factors combined to give BJP a

positive self-confidence which translated ultimately into solid votes. Without the devotion of its workers, who have been labouring for the last five years, ever since the debacle of 1984, to put the party back on its rightful position there would have been no spectacular triumph. That is the real landmark of this election. We salute all our voters and workers for making democracy a living reality.

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# National Executive

Jamshedpur

1-3 July, 1988

## Recent Elections

### A strong anti-Congress wave

In the recent round of bye-elections, spread over as many as eight states, the electorate has administered a stern warning to the Congress Party, and more particularly to the Prime Minister, that the people are fed up with the Rajiv government's corrupt ways and opportunistic attitudes and in the coming General Elections this government was going to be thrown out. These bye-elections indicate that a strong anti-Congress wave is building up, and that this wave can well assume the shape of a powerful tide, akin to that which swept the Congress government out of office in 1977.

## Referendum on Corruption

The seven Parliamentary constituencies where bye-elections were held were all won by the Congress in 1984. Now last month, the Congress has retained only two, and lost three to the Opposition. In Allahabad, the election virtually became a referendum on the question: Is Rajiv Gandhi corrupt, or not? The voters of this constituency have replied to this question with a categorical affirmative.

The results of the two remaining seats, namely, Faridabad and Udhampur, are yet to be announced. From trends available, these two seats also may be lost by the Congress. Out of the ten assembly results announced, the Congress has won only five. There is little doubt that Pali and Khetri seats in Rajasthan would have been bagged by the BJP but for the perverse role played by the Lok Dal, and the Rajasthan Unit of the Janata Party.

### **Satisfaction with Party's overall performance**

Despite this setback in Rajasthan, the Executive is satisfied with the party's overall performance. In terms of seats, the party maintained a *status quo* in Madhya Pradesh, and improved its position in Gujarat. The party is particularly gratified by the performance of Dalip Singh Judeo in Kharsia (MP) and Devanand Solanki in Gujarat (who won in Malliya by a thumping margin of nearly 20,000 votes).

Kharsia needs special mention. Here was a constituency handpicked by Chief Minister Arjun Singh as the ruling party's safest seat from out of the 320 seats in the MP Assembly. Even in 1977, the Congress, with an ordinary candidate in the field, had won Kharsia with a margin of over 21000 votes. The margin in 1980 and 1984 was still larger. This time when Chief Minister Arjun Singh announced his candidature from this seat, many political observers predicted a cakewalk for him. The electoral battle this time was not between two candidates or two parties. On one side was BJP's Dalip Singh, and on the other was the might of the entire Madhya Pradesh government, its officials, its departments and state resources, and an unlimited purse besides. That against such odds the BJP candidate should have increased the party's support base five times, and slashed the margin from 25000 to 8000 is no mean achievement. Indeed, this is a moral victory for the BJP and a moral defeat for the Congress(I).

### **Congress Party indulges in corrupt electoral practices**

The success of the BJP and other Opposition parties in these bye-elections is particularly remarkable when one views them against the background of the large scale rigging, massive misuse of official machinery and money power that has been indulged in by the ruling party, and its unabashed exploitation of communalism and casteism. The Code of Conduct drawn up by the Election Commission forbidding launching of welfare schemes of disbursements from discretionary funds on the eve of elections etc., has been flagrantly flouted by the Congress Party. In the Pali Lok Sabha constituency, the Congress government resorted to a devious and in-human stratagem. There were in this area over one

and a half lakh famine relief workers. Their wages were held back for two months prior to elections and paid to them only during the last two days before polling day and after extorting from them commitments that they would support the Congress candidate. Indeed, were it not for this massive chicanery – this criminal exploitation of poverty and hunger – the BJP may have won Pali inspite of the Lok Dal's dog-in-the-manger attitude.

Congress desperation and total lack of scruples in this electoral battle was sharply highlighted when it tried to use television artist Arun Govil, dressed up as Rama, to boost their party prospects. It is a tribute to the maturity of the masses that Govil and Dara Singh who had earned cheers of millions when they played Rama and Hanuman on T.V. evoked only jeers when they tried to canvass support for the corrupt Congress.

### **Imperative need for electoral reforms**

These bye-elections have once again brought into sharp focus the urgent and imperative need for electoral reforms. The BJP has been carrying on a sustained campaign in this regard, the Executive is resolved to intensify this campaign. To recapitulate some of our more important demands the BJP urges that the Election Commission's Code of Conduct be given legislative teeth and violation of this Code be made a corrupt practice, electronic voting machines be introduced without delay and necessary amendment in the law be made, a scheme of public funding be initiated so that the influence of money-power in elections, the root of much of the corruption rampant in the country is curbed, and voting age reduced from 21 to 18.

Apart from these Lok Sabha and Assembly bye-elections, there have been a number of elections to the Legislative Councils of Karnataka and Maharashtra. The Executive compliments the party units in these two states on their performance. In Karanataka, out of six seats the BJP won three and three seats went to independents. Both the Janata Party and Congress lost all the six seats. In Maharashtra elections took place in four. Out of these, the BJP secured two, the Congress and Shiv Sena one each.

In all these elections, Opposition parties have generally made gains. The only Opposition party to suffer a setback is the CPI(M).

Of course, in most of these states the CPI(M)'s presence is nominal, and so their extending support or opposing any one would not have influenced the poll outcome at all. What is noteworthy is that the one single West Bengal seat which they contested (and this they had held earlier) has been lost by them to the Congress. This is a significant outcome of these June elections.

### **Congress no longer Interested in snap poll**

In February 1987, the BJP had organised a mammoth rally in New Delhi and had submitted a memorandum to the President spelling out how Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had betrayed his mandate in respect of national unity and clean government; the memorandum demanded that the PM should resign or seek a fresh mandate. Other colleagues in the Opposition had reservations about our stand at that time. Gradually, they too came round to the same view. In the recent bye-elections the electors also have endorsed this stand. The Prime Minister, however, has declared categorically that he had no intention of resigning. Indeed, one sure outcome of the June Verdict would be that Rajiv Gandhi will cease toying with the idea of a snap poll, a proposal vigorously talked about in ruling party circles in the wake of the white-wash reports on Fairfax and Bofors.

### **BJP to educate public opinion against government**

One can assume, therefore, that Lok Sabha elections, will be held as scheduled in December 1989. The BJP is determined to utilise this period for intensified activity at the grassroots, aimed on the one hand at mobilising farmers, workers, weaker sections and consumers against government's anti-people policies and on the other hand educating the people politically as to how continuance of this government is disastrous for national unity and democratic institutions.

The BJP favours a concerted election strategy on the part of non-Communist Opposition parties to bring about a change of government in New Delhi, but would like to emphasise that our relations with other parties will be governed by considerations of reciprocity.

# **National Executive**

**Rohtak**

**17-19 April, 1987**

Report on Kerala Assembly Elections



# National Executive

Rohtak

17-19 April, 1987

Election Strategy



# National Executive

Jaipur

12 -13 February, 1983

## Assam

### Atmosphere of terror and intimidation

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party views the Assam situation with a sense of horror and revulsion. While the state burns, the ruling party goes about in resolute pursuit of petty electoral gains. Its cynicism, callousness and contempt for democratic process call for nationwide condemnation.

The National Executive calls attention to the battalions of armed police that infest the whole state and menace the voters and other opposed to the ruling party. The countryside wears a desolate look and all life in the cities comes to a halt before sunset. Political meetings of the Opposition candidates are just not possible. A rigorous censorship of the press (now stayed by the Supreme Court) precluded legitimate election propaganda. Large areas are under curfew. There is a general atmosphere of terror and intimidation. Those who oppose elections are mercilessly beaten, maimed and killed. The death toll even according to government's admission has risen to nearly seventy.

The Police Act of 1861 is being invoked to invest anti-social elements with police powers and use these elements as instruments to conduct these elections. The Executive Magistrates (Special Powers) Act also has been used to undermine the role of the judiciary.

### Attempt to steal a hollow victory

Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her party, not very conspicuous for love of free and fair elections, are determined to go ahead with them despite so much protest within Assam as well as all over the

country, because she is aware that under normal conditions she cannot win elections in Assam. With prospects of defeat facing her in most states she wishes to steal a formal and hollow victory in Assam. Her temporary illegitimate gain will cause a severe and permanent blow to the democratic process in India and alienate the people of Assam from the national mainstream.

### **Fair elections not possible**

It is manifest to all but the ruling party and its leader, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, that no fair elections are possible in such circumstances. For the first time in India's electoral history, polls are being held in a state on the basis of an electoral roll prepared four years earlier. It is the plain constitutional duty of the Election Commission of India to prevent this mockery of the democratic process. It should have firmly refused to hold the elections and allow the ruling party to reap unconscionable electoral benefits.

### **Election Commission abdicates its responsibility**

The National Executive deeply regrets that the Election Commission has done nothing tangible beyond making a vague and largely useless declaration that conditions in Assam are "not ideal for holding free elections". The Election Commission has sought shelter for its action under the plea of constitutional compulsion and its desire not to create by its action 'a constitutional vacuum.' This plea is plainly specious and the Election Commission is guilty of grave dereliction of its constitutional obligation. The Election Commission must countermand the elections as indeed it did in Garhwal constituency under much less compelling circumstances. The government and Parliament must be left to take care of the so-called constitutional vacuum. The BJP and other democratic opposition parties have repeatedly offered to assist the government to amend the Constitution for this purpose. It is a blatant lie for the ruling party to maintain that elections had become imperative because opposition parties were not willing to cooperate with government in this regard. The National Executive reiterates its offer, and urges government to abandon the disastrous course it is pursuing, and instead proceed to amend the Constitution, and extend President's Rule in Assam for another year.

# National Executive

Jaipur

12 -13 February, 1983

## Electoral Trends

### **Mrs. Gandhi charisma is fading away**

One more round of elections has ended. The people of Andhra, Karnataka, Tripura and Delhi have elected their new representatives. Congress (I) has succeeded only in the Delhi Metropolitan Council elections. However, viewed in their totality, this latest round of elections underscores the fact that Congress (I)'s popularity graph is fast hurtling downwards, and that, further, Mrs. Gandhi's charisma too is rapidly fading away.

### **Rejection of Congress in Karnataka and Andhra is particularly significant**

Andhra and Karnataka were two states which stood by Mrs. Gandhi's party even in 1977 when the rest of the country rejected the party in protest against the emergency excesses. The Congress (I) understandably had come to regard these as its impregnable bastions, so much so that when Mrs. Gandhi sought to locate safe Lok Sabha seats for herself, it was Chikmagloor in Karnataka, and Medak in Andhra, that she turned. Rejection of the Congress (I) by these two states, therefore, is particularly significant. While the 1977 vote of northern, western and eastern states was an angry outburst against the traumatic inflictions of the emergency, the verdict of the southern states now is a more considered reaction to Congress (I) misrule and corruption during the last three years—that is, since Cong (I)'s return to power at the Centre.

### **Woeful lack of democratic spirit**

It is surprising that the ruling party should be trying to explain away its defeat in the south as the victory of regional forces. It ill behaves a party that has been the chief patron and promoter of regional parties to be railing against regionalism now. In these very elections, the Cong (I) had no qualms aligning itself in Tripura with Tripura Upjati Juba Sangh, which is not just regional and chauvinistic, but separatist also. In fact, by implicitly blaming the electorate instead of admitting its own shortcomings, the Congress (I) is displaying a woeful lack of the democratic spirit.

This absence of a democratic temper became painfully exposed with the gross use of money power, the blatant misuse of the official machinery and an alarming reliance on anti-social muscle power which reached new and scandalous heights during the recent Delhi elections.

### **BJP improves its position**

When one takes into account all these factors, the BJP's performance in this round of polls, though not spectacular, is a clear pointer to its growing strength. In Karnataka, the party has increased its Assembly strength—from 4 to 18. In Andhra while all other national parties have suffered erosion or eclipse, the BJP has been able to maintain its strength.

In Delhi where three years back (Lok Sabha elections, 1980) the difference between the popular votes of the Congress (I) and the undivided Janata was 13%, in the recent elections the margin between the Congress. (I) and BJP has been reduced to a mere 3%.

### **BJP could have done better in Delhi**

Even so, the BJP Executive regrets that due to complacency, and lack of that final extra spurt of effort, which could have enabled the party surmount even the shameless abuse of governmental power, money power and muscle power, the BJP missed an opportunity to remove Congress (I) misrule and corruption from Delhi. However, the elections also have conclusively shown that the Congress (I) and BJP are evenly matched combatants and that most other parties are irrelevant to the capital's political scene.

In all these elections, the BJP, in pursuance of its Surat

resolution, sought to have adjustments with other democratic parties. In Delhi, the Lok Dal responded positively. The arrangement proved of mutual advantage to both BJP as well as Lok Dal. It is regrettable, however, that the Janata's response was not merely negative, its campaign, particularly in Delhi, was directed more against the BJP than against the Congress(I).

### **Strange behaviour of Left parties**

The BJP notes with concern that CPI and CPI (M), contrary to their professed aim of fighting Mrs. Gandhi's party, have clearly demonstrated that they consider opposition of the BJP as their primary aim, even if in the process they strengthen Mrs. Gandhi's hands. We are not surprised that the Communists behave thus. What is surprising is that some other parties of the Opposition, who ought to know better, also fall prey to this calculated Communist stratagem, and become their enthusiastic accomplices.

The BJP will continue its resolute struggle against Congress (I) misrule and anti-people policies. Its electoral strategy will continue to be aimed principally at Congress (I)'s ouster, and, to this end, of forging of electoral arrangements with democratic opposition parties which take into account the realities on the ground.

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# National Executive

Bombay

7-9 May, 1983

## National Democratic Front

### Possibility of mid-term polls

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party takes note of the speculations going on in respect of a mid-term poll for the Lok Sabha.

It is widely known that for the past several months the ruling party has been seriously toying with the idea. The rapidly deteriorating political and economic situation, the bitter feuds going on in the ruling party, and the desperate hurry the Prime Minister seems to be in to ensure dynastic succession are some of the major factors that have impelled this thinking.

The serious electoral reverses suffered by the Congress (I) in Karnataka and Andhra have certainly dampened its enthusiasm in this regard. Even so, the National Executive holds that the proposal has not been abandoned altogether. The possibility of Lok Sabha polls being held earlier than scheduled is very much there. The executive, therefore, calls upon party units to remain in a state of election alert.

### *Appeal to form a National Democratic Front*

It was against the foreground of the impending Lok Sabha elections (even if held on schedule, these are just twenty months away) that at the National Council session, Party President Shri Vajpayee appealed to all parties which subscribe to national unity and democracy to come together in the form of a National Democratic Front, and make the Front an efficacious instrument

to fight Congress (I) misrule. The National Executive endorses this appeal and earnestly hopes that the call will evoke a positive response.

### **BJP favours electoral arrangements**

On this occasion, the National Executive would like to restate its stand on the issue of concerted action by opposition parties as follows:

- (a) The BJP favours concerted action by all opposition parties both inside legislatures and outside on specific issues of common interest, such as electoral reforms, combating corruption etc.
- (b) The BJP, while maintaining its separate identity, favours electoral arrangements (including formation of a front on the basis of a common programme) with Opposition parties, barring the Communists and Muslims League, aimed at defeating the Congress (I) Party.

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# National Executive

Lucknow

21-23 October, 1983

## Electoral Reforms

### **State and Central Elections should be held simultaneously**

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party demands that the polls for the Lok Sabha, due in January 1985, and for the nine State Assemblies due in June 1985, be held simultaneously.

### **ID cards for all voters**

The Executive also demands that identity cards be provided to all voters, particularly in urban constituencies, and that electronic voting machines be used in all the constituencies in the 1985 polls and thereafter.

### **No abuse of official media**

Also, the BJP demands that from the day elections are formally notified until the completion of poll all election and political coverage on A.I.R. and T.V. should be supervised by the Election Commission. A monitoring cell should be set up in the Commission itself to ensure that these official media are not abused to further the electoral prospects of the ruling party.

The Executive holds that, given the will, there is no inherent difficulty in the way of the government conceding any of these four demands.

It is obvious that simultaneous polls were envisaged by the founding fathers of the Constitution as the general rule though, naturally, provision had to be made for mid-term polls in special situations. In actual practice, simultaneous polls were the rule for

over two decades after Independence till that rule was broken by mid-term poll of 1971.

Simultaneous polling and introduction of electronic voting machines, between them, would mean a considerable saving in expenditure—for the government, for political parties and for candidates. The present Chief Election Commissioner has been quoted as saying that government saving alone would be of the order of Rs. 30 crores.

Simultaneous polls will also minimise the interruption and dislocation which normal civil administration and the implementation of development projects naturally suffer when large number of officials of various ranks have to be drafted for poll duty from the initial to the final stage.

One of the most pernicious evils in Indian elections today is the large-scale impersonation that goes on, particularly in the cities and towns. The indelible ink device has proved ineffective against this. The only way to prevent this is to provide all voters with identity cards, a proposal commended by the Election Commission and accepted in principle by government. The decision must now be implemented.

### **Use electronic voting machines**

The use of electronic voting machines will not only simplify election procedure and eliminate malpractices but will also result in further saving, as there will then be no need for printing ballot papers, guarding or transporting ballot boxes. Separate elaborate arrangements for counting will also be eliminated.

The accepted objectives of T.V. and Radio the world over are to entertain, to inform and to educate the people. But in India these media have become just instruments of propaganda—for the ruling party and for the ruling family. This propaganda role is seen at its worst during elections. If the Election Commission is to faithfully discharge its constitutional duty of ensuring that elections are free and fair, it must step forward to curb this waywardness of Radio and T.V. during polls.

### **Central Government not interested in Electoral Reforms**

The BJP notes with deep regret that the Central Government has shown no interest in initiating electoral reforms, despite repeated demands made by various political parties and the endorsement of these demands by the Election Commission itself.

The Election Commission has made a series of valuable recommendations seeking to curb abuse of money power, and misuse of official machinery. The recommendations had been referred to a Cabinet sub-Committee. More than two years have elapsed since the setting up of this sub-committee, but on the Government's own admission, there has been virtually no progress.

### **Electoral Reforms must be implemented on priority basis**

The BJP demands that the question of electoral reforms be taken up on a priority basis so as to ensure that recommendations of the Election Commission on which there is a broad agreement among political parties are implemented before the coming General Elections. The Prime Minister in her speech at the Bombay AICC had talked about hammering out a consensus on national issues. Let her initiate a dialogue with opposition parties on this vital question of electoral reforms.

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# National Executive

Bhuvaneshwar

12-14 February, 1982

## Mini General Elections and Electoral Reform

### Public Funding of Elections

A mini general election has been announced. Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Kerala and West Bengal are going to the polls in the third week of next month. Simultaneously, by-elections are being held for seven Lok Sabha seats, including Garhwal, and 15 seats of various State Assemblies. In West Bengal and Garhwal, elections are being held notwithstanding dogged efforts made by the ruling party to scuttle them. The BJP National Executive records its appreciation of the correct stand taken by the Election Commission in this regard.

During the past few years there has been considerable public debate on the issue of electoral reform. A broad consensus has already emerged with regard to two specific evils afflicting the purity of elections, namely, money power and abuse of governmental machinery.

It is generally agreed that the only effective device to curb the influence of money power in elections is public funding of elections. As the Parliamentary Committee on Electoral Reform had recommended way back in 1973, all election expenses should be regarded as a legitimate charge on the public exchequer, and expenditure now borne by a candidate or his party should be progressively shifted to the state.

## **Prevent Abuse of Govt Machinery**

Abuse of governmental machinery by the ruling party is another major factor which makes elections a totally unequal and unfair battle, and thus distorts the poll verdict. From time to time the Election Commission as well as various non-Official bodies such as the Tarkunde Committee on Electoral Reform have been emphasising the need for government functioning simply as a care taker once elections are announced.

When the Janata Government was in office, this matter was earnestly pursued. A Cabinet sub-Committee had finalised its proposals. Government had drawn up recommendations on that basis but it was decided that legislation in that regard be introduced after holding discussions with the opposition. Meanwhile, the government fell and so the task undertaken could not be completed.

The Election Commission has made a series of recommendations. Some of these, such as creation of a Rs. 100 crore election fund in order to finance elections and thus to curb the corroding influence of money power, would need legislative and budgetary sanction. In so far as the forthcoming mini General Elections are concerned this may not be feasible. But many of the recommendations made by the Election Commission can be implemented by executive order.

## **BJP supports recommendations made by Election Commission**

The National Executive of the BJP takes note of some very valuable recommendations made by the Election Commission which if accepted, would contribute greatly towards making elections fairer. The Election Commission has specifically referred to a Supreme Court judgement (Ghasi Ram *versus* Dal Singh) in which the then Chief Justice Shri Hidayatullah observed that there are practices indulged in during elections which may not be 'corrupt' in the legal sense of the word, but which are 'evil'. In the light of this judgement the Election Commission has recommended:

1. Disbursements out of the Discretionary Fund at the disposal of a minister should be prohibited within a period of six months before the end of normal term of a House, or from the date on which the election is called when the election is suddenly called, as the case may be;
2. There should be prohibition or restriction on the use of

government vehicles on work not wholly connected with official duties;

3. Use of personal staff of ministers and other government servants for electioneering work, redressal on the eve of elections of public grievances on the spot, etc., should be prohibited under the law;
4. Construction of rostrums by Government for election meetings addressed by Prime Minister/Chief Ministers, should be prohibited under the law; and
5. Promises on the eve of election for construction of roads, provision of drinking water facilities, etc., should be prohibited under the law.

In this context, the Election Commission has also recommended:

1. Government should function as a caretaker government on the dissolution of the Lok Sabha or from the date on which the election is called, whichever is earlier, till the next government is formed. In the case of the State Government, President's Rule should be imposed from the date the election is called.
2. Ministers, etc. should not use government aircraft or vehicles, government postage stamps and other government machinery for election purposes.
3. No member of government should be given time on radio and television, except such time as may be given to his party.
4. No advertisements on government expenses should be made for propaganda of the government or of the ruling party.
5. No transfers of police above the rank of head constable and revenue officers should be ordered.

The BJP's National Executive strongly supports these recommendations. It called upon the Election Commission to convene an all Party meeting immediately to discuss these and all other recommendations of the Commission which do not require legislative change. At this meeting effective steps should be devised also to combat the menace of booth capturing.

# National Executive

Bhubaneswar

12-14 February, 1982

## BJP's approach for Assembly Elections, 1982

The National Executive of the BJP has heard reports from the Party Presidents of the Himanchal Pradesh, Haryana, Kerala and West Bengal units about the political situation in these states on the eve of the forthcoming Assembly elections.

After considering these reports the BJP outlines its objectives and strategy for these elections as follows:

In Himachal Pradesh, the BJP will make an all-out bid to capture a majority of seats in the State legislature on its own. The party, however, does not rule out the possibility of marginal adjustments with other democratic opposition parties.

In Haryana the BJP favours an electoral understanding with the official Lok Dal.

In Kerala and West Bengal the BJP resolves to fight the elections on its own, and will strive to build up in these states a nucleus for a third force which can in course of time emancipate the states from both Congress (I) corruption and decadence as well as Marxist violence and regimentation.

In so far as possible adjustments in Himachal and Haryana are concerned, the National Executive authorises Party President Shri Vajpayee to take final decisions in that regard.

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# National Council

Surat

4-6 June, 1982

## **Approach for Forthcoming Elections (National Executive)**

### **Success in recent elections**

The National Council of the Bharatiya Janata Party expresses satisfaction at the overall performance of the Party in the recent mini General Elections. It is particularly happy about the Party's remarkable success in the Assembly elections of Himachal Pradesh, and in the bye-elections of Thane and Jabalpur. It heartily congratulates the legislators' team of Himachal led by Shri Shanta Kumar, Shri Jagannath Patil of Thane and Shri Baburao Paranajpe of Jabalpur. The Council also extends felicitations to the six MLAs elected in Haryana.

### **Decline of the Congress Party**

Except in 1977, Congress (I) has perhaps never fared as badly in a major election as it has in these mini-polls. Out of 615 seats for which elections were held, Congress (I) has won only 144. A near-unanimous conclusion drawn by political analysts from the results of these elections is that Mrs. Gandhi's charisma has been seriously eroded. The erosion continues, and so does rapid decline in Congress (I)'s influence and popularity.

### **BJP's sound approach**

The National Council feels that the approach adopted for these elections was by the large sound and where results have fallen short of expectations, it has been either because of the difficulties inherent in the situation as in West Bengal and Kerala, or of organisational

shortcomings rather than the approach adopted.

### **Electoral adjustments desirable**

The National Council holds that where other democratic opposition parties have appreciable support, it is desirable to have electoral adjustments with them in order to avoid splitting of the opposition votes. Electoral understanding are, however, meaningful only if they take into account the realities on the ground.

### **Party must get ready for forthcoming elections**

A larger election than the one just completed is scheduled to take place in 1983. Andhra, Karnataka, Jammu and Kashmir, Assam and Delhi are all due for elections. These elections if held all at once, can well become a kind of dress rehearsal for the Lok Sabha elections due to take place in 1985. Of course, the possibility of elections in one or two of these states being held earlier cannot be ruled out. The Party in general and our Pardeshik units in these states in particular have therefore, to be in a state of election alert right from now on.

Of the above states, Jammu and Kashmir stands in a class apart. It is the National Conference which is in office, whereas in the other, it is the Congress (I) which is in command (Assam and Delhi are being administrated directly by the Central Government). The election strategy for each state would have to conform to the requirements each severally, and can be delineated, in precise terms only when the poll bugle is sounded, and battle lines are drawn.

This much should be clear that while in the four Congress(I) ruled states, BJP's battle would be against the Congress(I), in Jammu and Kashmir states, BJP is resolved to fight a two-pronged battle, on the one hand against Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference and on the other against Mrs. Gandhi's Congress.

Meanwhile, all our attention should be concentrated on gearing up our organisational machinery, expanding the BJP's support base and making the party powerful instrument for the redressal of people's grievances, particularly those of the poor, weak and downtrodden.

# National Executive

Shimla

27-29 June, 1981

## **A grave threat to Democracy**

### *A rigged victory*

The Congress (I) victory in the recent bye-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 shameless abuse of official machinery as has taken place this time. It was not the Congress (I) party which was fighting these elections. Opposition parties had to contend with the combined strength of the Central and State Governments, their vast army of officers, their aircraft and vehicles and other resources and their combined powers of patronage 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 features 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 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 commandeered by the dominant caste at a given booth. Pernicious though the practice is, there has always been 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 bye-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 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 abuse of official machinery to promote the electoral interests of the ruling party;
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.

### ***Elections in Delhi must be held immediately***

Without any justification 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 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 Elections Commission's verdict is against the Cong. (I); but it is also a personal indictment of these two Chief Ministers.

We demand that whenever elections are held in these two states, these two governments must resign.

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# National Executive

New Delhi 23 April, 1980

## Election strategy

The National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party heard reports from various state representatives about developments in their respective states with regard to the forthcoming Assembly elections.

Several states favoured a go it alone policy. They felt that the launching of the BJP had aroused new enthusiasm in the people which should be properly mobilised in these elections. Some executive members favoured adjustments with the Lok Dal. Members generally regretted that the response made by various opposition parties to the call given by BJP President, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee to work out a concerted strategy to contain the forces of authoritarianism has been either negative, or evasive, or ambivalent.

After considering these reports, the National Executive resolves that the Party's strategy for these Assembly elections will be governed by the following guidelines:

- (i) BJP will put up candidates in such constituencies where it has a fair chance of victory.
- (ii) State units will be free to have local adjustments with other opposition parties with the sole objective of not weakening anti-authoritarian forces, but such adjustments will have to be open and public, and not clandestine.
- (iii) BJP will have no truck with any of the Communist Parties.

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# **National Executive**

**New Delhi 6 June, 1980**

## **Assembly polls**

The National Executive of the BJP regards the verdict of the recent Assembly elections as essentially an extension of the Lok Sabha election results. Largely as a result of their disappointment with the squabbles and infighting in the Janata Party, the people, have voted in both these elections for the Congress (I).

## **Negative vote for Congress**

Opposition parties, including the BJP strove hard during the poll campaign to make Congress (I)'s performance – rather non-performance – during its last four months tenure at the Centre the focal issue in the election debate. But they failed. The people obviously regard this period as too brief, and are willing to give Smt. Gandhi's party some more time to prove itself. Also, the credibility of most opposition parties, seriously eroded by their own suicidal antics and opportunistic attitudes, continued to be low even after the Lok Sabha election. Thus, like the Lok Sabha election verdict, this Assembly verdict too is more of a negative vote than any positive endorsement of the Congress (I) The emergence of the BJP has no doubt aroused of a new enthusiasm but it will take some time to convert this enthusiasm into an enduring political base.

## **BJP greets AIDMK on its success in Tamil Nadu**

It is significant that in Tamil Nadu, the One State where the Janata squabbles were not relevant, the Congress (I) has been badly mauled. The BJP extends its greetings and good wishes to the

AIDMK upon its success, and hopes that the AIDMK will continue to strengthen the forces against authoritarianism.

As compared to its own performance in the Lok Sabha polls, the Congress (I) has suffered a setback. In January 1940, it had won 1520 Assembly segments in the nine states which have just had their elections. This time it has won around 1375 seats. This indicates a drop of nearly 10%. It is noteworthy that this drop has been there in spite of the fact that the fragmentation of opposition votes has been greater this time than even in the Lok Sabha polls.

### **Misgivings about Ruling Party's intentions**

The Lok Sabha and Assembly elections together have cast an onerous responsibility on the ruling party. For the five months that it has been in office at the Centre, its performance has been absolutely dismal. Its attitude towards various institutions of our democratic set up, towards Parliament, the judiciary, the press, the services have given rise to serious misgivings about its intentions. The economy has remained directionless. The price situation has gone out of control. All promises about maintaining law and order have been belied. But despite this, Congress (I) spokesmen have been doing nothing else except to traduce Janata governments and blame them for their own failures. A major plank of the Congress (I) in the last elections was the perverse thesis that the country will progress only when the same party rules in the states which is in the office at the Centre. The latest electoral verdict leaves the Congress (I) with no alibis whatsoever.

### **Politics of assassination**

An extremely disturbing feature of the recent election is the ugly manifestation of muscle power and money power. In several constituencies elections had to be countermanded because the candidate was killed. In the past also, election campaigns have generated violence. But that violence has generally been the outcome of strains and clashes between rival factions and groups. This time, however, even though there was less of strain at the field level, the number of murders was unusually high. This has an ominous meaning that the killings were by hired criminals, and that a section of our politicians have no qualms in resorting to the

politics of assassination to achieve their electoral ends.

There have been serious reports from UP and Bihar about misuse of officials machinery of manipulation of electoral rolls, and booth capture. In Bihar, particularly, this foul practice of booth capturing has assumed grave proportions.

We demand that a judicial enquiry be instituted into all these happenings.

BJP performance quite creditable

The Bharatiya Janata Party was launched just a few weeks before the issue of the Assembly poll notifications. It had to go to the hustings without even a proper party infrastructure. An acute paucity of resources severely handicapped our election campaign, It is 'ratifying that notwithstanding this, the BJP has emerged as the first among opposition parties in the country both in terms of seats as well as of popular votes.'

In as many as 200 constituencies, BJP candidates lost by a margin of less than 5,000 votes. In 85 of these the difference was less than 2,000. We are confident that if the BJP had some more time to organise its campaign and mobilise resources, the results would have been far better.

BJP thanks voters for their support

The Bharatiya Janata Party expresses its sincere thanks to the lakhs of electors who have expressed confidence in the party. The verdict has cast upon the BJP the role of principal opposition. The party pledges itself to the discharge of this responsibility in a constructive and effective manner. The BJP shall be forthright and uncompromising in its defence of people's rights and the interests of the down trodden. The BJP rededicates itself to the building up of a clean and healthy polity within the framework of the five commitments spelt out by the party's basic policy statement.

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