

National Executive

Mumbai

22-26 June, 2004

TASKS AHEAD : Immediate and Long-Term

The following draft Discussion Paper on 'Tasks Ahead' was placed for reflection before the National Executive of the Bharatiya Janata Party, meeting in Mumbai on 22-24 June, 2004. It was further updated after incorporating the views and suggestions that emerged out of the deliberations of senior leaders of the Party at the Chintan Baithak in Goa (30 July-2 August, 2004). It formulates the main tasks before the Party in fulfilment of its resolve to reenergize itself in a comprehensive manner, in order to successfully deal with both the immediate and long-term challenges. This document is now presented for discussion among members of all the State Executives, District Executives and Mandal Executives across the country in Chintan Baithaks to be held between 25 September, 2004 (birth anniversary of Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay) and 11 February, 2005 (his death anniversary). After discussion, each unit of the Party should prepare, based on the various tasks mentioned in this document, an 'Action Paper' detailing specific actions that it proposes to take. The next higher unit of the Party is expected to regularly monitor the implementation of the decisions taken by the lower unit.

Introduction

Growth is a way of life for any living and mission-driven organization. In the course of their growth, all such organizations face difficulties and develop shortcomings. Quantitative expansion brings in its wake qualitative deficiencies, which, if unchecked and uncorrected, can hinder further growth of the organization and

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even cause its decline. However, an organization that is aware of its purpose of existence and continually reminds itself of the goal for which it was founded never fails to study these shortcomings and overcome them by applying necessary correctives.

During the period of the Party's phenomenal growth since the late 1980s, many shortcomings have surfaced in the organization. These are inconsistent with our Party's ideals and objectives, with our distinctive ideology, and also with our guiding organizational principles. The need for carrying out corrective measures had become apparent a long time ago. However, the setback that our Party suffered in the recently concluded parliamentary elections has made us acutely aware of the extent of these deficiencies as well as of the urgency to remedy them.

This Discussion Paper, and the concerted action that will follow for implementing the tasks mentioned herein, are a testimony that the BJP is indeed an organization that has both a growth strategy and a self-correction strategy. It presents the tasks before us on five fronts: Ideological Front, Organisational Front, Legislative and Governance Front, Development Front and Political Front.

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Ideological Front : *Restoring the primacy of ideology and idealism*

1. The BJP is not an ordinary political party in pursuit of power for the sake of power alone. Rather, it is part of a wider movement which is guided by the ideology of nationalism and whose goal is to bring about India's all-round national resurgence. We should not be defensive or apologetic about projecting our distinctive ideological identity, about our relationship with other nationalist organizations, and also about our commitment to comprehensive social progress inspired by the eternal and universal values of our civilisation.

We should, in particular, mount a powerful and sustained counter-offensive against all those ideologies and political forces, especially the Congress and the Communists, who reject *Hindutva* as the basic identity of the Indian Nation; who have perverted the ideal of secularism for their narrow political ends; for whom maligning our Party and our larger

movement as 'communal' has become a necessity to keep alive their nefarious strategy of anti-BJPism; and in whose hands the destiny of our Motherland is decidedly not safe. As far as the BJP is concerned, '*Hindutva*', '*Bharatiyata*' and '*Indianness*' are synonymous terms. Of the three, the BJP does not insist on the use of any one specific term.

Our commitment to secularism — indeed, India's own commitment to secularism — is rooted in the Hindu ethos and world-view, which does not discriminate on the basis of faith and categorically rejects the concept of theocracy. We continue to stand for "Justice for all, but appeasement of none". We commit ourselves to strengthening the bonds of Indianness that unite all Indians irrespective of their religion, caste, tribe, region or language. While projecting our unique ideological identity, it will be our determined endeavour to counter narrow and sectarian projection of our ideology, as this harms both the BJP and the larger movement of which we are an integral part. *Desh Hit* (National Interest) is the touchstone of our ideology.

2. The BJP also reaffirms its commitment to the establishment of a progressive social order based on the ideals of equality, equity, compassion, cooperation, social justice, social harmony, gender justice, Antyodaya, protection of the environment, preservation of family and social values, and the all-round development of the individual self as an essential precondition of human evolution. We do not subscribe to the theories of class struggle or caste conflict. We believe in the goal of *Sarve Janah Sukhino Bhavantu* (May all be happy).

National security and safeguarding the unity and integrity of our Nation will continue to be our highest priority. We remain committed to India's integrated and accelerated development, based on a *Swadeshi* concept, and by harnessing all the resources, opportunities and new ideas engendered by the changes in the Indian and global economy. Our approach to various national issues as

well as issues of India's social and economic development are expressed in our resolutions from time to time. The most recent exposition of these was in the BJP's 'Vision Document', issued on the eve of the elections to the 14th Lok Sabha.

All the above-mentioned ideals, commitments and vision statements are expounded cogently in Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay's 'Integral Humanism', which is the guiding vision of the BJP. Therefore, encouraging all our *karyakartas* and functionaries to understand the meaning of 'Integral Humanism' and the tasks it enjoins on us is a major ideological task before the Party.

3. It is not difficult to know why it has become necessary to make the entire party organization realise that we are an integral part of a larger nationalism-inspired movement, that we are working for a lofty goal of nation-building, and that a BJP worker has no reason to be in the Party if he puts his personal interests above his duty to actively work for that goal. Nobody is taller than the organization. We have repeatedly observed that when *karyakartas* and functionaries are not guided by any lofty ideals, when they are not emotionally inspired by a larger goal, they tend to fall prey to lower-level objectives and considerations, which are alien to our tradition and even harmful to our movement. This is the principal reason why our country's polity is being infected with negative trends, such as the rise of caste identities, self-centred behaviour, indiscipline, lack of mutual trust leading to weakening of the team spirit and camaraderie, and pursuit of power for its own sake. We must guard against these tendencies creeping into our Party.

The remedy to this malady lies in rededicating ourselves to the BJP's founding ideals and objectives. We have to carry this awareness right down to the grassroots workers of the Party, through various training, education and orientation programmes, and above all, through the personal conduct of Party functionaries. Restoring

the primacy of ideals and ideology has also become necessary to discourage careerists who are guided by the consideration of “What is in it for me?”, and to encourage those who are willing to make sacrifices and remain with the party both in good as well as bad times. We should encourage our *karyakartas* to think, “What have I given to the Party?” rather than, “What has the Party given me?” Our motto has always been: “Nation first, Party next, self last.” We will be able to deal with the gigantic challenges facing our Nation only if our party organization comes to be dominated by those who have a basic commitment to idealism and ideology.

4. The BJP’s Five Basic Commitments (*Panch Nishthayen*), as laid out in the Party’s Constitution are – Nationalism and National Integration; Democracy; Egalitarian and Exploitation-Free Society (*‘Samata Yukt and Shoshan Mukh Samaj’*); Positive Secularism (*‘Sarva Dharma Samabhav’*) and Value-Based Politics. We need to popularize these basic commitments, which encapsulate our ideology, among our workers and members. Therefore, their popularization and elucidation is an important activity, which should be undertaken at every level for restoring the primacy of ideology in the Party organization.

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Tasks on the Organisational Front: *Combining the virtues of a mass party with a strong cadre network*

The strength of the BJP lies in its unique nature of combining the virtues of a mass party with a strong cadre network. This strength will have to be further built up in the days ahead by augmenting both the virtues – expanding the mass base of the BJP and simultaneously enlarging and enriching our army of *karyakartas*.

1. Collectivity, Mutuality and Communication

Collectivity (*Saamoohikata*), Mutuality (*Parasparikata*) and Communication (*Samvaad*) are the three enlightened principles that have defined BJP’s organisational culture. The points of action that follow from these principles are:

Come Together, Think Together, Work Together. These help in strengthening our awareness of the common goal and purpose that unite us, and which we need to pursue in discharging our own individual responsibilities. Unfortunately, there has been some erosion of commitment to these principles at some levels in the Party. Lack of mutual consultation and coordination sometimes dilutes the effectiveness of the Party's activities. Any deviations and distortions in this regard will have to be set right. Commitment to mutuality is essential for communication. This commitment requires us to create an atmosphere of mutual affection (*Sneh*) and trust (*Vishwas*). Such an atmosphere enables colleagues to appreciate each other's individual strengths, and also to point out the weaknesses in each other without any fear of misunderstanding. A Party colleague's good points should be talked about everywhere. When it comes to his weak points, these should be discussed one-to-one, in a suitable manner and with a friendly approach. Such an organizational ethos not only promotes discipline and self-discipline, but also helps in bringing about improvement in conduct.

2. Style of functioning is a part of our ideology

For these corrective measures to succeed, it is necessary to understand that, as far as the BJP is concerned, personal conduct and style of functioning are a part of our ideology. The two cannot be separated. Therefore, commitment to ideology has to be additionally measured against the yardstick of behaviour and the style of functioning.

3. Commitment and accountability to Party, and not to individuals

The Party will have to take action at every level to ensure that positions and responsibilities are given to persons whose primary commitment is to the Party, and not to any individual or group. Those in the latter category generally remain loyal and accountable to the group or the individual concerned, and not to the party. This makes the organization fragile and fissiparous, and renders it

incapable of going to the people with a united face or dealing with challenges before the Party with cohesion, confidence and determination. We should create such a self-evident 'Party comes first' atmosphere that even *karyakartas* who are tempted to cultivate individual loyalties can see for themselves that no benefit comes by doing '*Neta Parikrama*', and no harm comes by not doing so. Party activities should be centred in Party offices.

4. Need to stem indiscipline

There is an urgent need to promote and strengthen the culture of discipline and self-discipline at all levels, beginning with the higher echelons. The rapidly gathering impression that acts of indiscipline will be condoned and that even serious cases of anti-party activities will be overlooked, has done immense damage to the health of our organization. Earlier, the common people admired the BJP as "a party of disciplined leaders and cadres". This was something that even our ideological and political adversaries admitted. It must be the endeavour of our functionaries and *karyakartas* at all levels to live up to the people's expectations and keep up the BJP's image of a "Party with a difference".

One of the manifestations of indiscipline is the tendency to use the media to air one's grievances. Wittingly or unwittingly, some people in the Party share organizational matters with the media. This causes considerable damage to the Party's image and internal cohesion.

Sometimes, the absence of communication within the Party and the lack of an effective grievance redressal system make Party workers and functionaries breach discipline and commit wrongs. Therefore, we need to strengthen the system whereby workers and functionaries can air their grievances freely at proper forums and feel satisfied. In cases of gross indiscipline and repeated misconduct, deterrent and demonstrative action needs to be taken.

In addition to enforcing discipline, efforts should be made to address the underlying problems and grievances, if any. In other words, discipline-strengthening activities and problem-solving activities should go on simultaneously.

There should be no delays in discussing and deciding on issues of discipline. Grievance redressal should be strengthened, with focus on nipping problems in the bud. Informal mechanisms for sorting out problems and redressal of grievances have always been a part of our organizational ethos. There should be some respected seniors in the Party at all levels, to whom functionaries and *karyakartas* can go and unburden themselves of their grievances. Our Party is indeed fortunate in having such elders at various levels who, though not active in day-to-day affairs, command the respect of the rank-and-file.

5. Holding regular meetings of the 'Core Team'

The tradition of regular meetings of the 'Core Team' at the state and district levels for a comprehensive discussion of various political and organizational issues has to be strengthened. There should be at least two such meetings every year.

6. Holding organisational elections in a proper manner

Organisational elections should be conducted in such a manner that our tradition of unanimity based on consensus is maintained. Care should be taken to see that there is no recrimination and no factionalism. Also, we should guard against the tendency of the outgoing/losing section becoming inactive after the elections. In this context, there are two specific suggestions: one, to delink membership drive from organizational elections; and two, evolving some kind of mechanism where key members of the outgoing team are given some responsibilities.

7. Leadership through sustained mass and organizational work

Our Party believes in leadership built through constant mass and organizational work. This has been a source of abiding strength for the Party. Any distortions in this regard will have to be rectified.

8. Inducting more full-time *karyakartas*

Full-time *karyakartas* are a source of strength for our Party.

In our strategy to re-energize the party organization at all levels, it has become necessary to induct, train and develop a large number of full-time activists, who have no ambition to enter electoral politics or to get positions in the organization. We should make special efforts to ensure that our *karyakartas* reflect the broad social composition of our diverse society. Ideological education, which motivates a person from within, has to be an important part of this strategy. How to accomplish this through both traditional and non-traditional ways is an important challenge before the Party.

9. Re-orienting the social identity of the Party

It should be our concerted effort to re-orient the social identity and the image of the Party. Over the past nearly 25 years, our Party has grown enormously, both socially and geographically. In spite of this rapid expansion, some people still carry on the propaganda that the BJP is a party of the middle classes, upper middle classes and upper castes. Our opponents, for their own selfish reasons, try to project the BJP as an 'anti-Dalit', 'anti-working class' and 'anti-poor' party. We must resolutely counter this propaganda. It should be our endeavour to establish an emotional attachment between our Party and the people belonging to the poor, weaker and downtrodden sections of society.

In terms of its social base, its activities as well as its image, the BJP should be seen as a Party of all sections of society (*Sarva Sparshi and Sarva Vyapi*), and one which is broadly anchored among the common people and fervently champions the cause of their upliftment. We should go out of our way to transform the image of the BJP as a party that is 'Gramonmukh' (Pro-Village) and 'Gareebonmukh' (Pro-Poor). Our Party should strongly associate itself with the new *jagruti* and *chetana* (self-awareness and assertiveness) among the under-privileged and under-empowered sections of our society. We should be in the forefront to espouse their legitimate aspirations and expectations, keeping in mind the overall needs of *samajik samarasata* and

samanvay (social harmony and balance).

The Party's identity is often formed by its leadership at various levels. Therefore, we should make special efforts to develop popular nationalist-minded personalities from rural and *kisan* backgrounds, as well as from SC/ST/OBC and Most Backward Classes to be projected as BJP leaders at every level.

10. Energising Morchas and Cells

Morchas, Cells and the proposed Subject Committees are the means whereby the BJP can reach out to specific sections of society. The Party will soon prepare specific strategies to expand the activities of these structures among their respective constituencies in line with our overall growth strategy. We recognize that, in recent years, new groups and constituencies have emerged, both at the local and national levels, which require setting up of new Cells. Example: the community of small investors, whose interests and concerns are generally overlooked by market forces and official institutions.

We also recognize that special efforts are required to further increase the Party's activities among numerically large communities such as tribals, denotified tribes, shepherds, fishermen, weavers, other artisans, etc., as also among vocal and influential groups such as teachers, lawyers and other professionals.

11. Expanding Party's activities among *kisans* and in rural areas

The Party has resolved to expand its activities among farmers, farm workers and other sections of the rural poor. Although this is the responsibility of the *Kisan Morcha*, it has become necessary for the entire Party to increase its work in rural areas in a major way. Hence, Party functionaries and workers at all levels should get associated with this work in a consistent way, tour rural areas frequently, and effectively articulate the issues of farmers and other rural communities in various forums. Programmes like the '*Gaon Chalo Abhiyan*' should be taken up on a regular basis and in

more innovative ways. The Party's resolutions, statements and speeches of our leaders should reflect the importance we attach to the problems of *kisans* and rural areas.

12. Expanding the Party's work among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

The BJP has rapidly expanded its support base among the SCs and STs in recent decades. However, there is an immense scope and also an urgent need to further intensify our efforts in this direction. Not only the respective morchas of the BJP, but also the Party as a whole has redoubled our activities among these sections of society by championing their causes, highlighting their problems, protesting against their exploitation and oppression, and, where needed, by launching agitational activities. We should also increase the scope of constructive activities, aimed at their socio-economic development and welfare, through voluntary organizations and NGOs. We should propagate our commitment to social justice and social harmony. All our efforts should be directed at establishing an enduring emotional bond between the BJP and our brethren belonging to SCs and STs. Our workers should conduct a sustained awareness creation campaign against those casteist parties and self-centred leaders among the SCs and STs who espouse a divisive and confrontationist attitude towards other communities, and whose politics is guided by opportunism and personal aggrandizement.

13. Expanding the Party's activities among the Minorities

The BJP believes that minorities form an integral part of our society. We care for them as much as we care for any other section of society, without any kind of discrimination. This is evident from the six-year-long track record of the Vajpayee government. However, due to the sustained and motivated propaganda carried out by our political adversaries, many misconceptions about the BJP and its ideology remain in the minds of our minority brethren. Not only the Minority Morcha, but the entire Party should make sustained efforts to remove these misconceptions.

We should champion their issues in education, economic development and empowerment (what we call the '3-E Formula'), with a view to bringing them in the mainstream of the Nation's progress. We should also vigorously expose how pseudo-secular parties have failed to address these real issues and, instead, have been treating them only as a vote bank for narrow electoral considerations.

14. Expanding Party's activities among women

For a long time the Party has been aware of the need to expand its women-focused activities and develop new women *karyakartas* at all levels. This need has become more pronounced and urgent in view of the growing debate on the Women's Reservation Bill, which was first mooted by our own Party. It has become necessary to substantially increase women activists' participation in decision-making within the party organisation. Mahila Morcha should increase its work among the rural and urban poor, SCs, STs, backward classes and minorities. It should also identify and develop new activists from these sections of society. The entire Party should get actively associated with issues relating to women's all-round empowerment.

15. Crucial role of the Yuva Morcha

Among all the Morchas of the BJP, the Yuva Morcha plays a crucial role in expanding our base among the youth, who now form a decisive and numerically significant constituent of India's population. Therefore, the Party units at all levels will have to pay utmost attention to encouraging its growth and guiding its activities. Non-student youth, who are numerically the largest section of the youth and also the least organised, will continue to be our focus. However, we should also endeavour to reach out to idealistic and socially conscious students in universities and other educational institutions through appropriate methods.

Experience has shown that three types of activity attract the youth to our Party: Mass awareness programmes that highlight issues of nationalism and counter pseudo-

secularism; Agitational and mobilisational activities focused on employment, development, issues of injustice and corruption; and Constructive activities of various types – relief during calamities, sports, blood donation, etc. In addition to implementing national programmes, the Yuva Morcha units at the state, district and mandal levels, in consultation with the Party leadership at the respective levels, should draw up their own programmes in each of these categories. Our objective should be to attract committed and idealistic youth in large numbers towards the Party and keep them active in a sustained manner.

It has been observed that sometimes Yuva Morcha functionaries are nominated on the consideration of individual loyalties and preferences of Party functionaries. It is necessary to counter this and some other negative tendencies so that the Party is able to realize the full potential of the Yuva Morcha for advancing its political and organizational objectives. The age limit of 35 years for members and functionaries must be strictly adhered to. The Yuva Morcha should combine agitational, constructive and self-development oriented activities in a proper measure. A special focus of the Yuva Morcha will be to instil the spirit of nationalism among the youth, so that they do not come under the influence of casteist, sectarian and divisive forces.

16. Developing young leaders

Developing and projecting young leaders has become one of the urgent tasks before the Party. It should be our endeavour to bring promising young men and women in the age group of 20-25 years into the Party fold, train them for 3-4 years in our ideology and practical activities, provide them opportunities to get experience of governance in local bodies, and thereby enable them to emerge as competent young leaders of the BJP. We have to especially identify and encourage those young activists who belong to the sections of society and to the geographical areas in which the BJP needs to expand its influence and mass base.

17. Energising lower units of the Party

Activation of the lower units of the Party in all the States, and constant monitoring of their activities by higher units have become one of the urgent tasks for energising the Party organization in a sustainable manner. We must always remember that BJP workers in the lower units serve as the 'Last Mile' personal contact between the Party and the people. Programmes announced at the national or state level are often not taken up below the district or mandal levels. This should be avoided.

Many colleagues have expressed the view that the booth-level committee, which is normally formed at the time of elections, should be considered the primary unit of the Party. If this unit is made the building block of the Party, and kept active in a sustained manner, it would not only be useful at the time of elections, but also strengthen the Party at the grass roots.

18. Election Management and booth-level activity

Over the years, fighting elections has become a highly complex, sophisticated and demanding exercise requiring long and meticulous planning. Our Party structure and functioning have therefore to be aligned to the imperatives of election management and, in particular, booth management. We cannot depend on publicity alone – especially, non-personal publicity through the media – to reach out to the voter. Activities such as checking the names of voters in the electoral lists, taking corrective and timely action wherever needed, preparing and distributing voter slips, visiting voters' homes, getting their feedback, and bringing them out to the voting booth, have become indispensable for achieving success. Earlier, attention to these activities was one of the greatest strengths of our Party. Unfortunately, in some places, it has now become a major weakness.

For every election, right from panchayat election upwards, the concerned unit of the Party should identify which sections of our society are our 'core supporters' and which sections can be won over through appropriate strategies to

enlarge our support base to winning levels.

There is another important aspect of election management. Our opponents have been increasingly resorting to misuse of the official machinery and to tactics of intimidation and terror to hijack the election in their favour. Therefore, our Party units right down to the lowest level should be geared up to face this grave challenge and to ensure that elections are indeed free and fair.

In several States and constituencies, our Party functionaries have evolved a good system of election management and booth management. Their experience should be widely disseminated within the Party.

19. Periodic evaluation of the performance of MPs and MLAs

Experience has shown that a fairly large number of sitting MPs and MLAs of our Party fail to get re-elected. Often this is due to the 'anti-incumbency factor' at the constituency level. We paid a fairly heavy price on account of this in the recent Lok Sabha elections. Therefore, the Party's central office, in cooperation with the state units, will have to put in place a mechanism for periodic evaluation of the performance of our MPs and MLAs. Similarly, our State units should conduct periodic evaluation of the Party's elected representatives in local bodies.

20. Upgrading training activity

Our determination to strengthen the ideological thrust in all our activities makes it necessary for taking up training of party workers not as a sporadic and marginal effort, but as a systematic and regular programme to be run at all levels of the organization. Also, training should cover not only the issues of ideology, idealism, and development-related subjects, but also personal conduct and style of functioning, which are also a part of our ideology. Accordingly, the structure for carrying out this activity will be upgraded from a Cell to a full-fledged Department on par with the six morchas. In course of time, it will be developed into a Party School with necessary infrastructure in various centres across the country. The Party is setting up a training

institute in memory of late Kushabhau Thakre in Bhopal. We already have the Rambhau Mhalgi Prabhodini in Mumbai. The five major training camps proposed to be held within the next six months are as follows:

- (a) A National Training Camp for key State-level functionaries
- (b) State Training Camps for key district-level functionaries
- (c) Training Camps for all MPs
- (d) Training Camps for all MLAs
- (e) Workshops for Ministers

In addition, the Party proposes to organize a separate training programme for Party spokesmen and others dealing with the media.

21. Observing special days in memory of martyrs, national leaders and great local personalities

This should become a mandatory activity at every unit of the Party. In addition to observing Dr. S.P. Mookerjee birth anniversary (July 6) and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay death anniversary (February 11), Party units should also hold programmes in honour of other national leaders and martyrs. In addition, they should regularly organize functions in memory of great personalities belonging to diverse sections of society, in their respective state, region, district or mandal. These functions help in raising the ideological awareness of our Party workers, besides earning the goodwill of the general public.

22. Information, Documentation, Research and Communication

As an integral part of our effort to strengthen the information and intellectual edifice of the Party, we will soon set up at the Party headquarters a full-fledged centre for data collection, documentation, research and communication with modern infrastructure and drawing on the vast reservoir of intellectuals and professionals who support the BJP.

23. Special activities

The Party's special initiatives like 'Sahayog', 'Samvaad', 'Samarpan' and the 'Aajivan Sahayog Nidhi' campaign have generally evoked a good response. However, there is a need to make them more effective through sustained efforts at all levels. Therefore, these have to be made mandatory.

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Tasks on Governance and Legislative Fronts: *Setting new standards of performance and accountability*

1. Improving the performance of BJP-run State Governments

As the fervent proponent of Good Governance, the Party cannot overlook the imperative need to improve the performance of State Governments run by the BJP, alone or as a coalition partner. It is our bounden duty to ensure that the BJP-run governments are able to fulfil the aspirations of the people in their respective States and to meet the promises made in our election manifestoes. This has become all the more important in view of the growing importance of the anti-incumbency trend in Indian elections.

This is possible only with close coordination between the Government and the Party, which is sometimes lacking. As a result, once elected into office, the Government does not feel accountable to the Party organization, and the Party organization does not feel involved in the activities of the Government. We have to evolve a workable system whereby the Party organization provides guidance to Chief Ministers, Ministers and elected representatives and monitors their performance. Equally, there has to be a systematic channel of getting feedback from the people as well as grassroot workers and communicating it to those in the Government for suitable action. This channel should also be used for communicating the Government's policies, programmes and achievements to the people, and for countering the negative propaganda of our opponents.

2. BJP in Parliament and State Legislatures

After having governed the country for six fulfilling years, the BJP's responsibility as the main opposition party in Parliament has grown manifold. Now we have to bring to bear on our new role the full benefit of our knowledge and experience of governance. The people of India expect the BJP to be "an opposition party with a difference", just as the Vajpayee government was seen as "a government with a difference". This casts a big responsibility on our MPs and MLAs to perform well both in side and outside Parliament and State Legislatures. For this, the parliamentary/legislative wing of the Party will soon prepare a plan of action.

As mentioned earlier, constituency-level anti-incumbency has come to affect the BJP's electoral performance in a major way. Therefore, we shall soon put in place an effective and transparent system of periodically evaluating the performance of our MPs, MLAs and public representatives.

3. Setting up subject-specific committees

In our party organization, we have envisaged the establishment of Morchas and Cells as structures to carry out two types of activities: to mobilize specific sections of society around the Party and also to carry the Party's message to these constituencies. With the passage of time, and especially in view of our experience of governance at the Centre, it has become necessary for the BJP to create some new structures to deal with specific subjects that have become important in our parliamentary and political work. Accordingly, the Party will set up subject specific committees at the national level comprising former ministers, MPs, Members of the National Executive and non-party experts. Examples: Committee on National Security, Committee on Employment Generation, Committee on WTO matters, Committee on Agriculture, Committee on Social Justice, Committee on Human Resource Development, Committee on Women's Empowerment, etc. Among other things, these committees will help the Party intervene more effectively in parliamentary

and public debates on various issues and even set the agenda for such debates. State units should constitute similar subject committees at their level.

4. Interaction between *karyakartas* and elected representatives

An oft-heard complaint is that ministers, MPs and MLAs do not spare enough time to meet and interact with *karyakartas*. This malaise has to be checked primarily through self-corrective measures by the individuals concerned. It is also necessary to put in place improved institutional ways of responding to *karyakartas'* suggestions and needs, and pursuing specific people-related works brought by them. MPs and MLAs must visit Party offices regularly, attend Party meetings and participate in Party programmes wherever expected.

5. Improving our performance in local self-governance bodies

A large number of our members are elected members of Panchayats, Zilla Parishads, Municipal Councils and Corporations. Many of these local self-governance bodies are also being run by the BJP. There is a need to improve the functioning of our representatives in these bodies. Panchayat and Municipal good governance is an integral part of our commitment to Good Governance (*Sushaasan*).

6. Strengthening the Party's expertise in foreign affairs

Another task before our Party, whose importance has immensely risen after our six years in governance at the Centre, is the need to expand and deepen the BJP's international linkages. Governments, political parties and international agencies around the globe have come to recognize the BJP as one of the two principal poles in what is the largest democracy in the world. They are showing growing interest in our Party, its policies and its stand on various issues of regional and international concern. The BJP, as a party wedded to the goal of India securing her rightful place in the comity of nations, also has to enrich its in-house expertise on foreign affairs and international

developments. Hence, the task before us has two aspects. One, the activities of the Overseas Friends of the BJP will have to be strengthened and extended to newer countries in the world. More importantly, our Parliamentary Party wing, the Foreign Affairs Cell and the Intellectuals Cell will have to intensify their activities in this regard. Our Party should establish closer contacts with foreign missions in India and with important political parties around the world through regular interactions. Subjects of foreign policy and major international developments should figure in the Party's training programmes.

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Tasks on the Development Front: *Highlighting both problems and solutions*

The BJP's Vision has two focal points: Nationalism (*Rashtravaad*) and Development (*Vikas*). We believe that both are a precondition for realizing our dream of a Resurgent India. There is a tremendous hunger for development among all sections of our society and in all regions of our country. The BJP has to respond effectively to people's rising expectations for a better quality of life, as an integral part of its political strategy. Our understanding of the importance of development has deepened considerably after six years of the NDA government at the Centre. Indeed, we are proud of the many pathbreaking development initiatives unveiled under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Highlighting the Vajpayee government's achievements and initiatives in the area of development is, indeed, an important task before our Party workers.

1. Identifying important issues of development:

In recent years, development-related issues like scarcity of power, roads and water (*Bijlee, Sadak, Paani*), malfunctioning of credit and marketing systems, growing gap between demand and supply in education and healthcare facilities, environmental degradation, problems of the small-scale sector and enterprises in the informal sector etc, are becoming highly sensitive issues politically. They concern the lives of the common people and, often, have a great

impact on electoral outcomes. Therefore, our Party units at the state, district and mandal levels should identify important issues of development and people's welfare in their areas and highlight them in a sustained manner as a part of their regular political activity. Our effort should be to make the people associate the Party with such development issues, so that the people develop an emotional attachment with the BJP. We should especially take up issues that concern weaker sections of society and issues that impact large sections of the population. As far as possible, we should not only highlight the issues, but also present study-based solutions to them.

2. Strengthening the focus on employment and growth

In highlighting development issues, our Party's special focus should be on how to increase employment and self-employment opportunities, while at the same time accelerating economic growth in their areas.

3. Highlighting issues of regional and social imbalances

The importance of regional and social disparities in influencing state politics is growing. Our Party should take up these issues in a proper and effective manner, without conflict with, or a negative attitude towards, other regions.

4. Making development a regular subject in Party meetings

Subjects of development and people's welfare should become a regular part of the agenda of Party meetings at all levels. Concerted efforts should be made to associate experts in various fields with the formulation and articulation of Party's stand on these subjects. Party offices should have up-to-date information on key development parameters in their respective areas and knowledge about the performance of banks development agencies, etc. All this will impart to the BJP an image of a development-oriented (*Vikasonmukh*) party. In this context, our workers should go on highlighting the development initiatives and achievements of the six years of the NDA government.

5. Constructive activity

The BJP believes that there is more to Party work than political activity aimed solely at fighting elections and forming our governments. Indeed, in the BJP's founding conference in Mumbai in 1980, '*Samrachana*' (constructive activity) was one of the three directional principles we had adopted, the other two being '*Sangathan*' (organisation building) and '*Sangharsh*' (agitation). The time has come to make constructive activity an integral part of our organization building. Indeed, we have observed that wherever our *karyakartas* and functionaries are actively involved in social organizations, educational and healthcare institutions, NGOs, and cooperatives of various kinds, not only have they benefited but the Party too has been able to expand its support base. In particular, constructive activities that create employment opportunities and promote development of the village or the town have a special appeal for the people.

In this context, Self Help Groups have become an important employment-generation and income-enhancing means for mobilizing women and the youth. Similarly, social welfare activities undertaken by dedicated religious institutions have a large appeal in society. It is therefore worth considering that we make it necessary for every active Party worker to associate himself or herself with some constructive work. A consultation on this subject will be initiated soon before concretizing a plan of action.

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Tasks on the Political Front: *Expansion, Consolidation and Revival*

A survey of the BJP's position in various States of the country would show that it would be useful to categorise these in four groups for the purpose of determining our future growth strategy.

1. BJP-ruled States

The first category consists of those States where the BJP is in power. Our overriding objective here is to simultaneously pursue the imperatives of good governance and good

politics. Our governments should help the Party in consolidating and expanding our support base. Efforts should be intensified to improve the performance of our governments, to strengthen the coordination between the Party and the Government, and to effectively communicate the Government's policies, programmes and achievements to the people.

In these states, people in the Government and the Party organization should together determine our strengths and weaknesses, and ways to augment the former and reduce the latter. They should identify the issues that are likely to figure whenever elections are held and also the issues on which the Party would like to seek a renewed mandate. Based on this determination, our Governments should reorient their policies, programmes and functioning, and our party units should draw up suitable plans for political work, organizational restructuring and propaganda. Popularisation of our governments' achievements, especially those that concern common people, should take place through the Party organization. There should be a mechanism for getting regular feedback from the grassroot workers of the Party as well as from the general public on the performance of our state governments. Party offices in every block should receive complaints/ grievances/ suggestions from members of the public, send them to concerned government offices/MLAs/ ministers and do follow-up. Not all the complaints and grievances can be attended to, but the people should know that our Party functionaries make an earnest effort to listen to them and help them with their problems.

One of the problems the Party has faced when in power (and this is also true about the six years of NDA government at the Centre) is the alienation of our workers from the government. It is of utmost importance to ensure that our cadres and core supporters should have a sense of involvement and 'ownership' in our governments. Greater opportunities should be created for Party workers to have a sense of participation in the activities of the Government,

and in monitoring the implementation of the policies and programmes of the Government. Every effort should be made to keep their level of motivation high. At the same time, the normal 'opposition mindset' of our *karyakartas* (which has evolved due to long years spent in the opposition) should be changed to a 'governance mindset'. Our workers and supporters should know that they have a duty towards their own governments.

These twin tasks – creating opportunities for workers' involvement in government and inculcating in them a sense of duty towards the government – are difficult but indispensable. These can be accomplished only through close coordination between those in the government, functionaries of the state units of the Party and MLAs. The Party Constitution requires setting up of Coordination Committees at state, district and mandal levels. Where such committees do not exist, they should be formed right away. (This applies even to states where the Party is not in power; in such states, the coordination committee should include Party functionaries and elected representatives.) Where they exist, their working should be strengthened. Utmost care should be taken to ensure that contradictions do not develop between those in the government set-up and those in the Party set-up. It should always be kept in mind that the Party organization is the mother of all the morchas, cells and wings. Hence, our belief in the supremacy of the Party over the legislative wing.

2. States where the BJP is the main opposition party

The second category consists of those States where the BJP is not in power but is a formidable opposition party. Here our party units, legislature wings and morchas have to perform an aggressive role in exposing the failures and shortcomings of the incumbent governments. They should make mass agitations and mass contact programmes the main thrust of Party's activities, especially on issues that are likely to figure prominently in the next elections. They should identify organizational weaknesses and take prompt action to set things right. The process of evaluating the performance of

incumbent MLAs, identifying winnable candidates, and resource generation at the local level should begin in right earnest.

3. States where the BJP has suffered a setback

The third category comprises States where the BJP was once a formidable force but has now become weak. Our Party units in these states should conduct an honest and thorough analysis of the factors that have caused the BJP's decline. There should be proper evaluation of the contribution of all the leading functionaries, based on which accountability has to be fixed. Promising new persons should be given an opportunity to come in place of those who could not perform. Party units and morchas should draw up a plan of action based on a careful determination of the issues that are agitating the minds of the people and are likely to define political events in their respective States. They should carefully look at the reasons that prompted those sections of society which were traditional supporters of BJP to go away from us. They should also identify such crucial sections of society in which our party has so far been weak but where we have a potential for growth.

4. States where the BJP remains weak

The fourth and the last category includes States where our Party has always had a weak or marginal presence. The BJP's enduring weakness in these States has cost our party dearly in the recent parliamentary elections. We have to make an in-depth study of the reasons for our prolonged failure to grow in these States. We should determine the special socio-political and cultural aspects of these States, which have hindered our growth and enabled other parties to dominate the political scene. Short-term plans, drawn up for one election after another, have not helped. Obviously, we should prepare a long-range growth strategy in these States. As a part of this strategy, we should implement a well thought-out cadre building plan in every Assembly constituency. While forging alliances may be necessary, it should be our endeavour to develop our independent

strengths in specific geographical clusters and in specific sections of society.

5. States scheduled to go to the polls shortly

Our immediate task is to gear up for the next round of elections in Maharashtra, Haryana, Bihar, Jharkhand, Arunachal Pradesh. We should also be ready for the electoral battle in Uttar Pradesh, in view of the fast-developing political situation in the State. Our Party units in these States should meticulously plan every aspect of their election strategy – issues to be made the Party's election issues; mass contact, agitational programmes and publicity campaigns designed around those issues; checking the voters' lists; identification of winnable candidates; constituency-wise stock-taking of organizational preparedness; election management and booth management issues, etc. Local-level resource generation is also an important task.

6. Need to strengthen our alliances

Our Party can take credit for building the first viable and successful alliance at the national level. We should consolidate the gains of the NDA experience by learning the right lessons. We should develop good relations with our allies, wherever we have alliances. We should evolve a proper system, which is operational right from the national to local levels, to coordinate the relations between the BJP and its allies on a regular basis. This is especially necessary in states where the BJP is in power in alliance with other parties.

Back to the Basics

The organizational tasks outlined in this document can be best summarized by the phrase 'Back to the Basics'. As in the days of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh and in the early years of Bharatiya Janata Party our functionaries and main *karyakartas* must devote the main part of their time for party work for touring in their respective area of work, interacting with party workers, reaching out to the people, conceptualizing, planning and executing mass programmes. They should set standards in every sphere of work. It is important that

each one of us is able to inspire the people with our idealism and our ideology.

From the primary level right up to the top rungs of the Party we should strengthen our old system of regular meetings, systematic planning, division of work and responsibilities, collective review and stock-taking, course correction and going forward to take up future tasks. This is how Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay used to guide us, and this is the path that Shri Atalji, Shri Advaniji, late Kushabhau Thakreji and other old timers followed in organization-building.

Each one of us must realize that we are what we are because of the Party. It is the Party consciousness, Party personality and Party identity with which we should align our own individual consciousness, individual personality and the individual identity. This is what we mean by 'Nation First, Party Next, Self Last'.

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This draft Discussion Paper is not an exhaustive but indicative presentation of the immediate and long-term tasks ahead of the Party. The BJP has seen many ups and downs in the past. It has overcome many a setback by applying appropriate course correctives. We are confident that we shall do so yet again and emerge stronger to effectively face the challenges before the Party and the Nation.

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National Executive

Raipur

18-20 July, 2003

Mission 2004 – Action Plan

The following 25-Point Programme is suggested for Mission 2004.

1. (A) Clear work division among the office bearers, workers' mobilization and gearing up the party machinery at all levels.
(B) Special attention to voters' list including verification and identification.
(C) Preparation of Charge Sheet about omissions and commissions of the state government.
(D) Organising agitational programmes on people's issues to confront the state governments.
(E) Taking up Yatras to reach every nook and corner of the state and creating awareness among the people with a special focus on the need for change, need to strengthen the BJP, the need to vote for BJP and with governance and development as the main theme of the campaign.
2. In all other states, setting up of party offices in all the district headquarters by October, 2003.
3. Strengthening the party publications in all the states and making it obligatory for active members to subscribe to them.
4. (a) Recruitment of full timers, atleast one from each assembly constituency, and naming them as '*Chunav Sahayak*'.
(b) Recruiting part-time activists, from among the local supporters, who can devote minimum 2 hours a day or two days a week.
5. Media teams at state and district levels and conducting

workshops.

6. Translate the achievements of BJP led government in local languages and make them available for all the people.
7. Set-up think-tank at state level, conduct *Chintan Baithaks* at state level before October, 2003.
8. Massive '*Jana Sampark Abhiyan*' – '*Gaon Chalo-Ghar Ghar Chalo*' can be conducted to reach every village, every mohalla and every house.
 - (a) Communicate Government initiatives and developmental activities.
 - (b) Enquire whether the Central Government schemes are properly implemented or not.
 - (c) Identify the grievances of the people and give feedback to the Party.
 - (d) Organise peaceful movements to bring pressure on administration to implement the programmes announced.
9. Build up massive movements and confront the Congress, the Left and its allies on people's problems, wherever we are in opposition.
10. Stress on social harmony (*Samarasata*) and pay special attention to the problems of farmers, artisans, women, youth, dalit and other weaker sections.
11. Reach out minorities and explain to them the vote bank

politics of pseudo-secular parties and invite them to join BJP.

12. Educate the workers on dos and donts prescribed by the Party.
13. Set-up cells and morchas in all districts.
14. After work division among office bearers, work allocation for every Party functionary, self-evaluation system for the performance of every functionary.
15. Elected representatives of Party (MPs, MLAs, Local Body chiefs) to visit the Party office regularly, allocate some time for interaction with the Party workers.
16. Hold district, Lok Sabha and Assembly constituency level conventions.
17. Take up Yatras at various levels to reach out the masses.
18. Strengthen *Samarpan*, *Samvad* and *Sahayog* initiatives.
19. Make special effort to keep in touch with the old workers at all levels and mobilise their support for the next round of campaign.
20. Maintain good relationship with other nationalist organisations and have frequent interaction with them and also maintain good relationship with the friendly parties and do not enter into any sort of debate on alliances. Our focus should be on political and social expansion of the party.
21. State Presidents, Members of Parliament, Members of Legislative Assembly should take up extensive tours, devote enough time for the Party and public work and put up an example to others. Every house and every village should be covered by the end of 2003. Let all of us take up this

challenge, which will preferably help us to know the mood of the people, so that a correct strategy can be formulated for the future.

22. Work towards building up consensus in the organisational elections at all levels.
23. Elected representatives to bring out a booklet on their initiatives taken, work done and achievements.
24. Call the meetings of defeated candidates and involve them in the campaign of Lok Sabha and Assembly elections.
25. BJP ruled states to prepare a vision document and propagate achievements of the government.



National Council

New Delhi

3 August, 2002

DELHI PLEDGE

With

Dedication, Discipline, Determination and Dynamism

we shall fulfil the commitment:

“Yes, We are a Party with a Difference; and
Ours is a Government with a Difference”

The Bharatiya Janata Party today stands at a proud moment of transition in its history. It is a moment of change, with a new President and a new team of office-bearers at the helm. But it is also a moment of continuity, since the Party remains steadfastly committed to its basic ideology of nationalism and its founding goal of making India a strong, prosperous and integrally developed nation.

With this transition, we have demonstrated that the BJP is capable of smoothly restructuring itself to face the emerging new challenges. Although it represents a generational change in some ways, it conforms to India's age-old tradition of creative co-existence of the young and the old, of promoting youthfulness and dynamism while respectfully preserving the guiding influence of experience and wisdom.

Our Party, which was born with the mantra of *Charaiveti, Charaiveti* — march forward, march forward against all odds and in all circumstances — is on the move again. Time changes. Men, too, change. But the Party continues to advance tirelessly on the path of duty — to serve this great nation and its great people.

Firm foundation of ideology and idealism

That path was lit up over five decades ago, with the founding of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, under the inspiring leadership of late Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and, later, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay. Its journey during the first two and a half decades was most arduous. Political power was nowhere in sight, but the Party never lost sight of its founding goal. Resources were limited, but unlimited was the idealism in the hearts and minds of the small band of its dedicated and disciplined activists. Hardships were far too many and far

too heavy, but each one was made light of by the supreme self-confidence, coupled with the readiness for sacrifice, by the Party's selfless leaders and *karyakartas* alike. Today we pay tributes to all those early morning stars who lit up the Party's trail during its initial trek through darkness.

We had to begin a new journey in 1980 with the founding of the Bharatiya Janata Party. The circumstances that brought the period of the Jana Sangh to a close and inaugurated the era of the BJP, with the tumultuous interregnum of the Janata Party, form one of the most educative chapters in independent India's political history. As subsequent developments have clearly shown, the BJP alone, of all the parties, learnt the right lessons from that experience. True, many democratic forces worked together to end the tyranny of the Emergency and defeat the authoritarianism of the Congress. But the BJP alone, braving a calumnious campaign to isolate us, succeeded in evolving the right strategy to create a stable and effective alternative to the Congress for taking the country forward.

The onward march of a Party with a Difference

The period between 1980 and 1998 also presented many challenges before our Party. But we overcame every adversity, and rose to the occasion on every trial. We went to the people again and again with programmes and campaigns, focusing on both national and local issues. We demonstrated that the BJP is a steadfast champion of democracy and people's aspirations for development and welfare. We proved, too, that the BJP was the most spirited voice of nationalism when it came to defending India's identity, unity and integrity. Our fight against pseudo-secularism, and for the re-affirmation of the integrative role of Cultural Nationalism, fundamentally changed the course of politics in India. It will continue to impart strength to the BJP in the years to come.

No less importantly, in Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee our Party presented a leader whom the people of India accepted as a natural national leader, unsurpassed in popularity and respectability, long before they gave him the mandate to be the Prime Minister.

It is this combination of solid and sustained work on the ground; uncompromising espousal of nationalism; dedicated and disciplined organizational network; and inspiring and incorruptible leadership that helped the BJP win people's support, goodwill and credibility, and thereby grow from strength to strength almost all over the country in record time. These factors made the people believe that here is a Party with a Difference – different in terms of ideology, idealism, leadership and behaviour.

It is the same faith of the people in our Party and its leadership, more than any other attendant cause, which brought the BJP, along with our allies in the National Democratic Alliance, to power in March 1998 and also helped us win their renewed mandate in 1999.

Therefore, we pledge never to forget that our triumph of today is built on the *tapasya* of yesterday. We shall remind ourselves daily that, by the same inexorable principle, our success tomorrow will be guaranteed only by our hard work today. There is simply no other time-tested formula for sustainable success.

NDA Government's proud record of achievements

After being voted to be the leading constituent of the ruling coalition at the Centre, the BJP entered the third and a crucial phase in its history. We are proud of our performance in governance in the past four-and-a-half years. The NDA Government under the far-sighted leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who is ably assisted by Deputy Prime Minister Shri Lal Krishna Advani, has many achievements to its credit which history will record and recall with pride. It has taken many historic steps to strengthen India's national security, the most important of them being the fulfilment of our longstanding commitment to make India a nuclear power. While not in the least weakening our age-old and time-tested commitment to world peace, this bold step has made major powers of the world accord respect to India that is her due.

Our Government's firm but self-restrained conduct of the Kargil War secured for India a proud victory. Its concurrent diplomatic initiatives raised India's stature in the international community,

while simultaneously ensuring Pakistan's isolation. This beneficial effect has been further reinforced by the Government's subsequent handling of the campaign against Pak-sponsored cross-border terrorism. Indeed, never since Independence has there been such widespread international appreciation of, and support for, India's position on the Kashmir issue as now.

In the sphere of national development, too, our Government has many proud accomplishments. It has unveiled some of the most ambitious infrastructure projects in the history of independent India. Its policies have brought about a telecom revolution in the country and helped India emerge as an IT superpower on the world scene. Through a broad sweep of economic reforms, it has been continually removing the shackles that successive Congress governments in the past had put on India's immense economic potential.

The Vajpayee Government's achievements also lie in other important areas such as Centre-State relations, which have been smoother than at any time in the recent past; evolution of a new coalition culture, based on the harmonization of legitimate regional and social aspirations with a national perspective; and the Prime Minister's consistent approach of consensus-building on issues of national importance.

The BJP compliments its representatives in the Government and its allies in the NDA for their contribution to these achievements, which have further strengthened India's democratic and federal traditions. This augurs well for the future since it puts effective curbs on the authoritarian and autocratic instincts of the Congress party.

The future is bright for the BJP

The Congress party has now entered a phase of decline. Drained of all idealism, devoid of any deep-rooted vision of nationalism, and dependent ever more slavishly on the dynastic principle for sheer survival as a cohesive party, the Congress is doomed in the long-term. The Communists are fast heading towards irrelevance and eventual extinction. The emerging political scenario in the country presents new opportunities before the BJP, but it also poses heightened challenges.

Momentary setbacks in one or the other States should not daunt

us. We shall learn from recent experiences and resolve to put the Party on a consistently winning path. At the same time, we shall constantly remind ourselves that our goal is not just to win elections and form governments, but also to provide Good Governance. Based on the useful experience of governance at the Centre and in many States, both now and in the past — and based, additionally, on the good examples of other parties — the BJP resolves to write a reliable software of Good Governance every time the people give us an opportunity to serve them.

Indeed, the touchstone of the Party's success in this current third phase of its evolution is its ability to win a renewed mandate of the people on the strength of performance and good governance. This was one of the main factors for the NDA to be voted back to power in the elections to the 13th Lok Sabha. This is also how the BJP Government in Goa won a fresh and stronger mandate recently. Now it is time for us to ensure that this becomes a rule, rather than an exception, for the BJP.

BJP's strategic responsibility in the 21st century

Put more ambitiously, our aim should be this: If the Congress was the party of *Swaraj*, and a near-natural choice of the people for governance in the 20th century, the BJP should become the Party of *Su-Raj* and the natural choice of the people in the 21st century.

In setting this aim before ourselves, we are not guided by the desire for power for self-aggrandisement or for any other narrow and unedifying end. Rather, a lofty vision, articulated in Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay's 'Integral Humanism', propels us to do so. Additionally, a realistic assessment of the daunting regional and global challenges before India in the coming decades forces us to do so. Only an economically prosperous, socially developed, internally cohesive, militarily strong, and culturally renascent India can effectively face these likely challenges to our security, sovereignty and unity.

Why hasn't India, in spite of having all the needed resources, moved farther towards this goal than it has in the fifty years since Independence? We believe that this is principally because of India's failure to create a *Unity of Minds* activated by a *National Purpose*, and a governing

structure guided by Strategic Thinking. True, an external crisis invariably produces splendid patriotic unity among our people, communities and their socio-political organizations. But in normal times, we frequently work at cross-purposes. As a result, the enormous creative energies of her one billion diverse people are routinely dissipated, rather than being harnessed for India's all-round and speedy development.

This situation has to end. No doubt, the institutions of civil society can make an important contribution to this transformation. However, the fundamental driver of change can only be politics — but politics with a Difference. What India needs today is a Unifying and Organising Political Force —

- A political force that has a rousing national vision and the ability to translate it into reality by providing leadership to the nation for a prolonged period;
- A political force capable of harmonizing all the legitimate aspirations of our diverse people within the framework of a dynamic and decentralized democracy;
- A political force wedded to the principles of genuine secularism, social justice, social harmony, gender justice and equitable economic development;
- A political force that is modern in outlook, with a sound understanding of global developments and technological trends and the way they impact on India, and yet is proudly anchored in India's value systems and cultural traditions;
- A political force whose functionaries feel for the poor and the underprivileged, and are able and ready, almost as their second nature, to subsume their individual interests within the needs of politics for a higher purpose.

The BJP aspires to be that kind of superior political force for India's all-round transformation in the new century.

This is by no means an easy task.

- Will we have the dedication and readiness for self-sacrifice to be modern-day Dadhichis for the cause of the Party?
- Will we have, within the framework of a vibrant internal democracy, the kind of discipline that an humble soldier displays in discharge of his patriotic duty?

- Will we have the single-minded determination of Swami Vivekananda to pursue the goal we have set for ourselves?
- Will we have the dynamism of Raja Shivaji to cross the stiffest of hurdles and accomplish the most impossible-looking tasks?

Yes. We shall strive our utmost to summon the dedication, discipline, determination and dynamism that the situation demands of us.

We are aware of the many responsibilities on the Party in the immediate, short and medium terms. In this document, we outline five main tasks before our Party and our Government.

Five Tasks before the Party

1. Consolidation and further Regional-Social Expansion

Our most urgent task is to gear up the Party machinery to win a renewed mandate in Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh, where Assembly elections will be held soon, and to win in other States that will go to the polls next year.

Our objectives are clear and straightforward: Consolidation of our support base in traditional regions and social groups, and simultaneous expansion of our influence in ever-newer parts of India and Indian society. As the very name of our Party suggests, and also enjoins on us, the Bharatiya Janata Party should become a microcosm, a mini-replica of Bharat and Bharatiya Janata.

We should expand the scope of our activities among *kisans* and in rural areas, with a marching call to our leaders and *karyakartas*: “Go to the villages.” We should especially redouble our efforts to increase our Party’s work among the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, OBCs and the most backward among the OBCs, and women of all classes. For this, we should devise special programmes and strategies and implement them with determination. We must also actively campaign for the proper implementation of numerous welfare and developmental schemes, which both the Centre and State Governments run for their benefit with significant budgetary allocations. In addition, we should

spot dedicated and promising leaders and workers from these communities and give them full encouragement in our Party and its mass organizations.

For quite some time now, the BJP has been emphasizing our commitment to expand our support base among minority communities, especially Muslims and Christians. Our adversaries' motivated and self-serving propaganda that the BJP is 'anti-minorities' is unsustainable because no falsehood can ever live forever. In trying to attract minorities towards our Party, we shall not adopt the methods of appeasement, which our adversaries have perversely projected 'secularism' to be. We reject this approach outright. Indeed, our minority brethren themselves have seen through this cynical game, having realized that their support to the Congress and other pseudo-secular parties has not helped them overcome their problems of unemployment, housing, healthcare, lack of educational opportunities, etc.

At the same time, we shall zealously work for justice for minorities in all matters, without any discrimination vis-à-vis other citizens. We shall also pay renewed attention to their special problems and concerns with fairness and sensitivity. The more we are able to do this, the surer will be our success in this mission.

2. Removal of weaknesses through honest introspection and prompt self-correction

The BJP has to perform function in an environment that has, over the years, been polluted by a culture of scandals and power games promoted by the Congress and other parties. We are aware that some of these negative traits and trends have also peripherally crept into the BJP's organization and functioning in recent years. Our Party has had to pay a heavy price wherever these have assumed dominant proportions.

Factionalism, internal bickerings for posts, positions and Party's tickets in elections, indiscipline, and a lack of adequate consultation with, and participation of, *karyakartas* in the Party's functioning — these have impaired

and imperilled some State and local units of the Party organization from time to time. The damage to the Party's image in the eyes of the people is sometimes worsened by the breach of probity by some of our elected representatives. These weaknesses infected other political parties more. But, naturally, what affects our Party is what is of immediate interest to us. The core and the vital parts of our organization continue to remain healthy. We retain the capacity to take remedial action when needed. Nevertheless, the Party pledges today to intensify its vigilance against all these malignancies. We have to especially learn sobering lessons from how these negative traits have contributed in a major way to the decline and decay of the Congress party.

Hence, this is the principal task before us today: Revitalise the Party organization at all levels through honest introspection and prompt remedial action. Practise teamwork in every unit of the Party — from the highest to the lowest. Let every party worker ask himself or herself at the end of every day:

"Have I discharged my responsibilities toward the party conscientiously? Have I done justice to the task assigned to me?"

It is this process of self-assessment, self-discipline and self-correction which is the surest antidote to the ills plaguing our Party organization.

3. Taking the Government's message to the People and People's message to the Government

The Party resolves to communicate the achievements of the NDA Government to the people — with pride, conviction and enthusiasm. The best publicist for our Government's policies, programmes and performance can be our own Party workers. Similarly, the best carrier of feedback from the people to the Government can also be our own Party workers. Therefore, our Party organization has to master this two-way communication by becoming a living and ever-vigilant link between the Government and the people. For this, all our Party functionaries and elected representatives at all levels have to vastly increase their mass work by heeding the message: "Be mobile; Be

active; Educate the people; Learn from the people; Take the Government's message to the people and people's message to the Government."

4. Creating exemplary mass leaders, dedicated *karyakartas* and a good fit between the two

One of the important tasks before the Party is the grooming of leaders with a broad mass appeal at different levels. The BJP needs more and more leaders with a widespread support base among the various regions and communities of our diverse country. After starting our journey as an 'Ideological Party' with a limited support base, the BJP has become an 'Aggregative Party', with a network of dedicated and ideologically committed cadres. While continuing to expand on this course, we need to pay enhanced attention to two key aspects of aggregative politics – one, greater representation to those communities who are numerically significant and who have remained less represented in power structures; and two, charismatic mass leaders who, while being popular in these communities, are at the same time capable of being seen as leaders of a district or a state as a whole.

The usefulness of having mass leaders cannot diminish the critical importance of their working within the framework of a disciplined Party organization. Hence, we need to evolve a culture that enables the BJP to harness the mutually supportive strengths of both mass leaders and dedicated *karyakartas*.

Our Party is functioning in an environment in which the credibility and public image of politicians has been considerably eroded. Therefore, the situation places an added responsibility on all our functionaries and elected representatives to set higher standards of probity in public life, ethical conduct and maintenance of dignity and decorum in Parliament, State legislatures and other bodies. As in the past, the BJP should continue to be known as a party of ideal leaders and disciplined workers.

5. Developing the mindset of a 'Ruling Party' and capacity

building in the organization for 'Good Governance'

Since assuming the reins of office at the Centre in 1998, we have acutely realized the need, at all levels of the Party organization, for making a 'mental transition' from being a party of the opposition to a ruling party. In essence, it means appreciation and acceptance of the full weight of responsibility of governing — and providing Good Governance to — a large and diverse country like India. It means understanding the various problems and issues before the nation in all their complexities and developing the needed competence to deal with them effectively.

We must realize that the people's expectations from us are very high. Our people are no longer swayed by empty promises. They want those in power to solve their pressing and long-standing problems. They reward good-performers and punish those who are perceived to be bad performers. This new electoral phenomenon in the country has placed a far higher premium than before on politics and governance becoming development-oriented. In order to fulfil this new expectation, our Party has to further develop its will, its determination, and its internal capabilities for constantly improving the standard of our performance. We have to pay greater attention to in-house capacity building for meeting a whole range of governance responsibilities. We need to develop a steady stream of well-trained Party functionaries who are capable of handling mandates in agriculture, commerce, industry, science and technology, healthcare, education, foreign affairs, defence and in other such areas. Our Party workers should also develop a sound awareness of international economic and political affairs, since the effect of these on India is far greater now than in the past. It is obvious that training — both in ideological and governance issues — has to be given a prominent place in our Party's overall activities.

Five Tasks before the Government

- 1. Further intensify the fight to put a decisive end to Pakistan-sponsored cross-border terrorism**

The Party realizes, and would like the people also to realize, that this campaign will be a long drawn-out one. India achieved a decisive success in the fight against terrorism in Punjab after close to 15 years, but succeed we finally did. We shall similarly succeed in Jammu & Kashmir, too. The Party appreciates the NDA Government's firm and perseverant steps in this regard. At the same time, we urge the Government to further intensify this battle, with all the means at its command, so that Pakistan is forced to back off permanently from its dangerous and self-destructive reliance on terrorism and religious extremism as an instrument of its Kashmir policy.

2. Present a practical roadmap for achieving 8% GDP growth on a sustainable basis

The BJP commends the Prime Minister for putting before the nation an ambitious, but eminently realizable, goal of achieving 8% GDP growth on a sustainable basis. India cannot make a big dent on poverty and unemployment without achieving this target. The Government should follow up on this target-setting by drawing up a doable strategy for achieving it. The responsibilities of the various Central ministries and State Governments, as also the expected contributions from the various sectors, should be widely made known. Achieving 8% GDP growth should be elevated to a national mission, with an attendant sustained mass campaign to make it a People's Target — not just the Government's.

One way of making it a people's campaign is to mount focused propaganda on the solemn guiding principle of our economic reforms: protection of the nation's interests and promotion of people's welfare, especially the welfare of the poor and vulnerable sections of society. The Government should improve publicity of its policies, programmes, achievements and the many signature projects it has launched to show how they will benefit the common man. The Government should also consider starting a few more major initiatives in railways, power, irrigation, drinking water, rural infrastructure, etc. Since the power situation

is especially grim in most parts of the country, and as it is a State subject, the Government should immediately evolve a consensus that ties all the parties and State Governments to a reform strategy. The Party also urges the Government to improve the working of the existing social security schemes and launch new ones for the various categories of the poor and middle class.

3. Create a Plan of Action for fulfilling the promise on ‘One Crore New Employment Opportunities’

The BJP has always advocated ‘Growth with Jobs’, and rejected the model of ‘Jobless Growth’ which the successive Congress Governments had pursued. In this context, the BJP wishes to remind the Government of the solemn promise we had made to the electorate to create one crore new employment opportunities in the economy. The Party congratulates the Government for accepting the recommendations of a Committee set up by the Planning Commission. We call upon the Government to implement these recommendations with determination and without any further delay. Full productive employment is a precondition for harnessing the limitless energies of our youth for nation-building.

The Government should improve the monitoring of its employment and self-employment programmes, on which large sums of money are expended. The Jayprakash Narayan Guaranteed *Rozgar Yojana* for all the distressed districts in the country, which was announced in the last Budget, should be speedily launched. Self-Help Groups, which have a huge potential for poverty alleviation, should be made into a people’s movement. The economic empowerment of the poor through SHGs can also greatly contribute to progressive social transformation at the grassroots. Therefore, the Government should direct banks to fully support them through necessary micro-credit inflows. State Governments should be rated on the basis of their performance in implementing Centrally-funded schemes, and such rating should be widely publicized. The difficulties facing small scale industries and enterprises in

the informal sector need urgent attention, since they have the highest potential for employment generation. The present labour laws should be reformed so that hurdles to the creation of new employment are removed. At the same time, the interests of the existing workers should be suitably safeguarded.

4. Expand the attention on agriculture, rural development and Panchayati Raj institutions

Our Government has done much to promote the interests of *kisans* and to catalyze rural development. Nevertheless, the accumulated burden of neglect of agriculture and rural development is so huge that we need to increase our attention to them manifold. In view of the likely shortfall in rains in several States this year, the Party urges the Government to vastly expand the scope of its anti-drought measures, especially food-for-work programmes. At the same time, it should work on a long-term strategy for effective drought-proofing of our agriculture. A similar strategy is also needed for effective flood-control measures. While congratulating the Prime Minister on his recent announcement to start a *Rashtriya Jala Samvardhan Yojana*, the Party urges the Government to put it into action soon. The crop insurance scheme should be made more comprehensive, and new opportunities created for crop diversification and food processing. The Government should direct the banks to expand the scheme of *Kisan Credit Cards*, which has been a huge success, to cover the entire peasantry by 2004.

WTO has been an area of major concern for Indian industry and agriculture. The Government should increase its efforts to educate our people, especially *kisans*, about the new challenges, as well as many new opportunities, created by the WTO regime. The nation should be made aware that only a united national effort, involving all the political parties, State Governments, and the people, can help us face the future with confidence. We should prepare the people to negotiate

the difficulties in the transition period, since these are but the stepping stones to a path of greater prosperity for all.

Year 2002 marks the 10th anniversary of the 73rd and 74th Amendments to the Constitution empowering the Panchayati Raj Institutions. While these were welcome as far as they went, experience of the past 10 years suggests that PRIs continue to lack effective financial and administrative powers to discharge the responsibilities assigned to them. The Party, therefore, urges the Government to expeditiously act on the unanimous resolution of the recent Panchayati Raj Conference to amend the Constitution for their real empowerment.

5. Revitalise the implementation machinery

The issues highlighted above form only a small, albeit important, part of the tasks before the Government. However, none of these tasks can be satisfactorily accomplished unless the Government improves our country's systemic record of implementation. Our system places too many non-financial barriers to development, which cause delays, inefficiency, cost-overruns and corruption.

The Prime Minister has repeatedly emphasized the need to strengthen the implementation capabilities of the Central and State Governments. The Party feels that it is high time the Government initiated serious action on this front. This action has to have a broad sweep, covering governance reforms, administrative reforms, legal and judicial reforms, and expanded role for voluntary organizations.

All policies and programmes should be people-centric, with an in-built design for increasing transparency and people's participation. Accountability of the bureaucrats charged with their implementation should be fixed, along with the introduction of a suitable system of incentives and disincentives. Our overarching objective should be to change the mindset at every level and create a new result-oriented work culture in the country.

Conclusion

This document, which may be called *The Delhi Pledge*, seeks to present the BJP's vision of its role in shaping India's future, with a clear identification of the main tasks before our Party and our Government. We proudly reiterate our commitment to continue to remain a Party with a Difference. We affirm with equal pride that ours is a Government with a Difference.

It is our resolve to make the 'Difference' factor more pronounced in the time to come.



National Council

Chennai 27-29 December, 1999

21st Century – India's Century

Introduction

India is on the move. In this journey from promise to its fulfilment and from potential to its accomplishment, the Bharatiya Janata Party has been mandated by destiny, in the form of a democratic verdict for the National Democratic Alliance by the people of India, to serve our Motherland through good governance.

It is not a coincidence of the calendar that the BJP has been called upon to lead the country from the 20th Century into the 21st Century. The people have given us the responsibility of governance at this turning point in world history to remind us of our resolve to make *Ikkeesvin Shatabdi Bharat ki Shatabdi* (Twenty-first Century, India's Century). The responsibility also contains an opportunity to transform this resolve into reality by unleashing the nationalist spirit and the constructive energy of the 100 crore children of Mother India.

Where do we stand as a nation

India was a nation under colonial slavery at the beginning of this century. For most part of this millennium, which ends in another year, India was not a master of her own destiny. A glorious struggle for independence, unmatched anywhere in the world in its philosophical content and in its universal appeal, saw the re-birth of this ancient civilisation as a free nation in the modern era in 1947. The victory in this struggle was partly scarred by the partition of our motherland based on the pernicious two-nation theory. Nevertheless, the emergence of a free India, and the adoption of a Republican Constitution soon thereafter in 1950, gave our people the first real opportunity to shape our future according to our own national ethos and to meet our national needs as democratically determined by ourselves.

Today, at the end of this century, India is an independent, strong and self-confident nation with many proud achievements to her credit. However, looking back at the first five decades of freedom, we

are struck by the stark realisation that what Indians have achieved is far less than our need as well as our potential. In many ways, this has been a story of failures and missed opportunities.

Consequences of Congress malgovernance

It has been a story of the neglect of fundamental priorities (example: removal of mass poverty and ensuring basic education and health-care for all citizens), of avoidable blunders (example: the five decade old Kashmir problem, compounded by the problem of extremism in the North-East and various other parts of the country), of mismanagement of the economy (example: the mountain of external and internal debt, which puts a severe strain on the resources of the Centre), and, above all, of malgovernance at various levels, manifesting in recurring problems in the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes, often because of corruption and bureaucratism, and leading to popular disenchantment.

Nearly half of the population has been deprived of the fruits of development since independence. It is distressing that India enters the new century with more than 35 per cent of the population below the poverty line, nearly 50 per cent illiterate, 40 per cent without access to safe drinking water and 70 per cent without access to adequate sanitation facilities. Infrastructure development, which is vital for speedy economic growth and consequent employment generation, has been badly neglected. Delays in project implementation are further increasing the gap between supply and demand. While our hard-working *kisans* have produced a record harvest of foodgrains, the long neglect of agriculture, irrigation, agro-industries, artisans and craftsmen has condemned much of rural India to backwardness.

The resources needed for the development of physical and social infrastructure, agriculture and irrigation are enormous.

However, the country's fiscal situation is a matter of much concern. The fiscal health of the State Governments is more precarious. All this is due to the faulty economic policies, and flawed implementation of even sound policies, during the long period of Congress rule. These policies failed to mobilise the resources latent in the economy. National assets, built with huge public investments, were allowed to become either idle, under-performing or sick.

India's underachievement in the social and economic spheres has been especially glaring in view of the rapid growth achieved by many developing countries in the world. Our poor developmental indicators have predictably had an adverse impact on India's global image and influence.

Political culture polluted

The effects of prolonged malgovernance, however, are not confined to the economy alone. During the 1970s, the 1980s and most of the 1990s, the ruling political establishment caused a steep decline in the ethical and democratic standards in Indian politics. The Congress Party practised and endorsed corruption as an inevitable phenomenon of politics. It weakened and damaged institutions of administration, judiciary and even security. The Congress Party's authoritarian instincts let it brazenly misuse Constitutional provisions to dismiss Opposition-led State Governments, bringing the country's federal principle under much strain. Defections became the accepted norm. Since politics influences all facets of a nation's development, this led to corruption, erosion of values and consequent cynicism in all other walks of life.

Directly related to the sad saga of malgovernance is the gradual descent in the standards of political conduct. We are proud of our Republican Constitution. We are proud of one of the greatest achievements of independent India – namely, our success in zealously protecting our democracy, at a time when most newly independent countries fared poorly in this respect. But we cannot be proud of the political culture prevailing in the country today, which is largely at variance with the values and canons of true democracy.

For many participants in politics today, politics is no longer a means to serve the nation, and governance no longer carries with it the responsibility to serve the people. Rather, they have become a means to acquire and wield power for promoting sectional and

personal benefit in a manner that necessarily militates against the collective and national interest. Indeed, lust for power has led many parties and leading politicians to employ all kinds of unscrupulous strategies and stratagems.

The resultant maladies of corruption, criminalisation, factional fights and non-cooperation between and within political parties have vitiated the entire political atmosphere. This has maimed the very function of politics as a noble mission and a serious profession in service of the country and the common man. Politics as it is practised and promoted today does not demand of its participants idealism, a spirit of sacrifice, a strong national outlook, and discipline to adhere to democratic norms.

The quality of men who enter public life must be high. They must have a moral and intellectual stature in consonance with the responsibility they discharge. Since this is not the case, there has been a popular decline in public confidence in politics and politicians. This does not augur well for the future of Indian democracy.

Where do we stand as a Party

The Bharatiya Janata Party came to occupy the centrestage of Indian politics in the 1990s as a historical need of our nation and its democracy. India needed a powerful and reliable political force, imbued with the spirit of nationalism and equipped with requisite organisational strength, to stem the rot caused by the Congress and its overt and covert allies and to lead the country onto a path of all-round renewal and resurgence. Our Party has answered the nation's call.

The last three parliamentary elections — in 1996, 1998, and 1999 — have seen the BJP emerge as the single largest party in the Lok Sabha, improving its strength each time. In the last two of these elections, the BJP has emerged as the ruling party, heading a coalition government at the Centre under the able leadership of Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

The BJP is proud that it has representatives from as many as 18 States in the 13th Lok Sabha — from Andaman to Assam, and from Jammu & Kashmir to Kanyakumari. We have the highest number of MPs belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. We also have the highest number of women MPs, although we would like it to be much higher. Our Party is ruling alone or with its allies, in seven States — Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana,

Goa and Meghalaya. The BJP is also the main opposition party in several State legislatures.

NDA: A harmonious blend of national interests and regional aspirations

One of the biggest achievements of the BJP during its two decades of existence has been its success in winning the support and confidence of a large number of political parties in all parts of the country, and in forming the National Democratic Alliance. India is not new to coalition politics. However, the NDA is undeniably stronger than any other previous coalition at the Centre, in geographical and social reach, as well as in the shared vision of democratic governance.

Our allies in the NDA have a proud history of espousing the legitimate interests and aspirations of the people belonging to different regions of our country and different sections of our society. Many of them also have a proud history of opposing the Congress Party's authoritarianism and the successive Congress governments' policies of excessive concentration of power at the Centre with the concomitant neglect of the States' needs. Some of them also have a long and useful experience of running State governments.

The onset of the coalition era in Indian politics is a natural phenomenon, fully in consonance with the democratic will of the people and the rich diversity of our society. It augurs well for the unity and integrity of the country. The common manifesto of the NDA, called 'An Agenda for a Proud, Prosperous India', rightly states: "We are proud that the NDA is representative of both national interests and regional aspirations – after all the NDA is nothing but the mirror-image of our nation's unity in multifaceted diversity, rich pluralism and federalism." Participation of regional parties in the affairs of the Union Government gives them an opportunity to develop a comprehensive, pan-Indian perspective to various issues, just as it helps national parties to better understand regional and sectional needs.

The BJP shall continue to play a leading role in the positive evolution of coalition politics, by ensuring that regional and sectional aspirations are properly harmonised with national imperatives.

A proud record of our Government's achievements

The BJP-led Government has many proud achievements to its credit during its very short period in office – for 17 months in the previous term and two months in this term. If the courageous and historic decision to make India a nuclear power in May 1998 filled Indians with a new sense of self-confidence, leading India to an emphatic victory against Pakistani aggression in Kargil in June-July this year created a powerful wave of patriotism in the country.

Disproving all the vicious propaganda against us, our Government has achieved an exemplary record of communal peace. Harmony has been restored to Centre-State relations. Our Government has rekindled growth in the economy through a series of bold reforms and sound macro-management. Notably, our record in office has been absolutely scandal-free. On the foreign policy front, it has succeeded in improving India's relations with all the countries in the world, except Pakistan. At no time in the recent decades has India enjoyed such high global standing as now. Remarkably, we have achieved this without compromising any of our basic national positions.

All this has considerably enhanced the popularity and prestige of the BJP. The best proof of this lies in the renewed and decisive mandate won by our Party and the NDA in recent elections, in the face of yet another despicable destabilisation bid by the Congress and the Communists. We are now well on our way to becoming India's natural party of governance, a distinction that the Congress Party once enjoyed but which it lost due to its poor record of governance, corruption, factionalism, abandoning of internal democracy and servile surrender to dynastic leadership.

Our innate strengths

Our Party now has the opportunity, and the obligation, to give a new direction to politics and governance in India. We can succeed in this task, provided we remain committed and loyal to the ideals and the ideology that brought us into existence as a political party – first as the Bharatiya Jana Sangh in 1951 and later as the Bharatiya Janata Party in 1980. Although the ideals are constant, the policies and their interpretation in the light of the changing needs of new situations and challenges, have to be renewed from time to time. This quality

of principle-centred flexibility, adaptability, and self-renewal, while being true to one's essential nature and purpose, is the hallmark of any living human organisation. The BJP, and earlier the Jana Sangh, have demonstrated this quality in ample measure.

Our Party has also demonstrated the other essential quality of survival and growth: namely, courage and self-confidence. There is absolutely no parallel in the political history of independent India where a party has bounced back on a path of speedy and spectacular growth, as the BJP did, after having been seemingly decimated. There is also no other parallel where a party has been the target of such sustained calumny and isolation, and yet has succeeded, as the BJP has, in winning both the people's support and also the support of more and more constituents of India's political establishment. Today, the isolators have been isolated and those who sought to discredit the BJP have themselves been discredited.

Our Party is also proud to have yet another unique strength: our leadership. We have outstanding leaders with impeccable integrity and a shining record of service to the nation. The BJP also has, more than any other political party in the country, a large army of dedicated and disciplined activists belonging to all sections of society and working in all parts of the country.

The BJP has today become the inheritor of all the positive and patriotic trends in Indian politics, both in the pre- and post-independence era. We respect and salute all the great leaders of our Freedom Movement, and all the towering personalities who have contributed to the building of a free and modern India, irrespective of the party they might have belonged to. We embody the best of the past in Indian politics, just as we represent the best hope for India's future politics.

Our responsibility: Give India a new political culture

The BJP, which has replaced the Congress as the principal pole of Indian politics, is conscious of its responsibility to give India a new political culture. Ours is a party with a difference – both in ideology and in political conduct. But this is not enough. Even while increasing our vigilance to maintain our distinctive character, we must realise that we have on us the onerous responsibility of overhauling the content and culture of Indian politics.

In order to attain this objective, our Party workers must forge a

new ethical base. We must set new standards of accountability. Our Party, therefore, shall formulate a Code of Ethics for all its members who hold offices in various elective bodies. Specifically, the Party urges the Government to bring all the MPs under the purview of the Lok Pal and all MLAs under the purview of the Lokayuktas.

Ideal BJP worker

Our Party must also strengthen unity and discipline at all levels. Senior functionaries have a greater responsibility to quickly correct lapses in this regard. Constant inner-party consultations, both formal and informal, in the framework of internal democracy, promotion of the spirit of camaraderie and cooperation, self-initiative to take up difficult tasks, readiness to do mass work and take up people's causes at all levels, and shunning any instinct to place oneself above the organisation – these are the hallmarks of a true BJP worker.

Individualism, groupism, factional fights, neglect of team work, power lust and jostling for positions are totally alien to both our political philosophy and our proud organisational tradition. Sadly, developments in recent years involving some leading functionaries of the Party in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh have shown that our Party is not immune to these pathogenic political influences. While these renegade leaders have damaged the BJP's reputation, our Party has also shown that it is capable of isolating them both from the people and from our own ranks. Even so, these developments call for a serious introspection and self-correction at all levels in the Party.

Let us, never for a moment, lose sight of our goal

Every member and leader of the Party must remember that the BJP has reached its present level of growth because of the *tyag* and *tapasya* of innumerable *karyakartas* – both known and unknown, both now and in the past. For a BJP worker, *adhikar* (power), be it in a party organisation or in government, is an opportunity to serve and to discharge the *kartavya* (duty) entrusted to him. We have no other interest except the interest of our Motherland and her suffering children. We can seek no other reward except the glory of India and the happiness of all Indians. Our goal – to make India a resurgent nation through the noble mission of politics and governance – cannot be lost sight of under any circumstance.

The entire country is looking to the BJP and its leadership with hope and goodwill, which is best symbolized by the popular, pan-Indian support for our beloved leader Shri Vajpayee. The expectations of the people from the BJP and our Government are very high. This is particularly so, in view of their repeated disillusionment in the past from parties and leaders who rode high on a crest of popularity and promise. Our Party simply cannot afford to err or to fail.

On the 6th April 2000, our Party completes twenty years of its existence. It is appropriate that the BJP enters its 21st year during a year which will see a concerted effort by us to give effect to our pledge for the 21st century: *Nayi Shatabdi, Naya Sankalp* – March Towards Making the 21st Century Bharat's Century.

The only mantra that will transform this vision into reality is the Mantra of Development – Faster development, Equitable development, and Development of every aspect of life. This demands a change of mindset in the Party, in the Government and among the people.

Our Resolve

The BJP shall strive to be the leading political force, within the country's multi-party democratic spectrum, to guide India's march towards the goal of becoming a resurgent global power in the 21st Century. We are committed to the objective of transforming India's *Swaraj* (self-governance) into *Suraj* (good governance) by creating a corruption-free country, riot-free society, debt-free economy and confrontation-free polity. In order to be able to discharge this responsibility, the Party shall equip itself adequately in the spheres of ideology, organisation-building, political conduct, governance and mass work by restating our basic beliefs, reiterating our fundamental commitments and adopting the following resolution:

I. Strengthening our mooring in our basic beliefs

1. The Party shall conduct an intensive campaign throughout the year 2000 for ideological study by all its members. All the activists and members of the Party shall strengthen their ideological anchor by developing a holistic, as against partial and compartmentalised understanding of nation-building, and the place of politics and governance in this

endeavour. A reliable guide in this effort is the study of 'Integral Humanism' propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, with suitable development of its insights to meet contemporary needs. This guiding theory of our Party asks us to seek harmony in every walk of life, impart a human face to every aspect of governance, and to strive for happiness for every individual – and to find illumination and inspiration for this endeavour primarily in our own rich and diverse national heritage.

2. We believe in a modern India and a moral India. An India that is forward-looking and forward-moving. An India that is strong scientifically, technologically, economically and in self-defence. An India that is caring and compassionate towards all – especially towards children, the aged, disabled and destitute. We are committed to protecting and promoting the interests of India and, therefore, of all Indians – irrespective of gender, caste, region or religion. We believe that the vast community of Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) and Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) also constitutes a part of the Great Indian Family. We should endeavour to continually strengthen their social, cultural, economic and emotional ties with their mother country. They are a rich reservoir of intellectual, managerial and entrepreneurial resources. The Government should devise innovative schemes to facilitate the investment of these resources for India's all round development.

3. From the Himalayas in the north to Kanyakumari in the south, India has always been one and indivisible – geographically, culturally and civilisationally. India is home to many religions and several languages and dialects. Customs and rituals change from region to region. We are proud of this rich diversity, which is a source of India's strength, not of weakness. But there is a silken thread that binds us together – and that silken thread is our national identity, our Indianness. We reject the thesis that India is a 'multi-national' entity. If we have survived centuries of aggression and colonial rule in our pre-independence

history, and have defeated those who tried to harm our national unity after independence, it is because India has always been one country with one people, with a common national identity and a common cultural heritage. This, simply put, is what is meant by Cultural Nationalism.

4. For the BJP, the unity and security of India are non-negotiable. We have been committed to strengthening our national values and shall continue to do so. This, we believe, is the only way to safeguard our national unity and defeat divisive forces. Similarly, we shall remain committed to protecting India's secular character, which is integral to our civilisation and which imparts to it its unique greatness. We reject the western and Communist notions of secularism, whose true meaning is *Sarva Panth Samabhav* (Equal respect for all faiths). We remain opposed to theocracy in any form.
5. The key to building a strong country, a confident and prosperous society, and a resurgent nation is mutual respect, understanding and cooperation. We shall never allow inter-faith differences to come in the way of nation-building. We believe that all long-pending inter-faith issues can be resolved through dialogue based on trust and a concern for the larger national good. Minorities, whether linguistic or religious, are an integral part of the 'Great Indian Family'. We need to nourish them so that a time comes when India shall be free of artificial divisions like majority and minority.
6. '*Antyodaya*' has to be the guiding principle of economics for India at her present stage of development. Our culture teaches us that making the poorest of the poor happy and contented is the highest form of worship. The BJP has been consistent in our approach that the focal point of all economic policies and programmes should be the *Daridra* (the poor) in whom is manifested 'Narayan' (divinity). We believe that this is indeed possible to be achieved by adopting the three-point economic strategy – maximisation

of production, equity in distribution and restraint in consumption.

7. Social Justice (*Samajik Nyay*), based on the related principle of Social Harmony (*Samajik Samarasata*), is integral to the BJP's vision of building an egalitarian India. The two are inseparable; one without the other is impossible. Removal of every trace of social denial and discrimination for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and OBCs is the first categorical imperative for the realisation of our ancient ideal of *Sarve Janah Sukhinah Bhavantu*. The BJP shall enthusiastically extol every social reform movement for justice and equality, and strive to bring every deprived and marginalised section of our society into the common mainstream of development.

8. Indian culture reveres women as the manifestation of *Shakti* or Creative Power. They are worthy of highest respect because of their role in sustaining family and society. Indian women have been performing this dual responsibility with exemplary grace, commitment and dedication. Ironically, those who do the most for sustaining family and society are, in today's India, victims of drudgery, deprivation and discrimination. Our nation can never rise to its full developmental potential so long as our women are not allowed to become equal participants and beneficiaries in all developmental efforts. The BJP believes that women's education, health-care, employment and all-round welfare must receive high priority in government, society and family alike. Perpetrators of crimes against women must be severely punished. In addition to their educational and economic empowerment, they should also be politically empowered, so that they get increased representation in public and political life. The introduction of the Women's Reservation Bill in Parliament is a notable achievement of our Government. The BJP urges all the political parties to ensure smooth and early passage of this bill. Both the Party and its Mahila Morcha should redouble their efforts to highlight women's issues and to bring more and more

women into active political life.

9. The growing imbalance between agriculture and industry, as also between rural and urban India is a direct consequence of the flawed development during the Congress era. This original imbalance has led to so many consequent social imbalances and distortions such as unsustainable migration from rural to urban areas, unbearable strain on urban infrastructure resulting in dehumanising living conditions for slum-dwellers and middle classes, neglect of rural infrastructure, disruption of family and community ties, damage to the country's precious cultural and environmental wealth, and a loss of self-esteem for village India. As urged by Mahatma Gandhi, Deendayal Upadhyay and all other votaries of the *Swadeshi* model of development, revivification of *Gaon*, *Ghareeb* and *Kisan* has to become the base of all our developmental policies and programmes. As a necessary component of this re-orientation exercise, the Panchayati Raj institutions must be further strengthened, especially through adequate and effective financial and administrative empowerment. At the same time, the growing needs of urban India, where 40 per cent of our population lives, cannot be neglected either. The institutions of local self-government in urban areas also need to be similarly empowered to stem urban decay and to make our towns and cities habitats of healthy living for all.
10. The past 50 years have seen a phenomenal expansion of the State. This unbridled expansion has had two negative consequences. It has stifled the creative endeavours of the people and created excessive dependencies on the State. At the same time, the ability of the State to deliver results has been seriously compromised by its sheer size and innate inefficiency. India is over-governed without being effectively governed. The State is doing too much of what it should not be doing and doing too little in what it should be doing. It has lost its direction. The process of centralisation must be reversed and democratic decision-

making returned to local communities and professional and vocational groups. The BJP believes that the role of the State has to be transformed from a controller to a facilitator. Our system of bureaucracy, which is largely unchanged from the British era, should be radically overhauled to make it accountable, service-minded and enthusiastic about people's participation. Our bureaucrats should change their mindset from being 'bosses' to 'servants' of the people.

II. Tasks before the Party

1. While the formation of the NDA Government at the Centre is a matter of great pride for the BJP, this major achievement brings with it an equally major responsibility: that of making the coalition experiment successful by consolidating and further strengthening our alliances both at the Central and State levels. We have an obligation to the people of India to demonstrate that, contrary to the Congress Party's motivated propaganda, a coalition government can not only be stable but also fulfil their aspirations. This calls for a scrupulous adherence to the *Dharma* of coalition, along with a firm realisation that the era of coalitions is here to stay. The constituents of the NDA contested the recent parliamentary elections on the basis of a common manifesto. Our Government is faithfully implementing the common agenda contained in this manifesto. As the leader of the NDA, it is the paramount responsibility of the BJP to ensure that there is neither any dilution nor any deviation from the common agenda. BJP expresses the confidence that every BJP worker understands that our agenda for governance is the national agenda for good governance.
2. Mindful of its new role and responsibilities as a governing party, the BJP shall inculcate among all its activists and members an attitude of finding solutions, rather than merely focusing on problems. When new initiatives and hard decisions are needed

— and they will be needed if India has to break free from the accumulated legacy of malgovernance by the Congress Party and take to the path of rapid and balanced growth — the Party shall redouble its efforts to mobilise popular support for them. There is a need for the Government, the Party and our allies in the NDA to effectively communicate to the people that today's temporary hardships will pave the way for a better tomorrow. There is an equally manifest need for a broad consensus, rather than mindless confrontation, among various political parties on all economic issues of critical national importance.

3. It is now obvious that much of effective governance lies in good management and administration. Professionalism, combined with a sound political perspective grounded in 'Nation-First' and 'People-First' principles, is a critical need for achieving desired results. The Party shall, therefore, increase its efforts to raise the knowledge level and professional expertise in its ranks, so that our activists can successfully handle the complex challenges in various spheres.
4. As India will be required to chart its course in an increasingly inter-dependent world of tomorrow, the Party shall make special efforts to develop a global outlook, with a sound knowledge of international affairs, among its activists and members. The Party shall also expand and deepen its international contacts, including its association with political parties abroad.
5. The Party's spectacular growth in recent years has been because of its ability to expand its appeal into newer social and geographical spaces. The Party shall consolidate its growth in these spaces. At the same time, results in all the recent elections have shown that the BJP's onward march depends critically on its ability to reach out to those sections of Indian society who have, for various reasons, remained uninfluenced by its appeal. It has, especially,

become necessary to expand the Party's support base among religious minorities, who are an integral part of our society. The Party shall thoroughly review its existing relationship with religious minorities consistent with its resolve to strengthen Indian nationhood. Based on a sincere and principled approach of espousing and redressing their issues in a just and non-appeasement manner, the BJP shall make intensified efforts to increase its support base among religious minorities.

III. Tasks before the Government

It is obvious that our Party's promise to deliver good governance hinges critically on our Government's ability to show tangible results soon for the benefit of the people in areas of economy and development. Therefore, the Party urges the Government to attend to the following tasks:

Economic Development

1. Concentrate on the integrated development of the rural economy with a focus on rural infrastructure, such as rural roads, telecommunication, housing construction, credit and marketing network, and facilities for agro-industries. Rejuvenation of the handloom, powerloom, handicrafts, artisanry, and other cottage industries that have a huge employment potential, especially in rural areas, should be accorded top priority. This is also important for reasons of social justice since a majority of the rural self-employed such as potters, brick-makers, iron-smiths, barbers, tailors, etc., belong to SC, ST and OBC classes. Revitalisation of the KVIC, which has suffered badly because of bureaucratism and political interference, is a task that merits urgent action. It is now obvious that the capacity of both the Government and the organised (corporate) sector to create employment is severely constrained. Indeed, many traditional industries may have to downsize to remain viable. Hence, the importance of agriculture, agro-businesses and the non-corporate industries has increased manifold in the context of our slogan of '*Berozgari Hatao*' by promising to create

one crore additional employment opportunities each year.

2. Increase the importance given to the agriculture sector and expedite implementation of schemes in crop insurance, wasteland development, watershed management, and cattle wealth protection. High priority should be given to completion of all pending irrigation schemes in a time-bound manner. Farm workers, many of whom are landless, are the backbone of our agriculture. But they are also among the poorest and most neglected in our society. The Government should increase the scope and efficiency of social welfare schemes aimed at them. Landowners, village panchayats and farm workers' own cooperative associations should be made active participants in the implementation of these schemes.
3. Restrict governmental role as only a policy-maker and facilitator of development in all areas of development except strategic sectors such as defence and nuclear power. All unnecessary controls and procedural hurdles in the path of Indian industry, especially small industry and Indian trade must be liberated from the curse of the 'Inspector Raj', and all the ills of corruption and harassment that are associated with it.
4. The proposed disinvestment programme should be carried out with utmost care and transparency, and in a manner that maximises the benefit for the country and avoids private monopolies or foreign dominance. A specific goal of the disinvestment programme should be to achieve a drastic and speedy reduction in our national debt, so that the resultant savings in loan and interest payments can be channeled for productive development, especially in the much neglected social sector.
5. Rationalise subsidies targeting the needy sections and economise government expenditure, since fiscal discipline is the need of the hour. This will release much needed funds for planned developmental projects and welfare of the deprived. The Government must make sure that the

poor and the disadvantaged are not made to suffer on account of much needed economic reforms. An effective Indian state has an obligation to the weakest.

6. Speed up reforms in insurance, banking and other areas of the financial sector with a view to achieving significant lowering of the cost of capital for Indian industry and business, reduction in NPAs, and easy availability of credit, especially for small and medium-scale businesses and trade. The credit needs of small traders, street vendors, craftsmen, artisans, women's self-help groups in villages and urban slums should be met in a timely and adequate manner.
7. Facilitate implementation of important infrastructure development projects in power, energy, roads, ports, airports, telecom and Internet without any delay. Special attention should be accorded to speedy implementation of the ambitious National Highway Development Project with East-West and North-South corridors. Creation of 20 lakh additional housing units each year is a major promise of the NDA Government. This must be fulfilled by accelerating necessary schemes and programmes. Unchecked growth of slum areas in our cities and towns, and the dehumanising living conditions in them for crores of our compatriots, are a severe indictment of the direction of India's development so far. Our Government should also initiate a massive, time-bound initiative for slum rehabilitation with twin objectives: improving the housing conditions and civic amenities for the slum-dwellers, and checking further proliferation of slums.
8. Take speedy and comprehensive measures to realise India's immense potential in Information Technology, Biotechnology and other knowledge-based enterprises. It is rightly said that IT (Information Technology) is India's Tomorrow, and BT (Bio-technology) is Bharat's Tomorrow, considering our country's rich bio-diversity. The considerable intellectual, managerial and financial

resources of overseas Indians working in these fields should be imaginatively tapped for this purpose. Special efforts should be made to ensure that the benefits of these sunrise enterprises do not bypass the poor. At the same time, the urgent needs of other areas of science and technology, which have long been neglected by previous governments, should be speedily attended to. Investments, both public and private, in R&D should be vastly stepped up to make India a major centre for the creation of world-class innovations and products. The country should aim to arrest and, indeed, reverse the brain drain through a concerted and coordinated strategy. The first task in this strategy should be to remove the bureaucratic atmosphere that prevails in our S&T institutions which stifles excellence and in which mediocrity is tolerated and merit is not rewarded.

9. Initiate a national consensus in the political, business and social establishments on India's strategy for globalisation. Welcome initiatives by the Government, and the positive response from the Opposition, in respect of the recently passed economic bills and India's stand at the WTO meeting in Seattle, should be extended further.
10. Implement a broad agenda of bold reforms to complement and supplement the economic reforms presently under way. This agenda should include Constitutional reforms, electoral reforms, administrative reforms, judicial reforms and police reforms. Urgent action should be taken to scrap all the outdated and inessential laws, regulations and procedures that hinder growth and cause harassment to the citizens. Similarly, a time-bound action plan should be initiated to clear all the long-pending cases in our various courts. The present functioning of the police and legal machinery is such that the Scale of justice is glaringly tilted against the poor and in favour of the rich and the well-connected. This has created a nexus between money power and muscle power working under the patronage of corrupt elements in the administrative system. Our

Government must break this nexus and establish the rule of law for the benefit of all citizens, especially the weakest.

Social development

1. Give top priority to alleviating poverty and providing basic minimum needs to our citizens through emphasis on increased financial and managerial investments in social infrastructure — education, health-care, sanitation, drinking water and housing. The Government must take sweeping measures to fulfil our promise to make primary education and primary health-care available to every Indian family in five years. Steps should also be taken to improve the standards of secondary and higher education to benefit, especially, students from poor and socially disadvantaged classes. Neither bureaucratic and excessively government-controlled policies and programmes, nor a free market approach can meet these needs. Experience of the past five decades has shown that major and urgent reforms are needed in implementing social sector schemes in order to meet the people's legitimate expectations. Many of these responsibilities lie with the State Governments who are facing a severe financial crunch. The problem is compounded by the lack of a common approach between the Centre and the State Governments. There is no concern for efficient use of available funds, no accountability for results, and no flexibility in the design of policies and programmes on the basis of local needs and local participation. The BJP urges the Government to thoroughly review the country's experience in these vital areas of human development and initiate appropriate reforms. There is a need to develop a national consensus on some of the pressing imperatives of development, such as removal of illiteracy, provision of basic health-care, children's welfare, finding a balance between development and protection of the environment, etc. It is high time all the political parties developed a common approach to these national issues to achieve speedy national progress.

2. Our youth are the biceps of our nation. Without full harnessing of *Yuva Shakti*, it is impossible to accomplish the daunting tasks of nation-building. Conversely, if this latent dynamo of our society is activated, no challenge is impossible to overcome. The first and foremost pre-requisite for this is ensuring education for all and employment for all. At the same time, the Government should also improve and further expand programmes and schemes for promoting the participation of our young men and women in sports, arts, cultural activities and constructive social work. The triad of universal education, universal employment and universal opportunities for participation in youthful activities is the best guarantor for removal of frustration, cynicism, apathy, indiscipline and other negative traits that can be seen in a section of our youth, and also for rekindling in them the natural qualities of idealism, patriotism and voluntarism. A new National Youth Policy, fully reflecting the necessary steps in these three areas, should be formulated soon. The laudable scheme of the National Reconstruction Corps (*Rashtra Punarnirmaan Vahini*), which was launched last year, should be effectively implemented all over the country. The Government should speedily formulate a National Sports Policy, with an emphasis on creating a good sports infrastructure in both urban and rural areas, and greater integration of sports and physical health into our education system. Since excellence in sports is a matter of national pride, the country should aim at world-class achievements in some well selected sports in the quickest possible time. Youth organisations, socio-cultural institutions, educational trusts, religious establishments and business classes should be facilitated to participate fully in realising our vision for India's youth.

3. Take immediate and comprehensive measures to control population growth, a task that brooks no further delay. No serious and sustained effort has so far been made to tackle this national problem that is at the root of so many other developmental problems. Experience of governmental

schemes for population control clearly show that they cannot succeed either by employing coercive methods or by ignoring people's conscious participation. The BJP believes that a dispassionate nationwide debate is needed on the right strategy, with an appropriate mix of incentives and disincentives, for speedily stabilising India's population. As a first demonstrative step, the BJP urges the Government to bring in statutory provisions for implementation, after a specific date, of a strict two child criterion for induction and promotion in government services. Similarly, persons having more than two children should be barred, after a certain date, from fielding themselves as candidates in any election, from Panchayat to Parliament.

National Security

1. Our Armed Forces – Army, Navy, Air Force – and our various internal security agencies have made an invaluable contribution to the protection of our frontiers and preservation of the country's unity and integrity. The Government should give top priority to strengthening them. We salute the heroism of our jawans and officers who fought to throw out the armed infiltrators in Kargil. Improving the functional efficiency of every individual security agency, increasing the coordination among them, and better utilisation of their existing human and physical resources through appropriate restructuring is urgently called for. It is as important as ensuring adequate additional financial support to them. Improving efficiency and coordination among our intelligence agencies at all levels is also a task demanding urgent attention. Coordination between the Centre and the States, as also among the State Governments, needs to vastly improve.
2. The recent hijack of an Indian Airlines plane by Pakistan-backed terrorists, and the spurt in acts of terrorism and extremism targeted especially at our security forces, shows that the interlinkage between external and internal security is constantly growing. Issues of national security – internal

or external — can no longer be separated from cross-border terrorism, religious fanaticism, infiltration by Bangladeshis and their settlement in the border States of the North-East and West Bengal as also in UP and Bihar along the Nepal border, illegal overstay of a large number of Pakistani nationals, cross-border smuggling of arms and narcotics, and corruption and inefficiency in our system. The hand of the ISI can be seen in many of these nefarious activities. The time has, therefore, come for devising a comprehensive and radical new strategy for strengthening national security. It is the duty of every citizen and every community to discharge their due responsibility in this regard. And it is the duty of the Government to facilitate the enthusiastic participation of citizens and communities in strengthening our security. In recent decades, neither the Government nor our social institutions have done much to promote in our citizenry the values of courage, bravery, discipline and the ready willingness to make any sacrifice in times of crises for the larger good of the nation. This situation must change.

3. The jawan is the symbol of patriotism, discipline, devotion to duty and self-negation for the cause of the nation. Since he is the epitome of our country's security and honour, honouring him and looking after the welfare of him and his family is the prime duty of the Government and society. Our Government earned widespread accolades for delivering a prompt relief and rehabilitation package to the families of those martyred and wounded in the Kargil war. It is necessary now to speedily establish a proper comprehensive scheme that would benefit the families of martyrs in all the wars and also those of our security forces killed in fighting terrorism and extremism. The issues of ex-servicemen should be expeditiously addressed. The Government should soon construct a suitable National Martyrs' Memorial to honour all those who have laid down their lives for the defence of the Motherland.
4. Continue the multi-pronged strategy to bring about peace

and normalcy in Jammu & Kashmir. The Government should tackle the Pakistan-aided terrorist and separatist groups with an iron hand. It should especially ensure that the terrorists are prevented from expanding their activities in Jammu, Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh and other neighbouring areas. At the same time, the Centre and the State Government should accelerate their joint efforts to implement developmental projects, create greater employment, promote tourism, re-build the educational establishment and promote people's welfare. Creating a corruption-free environment and increasing the democratic participation of the people in the State's governance are very important for the success of our Kashmir strategy. The test of peace and normalcy in Kashmir is the honourable return of all the refugees.

5. Intensify the efforts to speedily bring about social, economic and emotional integration between the people of the North-Eastern states and the rest of India. The problems of this region are unique and manifold. They are compounded by the physical distance that separates the region from the rest of India, poor communication facilities, political instability and bad governance, infiltration from Bangladesh and the fact that they are border States. These problems can be addressed only by mobilising the active and enthusiastic participation of the people of this region, showing a great deal of sensitivity and understanding about their diverse ethnic identities, and by strengthening the bonds of nationalism that tie them to the Great Indian Family. The main pre-requisites for success in this endeavour are effective and accelerated implementation of long-pending schemes for infrastructure development, creation of employment opportunities for the youth, and corruption-free, stable democratic governance. At the same time, the Government must firmly put down the extremist activities of the various divisive groups in the region. The BJP and the constituents of the NDA should take the lead in starting a dialogue with all the other national and regional parties to evolve a strategy based on a national consensus for

achieving peace, normalcy and accelerated development of the North-East.

Tasks before the people

People are the real masters in a democracy. They are also the true makers of a nation's destiny. When a hundred crore people of India begin to share a common vision of nation-building, when the different sections of our diverse society cooperate with each other to develop a unity of purpose and action, they transform themselves into a mighty *Shakti* capable of surmounting any challenge and achieving any goal the nation may set for itself. When every Indian says, "This is My India," and begins to feel, think and act according to this belief, the unity it creates acquires a physical force capable of transforming history. If we look back, we see that this is what happened during India's Movement for Freedom. Can we not, therefore, look ahead and resolve to create this 'miracle of unity' once again, in order to succeed in the Movement for Nation-Building?

The Government and political parties have no doubt an important role in nation-building. But the main constructive effort in it has to come from the people themselves — through individual action as well as efficient and effective institutional functioning. Unfortunately, the ruling establishments overlooked this truth in recent decades. Worse still, they caused the decay of institutions and contributed to apathy and cynicism among the citizenry. This is one of the major reasons for the wide and worrisome gap we see today between India's potential and performance.

The BJP is determined to arrest and reverse this harmful trend. At the same time, we also appeal to you, dear fellow citizens, to change such aspects of your own thinking and conduct that are not conducive to nation-building. Specifically, we urge all of you to:

- improve the work ethic and contribute fully to increasing productivity in your respective vocations and professions;
- strengthen discipline in public life;
- combat corruption and promote respect for the law;
- develop a heightened sense of your duties as citizens; and assert your legitimate rights in your interface with the Government;
- participate actively in the implementation of developmental policies and programmes;

- spread the culture of cooperation;
- aim at excellence and high-achievement in whatever you are doing; promote positive role models for our children and youth;
- protect public property, and keep public spaces clean;
- preserve family and community values;
- promote pride in, and awareness about, our rich and diverse national heritage;
- contribute to the modernisation of every facet of our national life from a *Swadeshi* focus, accepting positive trends and values from everywhere but without succumbing to the imitative belief that modernisation means westernisation; and
- contribute to strengthening of any public institution or non-governmental organisation you may be associated with.

Our appeal is especially directed at the students and young men and women of India who have a reservoir of tremendous creative enthusiasm and patriotic energy in them. The BJP has immense hope and faith in you. We assure you that you can pin your hopes on the BJP for the realisation of your dreams.

Dear People of India, the time has come for the establishment of a new kind of cooperative partnership between the Government, political establishment, non-governmental organisations and the citizenry to unveil a new chapter in India's development. The BJP solemnly pledges to discharge its responsibility in this endeavour. Together, let us together march confidently to make the 21st Century India's century.

Vande Mataram!



National Council

Gandhinagar

1-3 May, 1992

Statement regarding Humanistic Approach to Economic Development

Ideological Framework

Approach

The Bharatiya Janata Party's vision of India has been spelt out in the Economic Policy Statements (EPS) of 1980 and 1986 as well as the Election Manifesto of 1991. The approach of the BJP to economic problems of the country has to be understood and appreciated in this background. The approach combines continuity with change. A few of the suggestions made by the BJP have been adopted by the Government though not always ungrudgingly and in full. Many suggestions despite their importance remain unimplemented. The implementation in a fragmented manner and without adequate prior thinking of the likely consequences has led to adhocism and distortions. The Government has all along followed the turn of events without any attempt to mould them or anticipate them. There is need for fresh look in the changing national and international context for more realistic appreciation of immediate problems and long-term implications. It is this continuity with recognition of change that lends freshness, realism and vitality to the vision that the BJP has of a prosperous, progressive, egalitarian, enlightened, confident and participative democracy capable of holding its own in the flux of times.

The BJP believes in a new social and economic order which is not exploitative, but cooperative and harmonious and which provides full play to individual initiative and dignity. The multifarious urges and aspirations — spiritual, intellectual, economic and social — of the citizens have to be reconciled and harmonised. This approach flows from our national heritage and from the concepts of Mahatma Gandhi's **RAM RAJYA** and

Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyay's **INTEGRAL HUMANISM**. The holistic, total, integral and comprehensive philosophy must suffuse all of us in national effort for economic development. Communism has collapsed. But the resurrection of unbridled capitalism will not provide the key to the solution of our myriad problems. It will only lead to consumerism and increasing debt burden fettering the generations to come. The spirit of *Swadeshi* and self-reliance cannot be lost sight of. It is an integral part of our national history and heritage. Despite *Swadeshi* and self-reliance being the principal elements of our political and economic emancipation from the foreign bondage, they have been consistently ignored in practice by the Government.

The growing resentment and resistance of many socially conscious groups and citizens of the country to operations of the multinational companies in the country has to be properly understood and taken note of. These nationalists are aware of certain dismal phases of the country's economic history and rightly get concerned about the present trends and future dangers. It is idealism and sense of patriotic fervour that impel them to intensify the commitment to *Swadeshi* and self-reliance in the public so as to dispel all pervading complacency in the government. By *Swadeshi* one means that the local resources and talents have the full SCOPE for development in national interest and the benefits there from should primarily flow to the people. Integration into a global economy should not mean obliteration of national identity and predominant sway of powerful economic forces from outside. The BJP is appreciative of their selfless idealism and will continue to be alive to such a genuine national concern in its beliefs and operationalisation of its policies and programmes. Thus *Swadeshi* becomes a fundamental value for the nation. *Swadeshi* should not be misinterpreted as a static or backward-looking isolationist concept. It is not insular in approach. It has to be comprehended in the wider perspective of the approach and thinking of Gandhiji and Deendayalji, which form the shining features of the policy and programmes of the BJP in the realm of national development for building the national economy on a self-sustaining basis.

Direction

After long decades of the so-called planned development, planning and development are in disarray. India finds herself at the bottom of the international pile, an abject basket case that has to beg regularly for alms from international agencies, which treat it with disdain. The Nehruvian model has failed to change the fate of the masses. Though a small section of around 200 million benefited from developmental efforts, nearly fifty per cent of the population continues to be under the grip of poverty – thus resulting in socio-economic dualism. The paradox of the so-called development is continuation of surplus labour in agriculture. The country's external debt burden reached around Rs. 2,00,000 crore. To repay old debt, new ones are created. This is tragic legacy of the Nehruvian model, a perverse development model which has completely failed, though some people continue to pay it ritualistic homage.

All this has been done in the name of the poor, though it is the poor who have been pauperised and suffer the most. India has barely doubled their income per head in 45 years, whereas there are developing countries, many of them in the same continent as ours, who have been doubling their incomes every ten or fifteen years. And the gap is widening, not narrowing.

The development strategy followed during the last forty years in operational terms separates development from employment, treating human beings as fodder in the developmental process. Consequently, employment has received a very low priority in the economic plans which have treated it as a by-product, not the main goal, of development plans. This is also the reason why the plans – planning – have not succeeded. The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that it is only through full employment – not just any employment, but gainful and productive employment – that rapid development

is possible. Development and employment are closely interlinked, and all kinds of problems, including social turbulence arise when they are divorced from each other.

The Bharatiya Janata Party is of the view that it is possible to achieve economic growth with social justice, through the employment oriented model – which could be called the BJP model, with the spirit of self-reliance and *Swadeshi*. But self-reliance does not mean isolation. Self-reliance also does not mean producing everything within the country regardless of cost, quality, efficiency or comparative advantage. Operationally, we can make right judgement only if we have clarity of thought and have the eyes set on the chosen goals.

The question is one of self-confidence, of being able to face challenges of a rapidly changing world which is arming itself all the time with new technologies and new opportunities for development and trade. The government as the trustee of the people has to reinforce and sustain this confidence and capability. India is an integral part of the world; a nation of around 850 million people cannot be anything else. For the BJP *Swadeshi* is not isolationism but development of confidence and capability in consonance with our cultural mores and ethos – keeping in view our requirements of today and tomorrow. It is the wide perspective that the BJP keeps in view not as a platitude but a way of life. For the Bharatiya Janata Party, *Swaraj* and *Swadeshi* are indivisible. There can be no real *Swaraj* without *Swadeshi*. But not the *Swadeshi* of an inward-looking nation afraid to face an increasingly complex and aggressive world outside, on the other hand, the *Swadeshi* of a self-confident, hard working modern nation that can deal with the world on terms of equality. The main impulse for growth in India has to come, as it does everywhere else in the world, from its own capital, its own very able entrepreneurs, its own hard working peasants and workers. The role of foreign capital will naturally be limited, though it can be crucial at certain stages and for specified national goals. That is why the BJP is opposed to unfettered entry of foreign capital and multinationals, except in high-technology areas which are yet to be developed.

Commitment

The main elements of the economic policy of the Bharatiya Janata Party are: Rapid development through full employment with the use

of changing and growing technology on par with international levels; self-reliance to the maximum but not self-sufficiency at any cost; optimum use of national resources, materials, man power, but with due allowance for foreign capital in high-tech industries; investment environment in which every enterprise, private and public, can thrive, and, where efficiency and productivity will be rewarded; special attention to lagging sectors like agriculture cottage and small-scale industries, weaker sections of the society including women, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward classes and backward regions etc., to bring them up on par with the rest of the country in order to enable them to play their full part in national development. In the BJP model of economic development, '*Antyodaya*' shall be the guiding star and the abiding national commitment. Economic development would not only be people-oriented, but also keep the environment pollution free and maintain the ecological balance.

The economic system to be ushered in should not be based on uninhibited exploitation of natural resources to meet material requirements and needs of the body as has happened both under 'communist' and 'consumerist' models. It should, on the other hand, be 'integral' and 'non-exploitative' and harmonise the needs of 'body', 'mind', 'intellect' and 'soul' in keeping with our culture and tradition. Instead of mere exploitation of natural resources there should be equal emphasis on conservation and enhancement of these resources. The above needs should be met not by causing erosion and degradation of natural resources and by doing irreparable damage to environment and ecology but in harmony with these. The economic system should not be 'exploitative' and entail greater sacrifices from certain sections of the community for benefits of others and lead to creation of 'oasis' of prosperity in the midst of misery and deprivation as at present. It should call for equal sacrifices from all sections of people and aim at accelerated growth and development, particularly, of weaker sections of the society such as women, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes and backward areas, which are at present lagging behind, to eliminate imbalances. The development process should give highest priority to development of rural areas and seek to reduce the present disparity and gap in urban and rural areas. It is only by such a balanced and harmonious growth that a vision of new India could be built: a non-exploitative social order rooted in norms and values, aiming at distributive justice,

with improvement in quality of life even for the most disadvantaged in society, that is, *Antyodaya*.

Unlike in the past when the process of development has been allowed to bypass many regions, sectors and sections of our people, the BJP is determined to bring all the segments and sections of people as well as regions in the development nexus of the national economy.

India must liberalise, industrialise and modernise — but it must do so the Indian Way. The updating, modernisation, adoption and cooption of technology is a continuing process. We must have faith in and extend support to the R&D effort of our scientists and technologists, who have established name in international community. India has to become a light unto herself. We have to evolve our own Model — a model that will be integral and humanistic reconciling in the light of experience, both from within and outside our own needs with the expectations of today as well as the claims of tomorrow.

The Economic Programme of the Bharatiya Janata Party follows from the above paradigms, namely Humanism and *Swadeshi*.

Integrated Rural Development

The BJP is of the firm view that integrated development of the rural sector is the pre-requisite of healthy and stable economy. Our vision of fully developed rural sector would mean:

- A farmer free from debt;
- Maximisation of productivity in agriculture;
- Promotion of village industries and agro-technological network; and
- Complete with basic amenities such as housing, school, health care, entertainment, power, roads, drinking water, arrangement for toilets particularly for use of women, etc.

Our aim is to develop rural sector with job opportunities as well as all basic amenities which together, would make an attractive place to live in and thereby, prevent migration to urban sector.

Agriculture and Rural Development

Agriculture is an important segment of the economy with over one third share in gross domestic products (GDP) and, on which nearly two-thirds population still depends for livelihood. Besides, there is a close backward and forward linkage between industry and agriculture. A healthy and prosperous agriculture is the sine qua non of a healthy and prosperous country. Multifaceted rural development similarly constitutes the core and essence of the development of agriculture in the country. The BJP believes that agricultural potential in the country should be fully utilised so as to create an exportable agricultural surplus and to make villages self-reliant to the extent possible. We would like to:

- simplify the land laws and ensure speedy and time bound implementation of the land reforms and various land laws. The concept of land to the tiller should provide basic strategy guideline for land reforms, exemption should however, be made to protect land belonging to widows, disabled persons, military and para military personnel which is given to others for cultivation;
- issue passbooks to farmers;
- promote, establish and encourage agro-based industries;
- set up a countrywide network of agro-industrial complexes in rural areas, which would take up activities directly relating to agriculture and also meet other requirements of villagers' e.g., scientific storage facilities, food processing units, cottage industries etc.;
- make provision for monetary assistance and training for village artisans particularly engaged in crafts allied to agriculture;
- develop horticulture in its widest setting, as it constitutes a vital element in rural development;
- launch small, labour-intensive rural projects with particular reference to improving productivity of land such as waste land reclamation, afforestation, minor irrigation works, improving roads and other means of communication to facilitate quick transportation of agriculture and horticulture produce to market place and creating other rural infrastructure based on the

felt needs of the village community and to improve environment and sanitation;

- speedily complete ongoing irrigation projects, operationlise irrigation potential already created at great cost and organise efficient flood and drought management,
- give priority to construction of minor and medium irrigation works and deepening of existing tanks and construction of small embankments;
- Ensure abundant supply of water and energy for agricultural land as the farmers have a right to these basic inputs;
- evolve policy and programme of national water grid and design and execute it early and within a time bound framework. This should include the proposal to link Ganges and Cauvery;
- undertake programmes for watershed development and for conservation and management of water so as to optimise its use;
- give suitable subsidies to various agricultural inputs including subsidy for good seeds in order to promote rapid growth of agriculture;
- ensure remunerative prices to farmers for all crops and continually review the price pattern;
- for framing agricultural pricing policy, take into assessment the cost of land, family labour and allied economic risk or hazardous factors along with other costs to ensure fair price which also includes profits and incentives for agricultural production;
- announce agricultural support prices at the beginning of the crop year;
- maintain parity of prices between agricultural and industrial products;
- ensure minimum wages to labour and review periodically these keeping in view the changes in the cost of living;
- review, rationalise and streamline the role and working of Food Corporation of India in food procurement and management of buffer stock;
- encourage cultivation of pulses, oil seeds, coarse grains, fruits, vegetables and other cash crops,

- encourage use of organic manure and shift emphasis from the use of chemical fertilisers;
- Decentralise all food processing in rural areas and centralise only its marketing;
- introduce cattle and crop insurance schemes and also update the old Famine Code with a view to ensuring adequate and timely relief in the event of natural calamities on account of flood, drought or any other causes. The relief should cover every type of loss sustained in such calamity;
- expand and strengthen warehousing and cold storage facilities both in State cooperatives and private sector;
- ensure loans to farmers against their crop to prevent distress sales by them and also create proper and scientific storage facilities;
- allocate sixty per cent of plan allocation, both central and state, for rural development including agriculture and small scale and village industries;
- encourage and intensify dry farming according to agro-climatic zones. For this purpose latest scientific technology and guidance and other facilities should be made available to farmers;
- intensify efforts to develop waste lands with a view to bringing these under cultivation or afforestation so as to augment production and increase employment opportunities;
- prevent acquisition of fertile and good agricultural land except where it is inevitable. Provide market value compensation in case of land acquisition in one instalment and provide alternative land/houses/jobs to rehabilitate those uprooted in the process
- ensure that all agricultural/rural projects are decided on the basis of local felt need and by involvement of local community including women and members of SC and ST in the village. The planning and selection of the projects may be done at block level;
- decentralisation in this matter;
- ensure protect the traditional rights of villages in *Gochar Bhoomi* and *Nistar* land;

- facilitate consolidation of agricultural land and prevent its further fragmentation;
- make available all agricultural inputs and information about latest technology through single window system;
- restructure the Agriculture Cost and Price Commission and make it more broad-based with adequate representation to all interest groups, particularly those engaged in farming;
- assist development of pisciculture, fisheries, poultry-farming and piggeries to augment rural income;
- make the countryside attractive and prosperous so that migration to the urban areas is contained and even reversed.
- modern communications have made that fully possible and eminently desirable;
- develop hospital or primary health centre and rural mandies for a cluster of villages;
- take steps for organising rural poor and to work out and implement schemes for their gainful employment; and
- initiate special measures to provide gainful employment to women as well as weaker sections in rural areas;

Go Samvardhan and Development of Cattle Wealth

The BJP has all along held that cow protection is the living symbol of Indian culture and is inextricably linked with economy of the country through ages. The BJP would fulfil the constitutional obligations of cow protection and total ban on cow slaughter so that the dairy development and animal husbandary development take place in systematic manner ushering in the White Revolution and prosperity in the countryside. It has to be realised that the cattle is a national wealth and is vital to the rural economy. It enables tilling of land, supplies milk, manure and is used for transportation etc. It is a practical alternative to excessive use of petroleum products involved in widespread tractorisation and thereby helps in conservation of foreign exchange. It can also be an additional source of energy for transportation, bio-gas and lift irrigation in rural areas. In view of its importance for agriculture and rural development, steps for preserving and developing cattle are of paramount importance. Intensive efforts would be made to promote dairy system as it plays a catalytic role in supplementing rural prosperity.

Forest Policy: Social Forestry

It is also necessary to evolve a realistic national Forest Policy which achieves the twin objective of afforestation including social forestry and growth of economy. While working out programmes of afforestation, regional agro-climatic conditions and needs should be kept in view. Wherever feasible, plantations such as rubber plantations should be encouraged on scientific basis with latest technology in view of its manifold advantages. In this context it is also necessary to rationalise the Forest Act so that the statutory provisions do not stand in the way of speedy implementation of industrial, irrigation and power projects—big and small. This is an area where state governments are feeling handicapped. It does become a matter for consideration if some devolution of powers to the States under the Act is required. In order to preserve forests, the use of wood should be discouraged and the use of alternative materials advocated. Special attention would be given to the interests and problems of tribal population inhabiting forest areas so as to provide them alternative means of livelihood and employment as found necessary. Forests should be viewed less as a resource for revenue and more as an instrument for preservation of environment and maintenance of ecological balance. In tribal areas the forest policy and management arrangements should ensure that the scheduled tribes continue to enjoy their traditional rights in common forest land and forest products such as fruits, flowers and leaves.

Agro-Technical Network

It is high time the concepts of industry and agro-technical network constituted the integral part of our effort at promoting small scale industry, establishing linkages between agriculture and industry, breaking the false dichotomy between urban and rural community and bringing about a healthy relationship between scientific and technological advance with the requirement of small scale and agro-based industry which is not always benefited by scientific and technological progress. This area merits sustained and meticulous attention for balanced and equitable economic development. The process of technological linkages between the small and large-scale industry must be initiated in meaningful terms. It is important to realise that there is no contradiction between the various categories or levels of industry which constitute an organic

whole. Similarly, the relationship in agro-industry and scientific research such as the concept of lab to land must be operationalised innovatively and effectively.

Industrial Sector

The Industrial Policy should aim at rapid industrial growth, higher productivity, maximisation of efficiency, expanding employment opportunities, fair deal to consumers and ensuring employees welfare. The protection of inefficiency and promotion of vested interests which are the consequence of elimination of healthy competition and creation of sheltered markets must give way to a friendly and facilitating environment which promotes efficiency to use our national resources. The BJP has been advocating an end to license-permit-quota Raj and well-conceived deregulation of Industry. Some steps have at long last been taken in this respect but there is need for greater thrust and properly evolved policy in this direction,

The BJP would like to promote a four-tier industrial sector as follows:

- Handicrafts and Village Industries;
- Small Scale Sector;
- Large Scale Sector; and
- State Sector,

Handicrafts and Village Industries

The BJP firmly believes that national goals such as employment generation, and need to enhance export earnings could be met through traditional craftsmanship such as handlooms and handicrafts, gems and jewellery etc. For instance, an investment of Rs. one crore in village industries creates job opportunities for 202 persons while the same investment in the organised industrial sector can provide job to hardly 40 persons. Besides, more than 40 per cent of our export earnings comes from the small industries. The BJP pledges to recognise their importance in the national economy and looks at them with increased expectations to achieve balanced development.

- A separate ministry will be set up to look after interests of

handicrafts and village industries;

- To preserve and promote traditional Craftsmanship 'National Artisan Development Bank' would be set up. Government would contribute the necessary initial capital of this bank;
- The traditional artisans will be made to feel proud of themselves with due recognition in society. Attempt will be made to bring them together under cluster of artisans belonging to the same skill;
- Traditional artisans such as weavers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, shoe makers, potters etc. will be provided with basic amenities such as housing;
- Processing units, marketing facilities, marketing consultancy etc. will be provided so that traditional artisans will get remunerative returns for their special skill, and are not exploited by middlemen;
- Multinational companies should not be allowed entry into this area;
- Similarly skills of scheduled castes and tribes will receive special attention;
- Women entrepreneurs should be particularly encouraged in this sector; and
- In Government media such as TV and radio the products of traditional artisans will be given adequate coverage at concessional rates;

Small Scale Sector

While the importance of large-scale industry is fully understood, and it will continue to have expanding scope for development; small-scale sector would play an equally important role in the promotion of industrial economy. Interestingly enough it contributes substantially to GDP, exports and employment but it is a much harassed sector. Inspectors from too many departments regulate and monitor them with adverse impact on initiative for development; and now even differential rates of interest are being denied to them. More than two lakh units were sick at the end of December, 1990. To cure sickness in small scale industries and bring them back to health, wherever possible, the BJP

would like to adopt the following measures:

- Certain areas of industrial production will be reserved for Small Scale Sector. Entry of large industry and multinationals will not be permitted in such areas.
- All small scale sector problems would be cleared through a single nodal agency.
- End Inspector Raj. This could be done by laying clear guideline for small scale units and doing away with any advance clearance for their working.
- Provision for adequate hire-purchase facility for purchase machinery.
- Common service facilities, including testing and quality control facility under the cluster approach.
- An agency will be set up to provide marketing assistance intelligence both in respect of domestic and overseas markets.
- Adequate fiscal and monetary incentives such as differential rates of interest, availability of timely and required working capital, single-point sales tax, quick clearance of bills and strengthening of marketing network.
- Small scale units with high employment investment ratio should get extra tax benefits and credit facilities for providing more employment.
- Ensure that scheduled castes and tribes receive special attention.
- Recognise the role that women play in this sector and ensure that they are able to have access to their share of credit and other facilities.
- Set up a board for revival of sick small scale units on the line of Board for Industrial and Financial Reconstruction (BIFR).

Large Scale Sector

Indian Industry has come a long way; but it has a much longer way to go. The License-Permit-Quota Raj has long stymied Indian industry. Recently there has been some liberalisation. In line with the last BJP Election Manifesto, Government has made changes. The Industrial (Development and Regulation) Act and The Monopolies

and Restrictive Trade Practices Act. However, even now, coal, sugar, tobacco, newsprint, leather, edible oil and several other industries require compulsory licensing. There is a need for immediate relaxation of licensing for sugar industry as it is vital for many states and for reducing of our dependency on petroleum products and for indepth examination of the justification for retaining licensing in other areas. Actually only defence-related industries or industries considered strategic from national angle, or industries hazardous for health, should need licensing. It has been observed that even where regulations are gone, regulating agencies keep hanging, as a Damocles' Sword over the Indian Economy.

Government should not make the setting up of an industrial unit into a hurdle race – telling entrepreneurs what industry to set up, when, where and how. Nor should it require municipal or any other clearance. The State should lay down comprehensive guidelines covering all investment related aspects such as location, environmental requirements, industrial relations, foreign investment etc. – which the industrial units are supposed to follow. Any violation of the set rules will attract penal clauses. There must be complete transparency in the exercise of administrative discretion for providing rationale to the framework of regulation. Besides, the BJP would like to:

- encourage scientific research and development as part of the process of industrial growth and over-all modernisation;
- encourage ancillarisation to promote healthy linkage and partnership between large, medium and the small enterprises;
- encourage businessmen to function as trustees of the public good; and
- allow hazardous industries only after necessary and scientific safeguards and precautions and at safe distance from cities and densely inhabited areas. Separate industrial satellites would be set up exclusively for such units.

State Sector

In India, economic activities taken over by the Government have been designated as 'Public Sector' and all other economic activities have been dubbed as Private Sector. The government undertaking may now more appropriately be called 'State Sector'.

The major objectives of setting up public enterprises was to help in rapid economic growth and industrialisation of the country, create necessary infrastructure economic development, earn return on investment and thus generate resources for further development; promote redistribution of income and wealth; create employment opportunities; promote balanced regional development; and to promote import substitutions. The way these enterprises have been allowed to function during the last four decades, most of these expectations have not been realised and there has hardly been any accountability.

There were 244 Central public sector enterprises – excluding banking, insurance, and departmentally run enterprises like Railways and Posts and Telegraphs. Many of these had been taken over by the Government only because they had become sick. The sick textile mills alone cost the exchequer Rs. 300 crore a year. These mills produce coarse cloth, sell it below cost and thus hurt the handloom sector.

Investment in these enterprises has grown over the years and it was about Rupees One Lakh crore as on 31-3-1990. In terms of net return on investment, the contribution of this sector has varied from 1.11 per cent in 1980-81 to 4.48 per cent in 1989-90. The number of persons regularly employed in 1989-90 was 22.36 lakh generating only one single job for investment of every Rs. 4.5 lakh. These enterprises have also not been able to contribute to balanced regional growth or development of ancillary and small-scale industry. Similarly investment in the State Government undertakings including Electricity Boards crossed Rs. 2,30,000 crore. The record of these State undertakings in terms of return or productive employment is no better.

It is, therefore, appropriate to review the policy in respect of public sector enterprises. We have indicated in our 1991 Election Manifesto the main thrust that is called for. The basic objective should be to confine public enterprises mainly to only Defence and infrastructure areas and to ensure that public enterprises function on commercial lines and have full autonomy of functioning so as to ensure efficiency and working on professional parameters. At the same time the mechanism for ensuring accountability and fixation of responsibility at different levels has to be strengthened operationally. Government has haltingly started

the process of disinvestments in favour of Financial Institutions and Mutual Funds. This disinvestment should be on the basis of a properly evolved policy, with provision for the public to take shares, preference being given to employees; and it should be undertaken in an open and transparent manner so that there is proper valuation of shares and everyone has an opportunity to purchase these. The management of these government enterprises should be entrusted to professionals and should be made fully accountable. The objective should be maximisation of productivity, profitability and employee's welfare. The profitability should be through production of quality goods at competitive rates and not through artificial jacking up of prices, through the mechanism of administered prices.

Social Objectives and Economic Goals

In the working of State or private enterprises, we do not want inefficiency under the high-sounding name of social objectives. There are social objectives which we cherish as a nation and will continue to work for them. But they shall not be mixed as to dilute the pursuit of profitability along with quality and competitive efficiency in these enterprises. The cost of achievement of the social objectives should be treated separately while assessing their performance and recognising their contribution to the development of the economy. We do, however, believe that in the society envisioned for India by the BJP, there must be—in all sections—continuing awareness and affirmation of the adequate sense of social responsibility while maximising profits, be they public enterprises or private undertakings.

Foreign Capital

The BJP strongly believes in the protection of national sector—private as well as public. The adhoc manner in which liberalisation, internal as well as external, is being done at present without working it out in advance in a systematic and detailed manner, does not enable the national industry to develop its competitive strength and efficiency to cope with the challenges posed by sudden opening up to the international global economy. This may prove detrimental to national industry. Opening up of the economy to external competition should be on selective basis and strictly keeping in

view interests of the domestic economy – industry, materials, local talent and the labour force. However, the Party realises that there is scope to welcome foreign investment and technology in areas where domestic efforts have been weak – energy conservation, pollution control, coal, washery technology, to name a few. The BJP's attitude towards foreign investment is guided by the following principles:

- Foreign investment should be allowed in high-tech, export-oriented and import substitution areas.
- Consumer goods should not be open for foreign investment.
- Existing multinational companies in the areas of consumer goods industries will have to dilute their control within a time frame to be evolved. In such cases, preference will be given to existing Indian employees in transfer of equities.

Full Employment and Industrial Relations

And that brings us again to the problem of unemployment. The situation here is grim. Between 1978-1988, while the GDP growth rate jumped from 3.5 per cent to 5.3 per cent, the over-all employment growth rate came down from 2.8 per cent to 1.3 per cent. This decline was not confined to any one sector. The employment growth rate in agriculture came down from 1.5 per cent to 0.07 per cent, and that in industry came down from 4.7 per cent to 2.2 per cent. (Only the Service Sector showed some growth). Another chilling fact is that at 1.3 per cent, the employment growth rate is only half of the rate at which the labour force is growing. And now it is feared that the Government's structural adjustment will cost the country another four to eight million jobs during 1992-94. Government's economic policy has not been employment friendly and has failed to take into account the need for increasing employment opportunities.

Employment Generation

That the employment situation should have worsened inspite of the Rs. 7,000 crore poverty alleviation programmes shows how leaky and insincere these programmes are. All loopholes in these programmes need to be plugged to actualise the full potential for employment. Apart from this, the rural poverty alleviation programmes could be materially improved by handing them over

Panchayat Samities. There should also be greater involvement of voluntary groups and agencies in these programmes. Agro-based industries must be treated as a thrust area for generating rural employment. The employment guarantee scheme with suitable modifications based on experience gained and keeping in view the regional local needs should be introduced throughout the country.

As for employment in the industrial sector, two factors have not been fully appreciated; first, there is greater scope for employment in small scale sector than in large-scale sector. But this fact has received only ritualistic recognition from the Government. Another factor is that due to a variety of labour laws and tax benefits, industry, big and small, finds it more economical to go in for expensive machinery, and automation than engage more labour. Genuinely labour-intensive industry does merit serious consideration in our economic situation.

A 'National Commission for Full Employment' should be appointed to go into the questions of employment and under employment and formulate an employment friendly policy for the country that will promote full employment. This Commission should also suggest special measures and facilities for providing increased employment opportunities with special measures for small scale, and handicrafts and cottage industries with potential for higher employment potentialities. The policy should include measures for upgradation of skills through training. Continuing efforts towards Human Resource Development in all its form is necessary to achieve higher levels of labour productivity. The commission should also conduct in-depth review of the working of all existing employment schemes and programmes and, where necessary, suggest modifications, strengthening, or even replacement or substitution of these schemes, programmes.

Exit Policy

The Government has set up a National Renewal Fund in support of its Exit Policy. Actually, our emphasis should be on Entry Policy, helping more and more industrial units to come up. Factories may be closed down only with a golden handshake and that too only when sickness is terminally manifested and so decided by the appropriate authority. The unemployment aspect and the likely wastage of our trained manpower have to be kept in view while working out policies and programmes for exit policy. It should not

become a thin end of the wedge to exploit the labour and workers and take unfair advantage in the name of streamlining either public or private sector. While taking all necessary steps for dealing with the problem of over staffing or closure of rich units, the workers are not left in the lurch. Adequate measures for their rehabilitation have to be worked out and a suitable machinery for this purpose devised. The linkage between prices and wages is an important aspect. Like the promised social welfare state, the social security net dangled by the Government before the labour should not just become another optical illusion. Unrealistic policy and apathy in implementation have characterised the government's attitude all along. The BJP is anxious that the exit policy must fit in the framework of the national policy of full employment and the national goals of development with social justice.

Industrial Relations

The BJP does not consider labour as mere factor of production but as an equal partner in economic development. Its due rights will be protected while expecting it to contribute its best in creation of national wealth.

Sustained efforts will be made for human resource development through training and upgradation of the skills of labour and others engaged in organised, unorganised, and in self-employed sectors.

Interests of employees will be protected while privatising the existing public sector or restructuring of economy as a whole.

- National wage policy would be evolved.
- Labour participation in management would be encouraged.
- Workers will be encouraged to run industries facing closure.
- Recognition to labour union will be accorded on the basis of votes secured in secret ballot.

Cooperative Movement

Cooperation with each other in economic activities is a unique feature of Indian culture. In fact, small land-holders have been carrying on cultivation, by and large, on the strength of cooperative attitude in villages. After independence, some attempt has been made

to formalise this unique characteristic in the form of IB & cooperative movement. Unfortunately, the movement has not come up to the expectation mainly due to politicisation of the movement. The BJP would like to cleanse it of vested interest and strengthen cooperative movement and would like to spread it to as many areas of economic activities as possible. In fact, the BJP would like to make cooperative movement 'People's movement'. To begin with, the Party would like to vigorously promote cooperative movement particularly in the following sectors:

Agricultural Cooperatives

The BJP feels that small agricultural land holdings could be made more productive by channelling the efforts of small farmers together through cooperative movement – particularly in the field of common facilities. This would also strengthen their efforts with regard to credit facilities, better inputs, irrigation, marketing, storage and, above, all management.

Artisans' Cooperatives

Cottage industries is another area where cooperative movement could be systematically pursued. For instance, for each handicraft, say, handloom or diamond cutting, artisans could be brought together through a separate cluster of artisans. Under the system, artisans of a similar skill would come together, work together and live together. Apart from taking care of credit requirement, design, marketing and management of a particular skill, this cluster will also take care of the basic amenities of the members.

Women's Cooperatives

The BJP would like to strengthen cooperative movement specially to involve women in productive activities. Women have to face multifarious problems when they participate in industrial production process. To take care of their needs and to deal with their special problems it is necessary to organise women in groups. Women cooperatives can help and provide them with necessary encouragement and assistance. These cooperatives can cover all segments of industrial activities, such as garment industry, electronics, watch manufacturing units, food processing, diamond cutting etc. Experience of *Lijjat Pappads* could be experimented in other regions of the country and systematically extended to other

economic activities so that women in need of support find adequate means of self-reliance. This would not only help women to earn their livelihood with respect but also provide them a sense of security.

Cooperatives for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes

The BJP would like to promote the skill of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and improve their livelihood through Cooperatives. These cooperatives would not only help in the promotion of their skills but would also help in bringing these people in the national mainstream. The special and specific problems of these sections of the community have to be handled with imaginative flexibility through cooperatives. Apart from providing linkage with market these cooperatives would help in bridging cultural linkages with other parts and sections of the country.

Fisheries Cooperatives

A number of fishermen in coastal areas risk their lives amidst tidal waves for their daily bread. Many of them have to work often, for meagre wages, that too without any security. The BJP would like to channel the skill of fishermen through cooperative movement. This would not only equip them to earn better with better inputs such as modern boats and nets but would also take care of housing needs and above all, insurance cover to their risky venture. Cooperatives can also play an effective and greater role in the development of deep sea fishing industry.

Housing Cooperatives

Housing is the vital need for people both in urban and rural areas. The BJP is of the opinion that cooperative effort is the best solution to the present housing problems. Hence, housing cooperatives would be given maximum possible support.

Milk Production Cooperatives

Dairy development is an important activity in rural areas to augment rural incomes and rural employment. This is also considered an important area where Cooperatives can play an effective role to protect the interests of milk producers and to render services to them such as marketing, supply of fodder, veterinary services, etc.

Fruits and Vegetables Cooperatives

Cooperatives can play a meaningful role in fruit and vegetable production, preservation, packaging, processing and marketing. The Cooperatives can arrange inputs provide common facilities, set up scientific storage including cold storage facilities, provide quality control facilities, market intelligence and marketing assistance. This will not only help in increasing production but also ensure greater return to the growers.

Infrastructure

Infrastructure, such as energy, transport and communications, is vital for development of the economy. Hence, the BJP would like to give utmost importance to creating a strong infrastructure base—both in urban and rural sectors.

Energy Policy

There is an acute energy crisis in India, particularly in villages which have remained without any dependable source of energy even after forty-four years of Independence. This situation will have to be tackled with due sense of urgency. The BJP would like to:

- intensify efforts to find out more oil, coal and natural gas reserves, and economise their use;
- take immediate action for utilisation of already discovered small, medium and large oil and gas fields which are currently neglected;
- end wasteful flaring of gas and put it to economic use;
- organise research and explore the possibilities of ocean thermal energy conversion;
- improve performance of power plants which are now working at almost half of their capacity;
- stop the widespread theft of electric power;
- introduce power-efficient, energy-saving devices in homes and factories;
- increase forest cover from the present 10 per cent of land to the desired 33 per cent;
- set up micro-hydel power plants particularly in tribal and hill areas;

- encourage gas based power plants;
- encourage private sector participation in power sector;
- encourage alternative sources of energy such as wind, water, bio-gas, solar power and ocean thermal energy conversion;
- update coal-washery technology; and
- give priority to energy conservation.

Transport Policy

As the BJP recognises the catalytic role being played by the transport network, it would be our endeavour to develop an efficient and integrated transport network.

Speedy movement of goods and people will receive utmost attention. In this regard, the whole country will be considered as a single zone and all obstacles in movement through out the country will be removed.

Metropolitan and other cities will be provided with better transport system.

Public transport system will be improved so as to reduce the intensity of the need for personal vehicles. This will help reduce the demand for energy. Simultaneously, environmental pollution could be controlled.

Efforts will be made to modernise bullock carts in order to promote efficient transport system in the villages.

Efforts will be made to organise efficient water transport systems such as inland water transport and coastal shipping.

Inter-modal transport system would be encouraged specially to meet the requirements of domestic and foreign trade.

Communications Policy

Efficient communications network is a pre-requisite of modern economy. At present, communications system has become a stumbling block not only in facilitating international trade but also internal business operations. Hence, intensive efforts will be made to develop modern communications network; and

Private sector's participation will be encouraged in communications sector.

Science and Technology for Common Man

Innovative and imaginative programmes must be ushered in to give a reality to the concept of the use of Science and Technology in the service of common man. The scientific community has to be enthused and involved in this great national venture. This can resolve the dilemma that we often face today as regards ecology vs. development leading to waste of our resources and energy. Innovative linkages have to be established so that many day to day requirements of the common man can be satisfactorily met and many gadgets, machines and devices which relieve the common man's burden could be introduced. Even proper linkage between fundamental research and applied science and technology is sadly lacking. We have hardly moved towards any meaningful effort to design fuel efficient vehicles or to make experiments for finding substitutes, such as alcohol or gas for petrol. All the talk of energy saving alternatives is yet to lead to more concrete, substantial and effective action. Rethinking is necessary about the broad framework of Science and Technology Policy and it should receive the requisite support to enable it to contribute to our national development and progress. The BJP would use science in the service of the poor and would develop technology with a human face. In this context, our policy will be to:

- use science and technology for increasing productivity and generating employment;
- implement a vigorous programme of science education and research for improving quality of life;
- establish a network of centres for application and technology to rural areas, implement 'lab to land' programmes and develop a strong low cost agro-industrial base;
- put new life in national laboratories and develop them as centres of excellence in applied research;
- direct these laboratories to evolve appropriate technology for Indian needs;
- create right working conditions so as to minimise brain drain;
- make a systematic effort to bring national laboratories and industry together by setting up 'Technology Parks' which

would be maintained by the industry. These parks would help to bridge gap between talents and commercial needs and promote cooperation between industry's resources and expertise in labs; and

- review and strengthen Indian Patents Act, 1970 in order to promote domestic R&D.

Monetary and Banking Policy

The BJP recognises the role of monetary authorities in achieving socio-economic objectives such as full employment, price stability and balanced economic growth. In this context we believe:

- Reserve Bank of India should be made functionally autonomous.
- There should be statutory control on borrowing from RBI.
- Banking institutions should aim at fulfilling social objectives while at the same time becoming professionally efficient and effective in service to the public.
- Banking system will have to function on business lines and adhere to professional ethics and norms and confine itself to legitimate/authorised banking activities.

Commercial Banks

Recently, the Government appointed the Narasimham Committee to report on Indian banking. The report has suggested the merger of some banks and their reorganisation into 'global banks' and 'Zonal banks'. However, it does not touch the central problem of Indian banking. Many of them are sick, having run up bad debts of Rs. 5,000 crore. So far the Government has not given its reactions to many of the important recommendations while banking reforms constitute the primary plank in all development. In this regard the BJP feels that:

- Indian banks must be helped to gain health. Efforts will be made to improve their performance by professionalising the management and modernising their functioning.
- Part of the equities of the nationalised banks may be offered to the public and employees.
- There would not be further nationalisation and private

sector will be encouraged to enter into banking.

- Competition among the different nationalised banks would be encouraged.

Foreign Banks

Before the Indian banks were nationalised, foreign banks were only a few. Today, they have more branches, and they attract prestigious accounts and repatriate sizeable profits. In view of this, the new foreign banks may be permitted on the following conditions:

- Any new foreign bank coming into India must pay a licence fee.
- Foreign banks in India should also be asked to adhere to priority sector lending, as is required of Indian banks. Foreign banks should function on par with Indian banks with regard to fulfilment of social objectives.
- Similarly, there should be some kind of parity in pay scales between foreign and Indian banks. Though perfect parity may not always be practicable, promotion of high-wage island is not in the interests of social balance.

Development Banks

Development Banks play a major role in promotion of economic development. Unfortunately, these institutions have not been allowed to function efficiently as autonomous institutions due to political interferences:

- Term lending institutions should restrict themselves to developmental activities.
- These institutions should be insulated against corporate wars as well as political pressures.
- Term lending institutions, no doubt, have to ensure repayment of loan. But that need not lead to sharing corporate decision making power.
- Separate developmental banking institution will be set up for promotion of indigenous craftsmanship.

Cooperative Banks

Cooperative Banks could play pivotal role in development of unorganised sector. Hence the BJP would like to strengthen cooperative banking system—both rural and urban and free from

political clutches. Weaker sections such as scheduled castes and tribes and also small and marginal farmers and women would be given adequate representation in management of cooperative banks.

Housing Banks

There is a need for thorough reform in financing of housing activities, specially keeping in view need and capacity of middle class and lower classes. Though many financial institutions have come up in this sector, mostly they operate on principles which may not cope with the housing needs of the weaker sections. Hence, there is need to reexamine housing financing to meet requirements of the weaker sections.

Fiscal Policy

Fiscal Policy is an important tool in the hands of the government to achieve socio-economic goals. But of late, the government has reduced it to the level of revenue raising operations. The BJP would like to strengthen and reorient fiscal measures to implement policies outlined in this Economic Policy Statement. The long term fiscal policy anticipating developments in the foreseeable future is necessary to remove the environment of uncertainty with its attendant results and is crucial for self sustaining long term development of the economy.

Debt Management

The Government of India started borrowing, specially since the eighties, to meet current expenditure but not for productive investment, which is not a healthy fiscal habit. Today, therefore, the biggest charge on the public exchequer is interest payments. From less than Rs. 4,000 crore in 1980, it has gone up to some Rs. 32,000 crore in 1990-91. This public debt must be steadily retired, to reduce it to a manageable proportion. To this end we should:

- make a drastic cut in deficit financing which would help in controlling price line;
- place statutory ceilings on borrowing by Central/State Governments under Articles 292 and 293 of the Constitution;
- Articles 292 and 293 of the Constitution elaborate to ensure that borrowed funds are utilised only for productive purposes and never to finance any revenue deficit;
- apply the accruals from the sale of PSU shares to debt-reduction; and
- lease surplus railway and other Government lands to reduce indebtedness.

Public Expenditure

There must be rigorous scrutiny to bring about economy in administrative expenditure. Administrative reorganisation and restructuring of ministries is also required in consonance with the many reports of different committees – Public Accounts, Public Undertakings and Estimates Committee and the various

Administrative Reforms Committee Reports. For example, the Planning Commission could be merged with the Planning Ministry and the National Development Council and Zonal Councils merged with the Inter-State Council. Serious thought be given to abolishing or drastically reducing the size and functions of such ministries/ departments at the centre which deal with matters really pertaining to State Governments.

Use of staff cars, STD facilities and strings of guest houses should not be looked upon as perks but should be directly related to facilitating of policies and programmes and enhancing of administrative efficiency. The BJP has already advocated the setting of Expenditure Commission to go in a scientific and positive manner into the broad question of economy in expenditure. A genuine climate of efficiency and austerity in administration should be built up in the States and the Union Government, including autonomous organisations and public undertakings.

Taxation Measures

Taxation measures will be reoriented to promote savings, economic growth, price stability, employment generation and judicious use as well as redistribution of national resources. It is also considered desirable that there should be stability in taxation measures and fiscal policy for a reasonable period.

- The BJP will adopt firm and bold measures to prevent the generation of black money. It will also appoint a Taxation Inquiry Commission to suggest guidelines for taxation over a long-term period in line with future development.
- The present tax structure will be rationalised and simplified. Raise the Income Tax exemption limit will be raised to Rs. 48,000 with all tax deductions as applicable in 1990-91.
- Weighted deductions will be provided taking into account the number of dependents such as old parents, unmarried sisters etc.
- All approved investments in productive organisations, private or public will be exempted from levy of Wealth Tax.
- Employment-oriented industries in non-municipal areas will be exempted from corporate income tax.

- Octroi duty should be abolished and State governments should be persuaded to make good the loss to municipalities.
- Uniform sales tax rates. throughout the country. Loss in revenue will be compensated by the Centre.
- Corporate sector would be encouraged to generate employment through suitable fiscal incentives;
- Review of sharing of Taxes between Centre and State will be undertaken so as to work out a more equitable and fair arrangement keeping in view the national and State requirements.
- Where taxes are shared between Centre and states, there should be no levy of 'surcharge' on such taxes and in cases where a surcharge is levied, this should also be shared with the states on the same basis as the tax.
- There should be rational and periodical revision of royalty on minerals so that the resources of the states are enhanced and they are enabled to perform their development tasks more effectively.

Balance of Payments

Balance of payments crisis is one of the major problems facing the country mainly due to faulty economic strategy adopted since Independence. The country has external debt burden of nearly Rs. 2,00,000 crore. The country borrows to repay old debts. Today, economic management is dictated by lending institutions. If the situation continues without check, the day may not be far-off when we would not only be in the vicious debt-trap but also land in political grip of the lenders.

Narasimha Rao government claims credit for solving balance of payments crisis. There are, however, no grounds for complacency as this crisis has temporarily eased with the help of fresh foreign loans. There is a need for urgently working out a comprehensive long term strategy to facilitate augmentation of foreign exchange earnings of the country. The earlier we adopt a pragmatic approach to foreign trade, non-resident Indians, tourism and other schemes which generate and conserve foreign exchange resources and lessen our dependence on foreign exchange loans,

the better it will be for the country.

Foreign Trade

There is a need to re-examine our trade policies. Emphasis should be on export of items in which India is competitive in terms of quality and price. Similarly, imports should help in value addition and generation of economic activities. In a nutshell, trade policies should play catalytic role in protection of national interests such as generation of employment and solving the balance of payments problem.

- Thrust would be given to promotion of exports and intensive effort would be made to identify alternative markets and also potential commodities with greater export potential.
- Commoditywise export promotion boards will be set up to give fillip to exports of different commodities with export potential and to deal with their special problems. Where such boards are already in existence, these will be strengthened and their functioning streamlined. Such boards are considered essential for development of coffee, coconut, cashew etc.
- Required infrastructural support would be provided on priority basis to export oriented units.
- A rational import policy will be evolved and every necessary import duty will be reduced to facilitate essential imports but, at the same time non-essential imports will be discouraged.
- Corporate sector would have to fulfil its export obligation specially, if its production is import intensive.
- Under-invoicing of exports and over-invoicing of imports will be strictly dealt with.
- Excellence in export performance will receive special recognition.

Non-resident Indians

The BJP has consistently pleaded in 1986 statement and 1991 Election Manifesto that the experience, resources and the particular interest of non-resident Indians to contribute to national good should be fully utilised. Some steps have been taken by the Government in this direction. But it has to be a continuing process and a view must be taken as to

what the can be done further to harness their talents and resources. It is for consideration if NRIs can be allowed to operate a bank account in foreign exchange even from abroad since what the Government calls 'partial convertibility' has been permitted. The BJP has, at the same time, stressed that unscrupulous elements should not be allowed to distort or misuse the facilities and concessions.

It is estimated that 12 million Indians settled in over 100 countries save around 100 billion U.S. dollars a year. A scheme would be drawn to attract a substantial portion of these savings.

NRIs would be welcome to set up industrial units. 'Science Based Industrial Parks' would be set up which would not only cater to the needs of the NRIs with regard to infrastructural facilities required for their industrial units but would also be complete with basic amenities such as education, housing, health care and entertainment. This would help us to raise resources as well as reverse the brain-drain.

Tourism

Tourism has great potential for earning foreign exchange and is therefore, viewed as an important industry. Special efforts will be made to aggressively promote this industry. India has a lot to offer to the tourist in view of our rich cultural heritage and scenic beauty in different parts of the country. Development of sites of tourist importance, creation of necessary infrastructural facilities including provision of rapid transportation and efficient communication facilities to tourist spots will be accorded high priority. Special publicity campaigns will be organised to give information about the tourist spots and available facilities. It is recognised that the private sector has a great role to play in promotion of tourism and full encouragement and assistance will be given to them to develop this sector.

International Economic Cooperation

The BJP strongly believes in strengthening international economic cooperation. But what we advocate is the promotion of New World Economic Order wherein developing countries would not have to play a subordinate role. Keeping this in view, the recently submitted Dunkel Proposals have to be examined.

GATT Negotiations: Dunkel Proposals

The Dunkel Draft Proposals seek to extend the scope of General Agreement for Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and to create a Multilateral Trade Organisation.

While the objective of GATT was to facilitate free trade, the Dunkel proposals would result in imbalance in economic progress of member countries. Also, while GATT covered only goods (excluding agricultural produce), Dunkel proposals propose to cover besides goods, Trade-Related Investment Measures, Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights and Services including Banking and Insurance. Another basic change in the new proposals is that while GATT recognised developed, developing and least developed countries as belonging to three different categories, calling for differential treatment, the Dunkel draft proposes to abolish the second category and so throws a developing country like India into an unequal competition with highly developed economies.

Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMS) require of us to give the same rights and facilities to foreign companies as to our own. This could lead to unequal competition to the disadvantage of Indian Industry. Also foreign investment must be on the basis of foreign-exchange neutrality, i.e., the outflow and inflow of foreign exchange must balance at least over a period of time.

Similarly, the proposal for a 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 into account the prevailing socio-economic situation.

Trade Related Intellectual Property rights (TRIPs) would include Patents. Our Patent Law has served us reasonably well

and lowered drug prices. While in India, we have process patents for drugs and pharmaceuticals, chemicals and agriculture, Dunkel wants product patents, which would favour MNCs with world-wide advertising campaigns, Dunkel wants improved seeds patented – a move that can only raise seed prices, necessitate seed imports and retard agricultural improvement. While Patents in India hold for seven years, Dunkel wants 20 years' rights. The Dunkel Draft does not require Patent-holders to undertake production due to dilution of compulsory licensing which, in other words, would be a stumbling block in economic progress of the developing countries.

The Dunkel Draft also impinges on Agriculture. Eminent agriculture scientists have warned the nation as regards the adverse impact of these proposals on agriculture. Today, the Government subsidises food and fertilizer, irrigation water and power for tube-wells. Similarly, a food security system has been built up to protect producer and consumer interests. Dunkel proposals would expose food supplies and food prices to the vagaries of the market.

In the Service Sector, while there is a proposal to cover 'Services', there is no proposal to permit free movement of provider of services, such as technical and professional personnel and labour, by suitable amendment of immigration laws. This needs to be rectified.

The BJP urges the Government to seek re-negotiation of the Dunkel proposals specially to ensure that:

- In agriculture, the decision making power remains vested in respective countries as at present;
- The textile quota system is phased out within three years instead of ten years as proposed;
- The question of reducing customs duties should be on case by case basis keeping in view the prevailing socio-economic situation;
- There should be no extension of 'product patents' to areas such as drugs, pharmaceuticals, chemicals and agriculture;
- There should be provision for compulsory licensing of patents; the period of 20 years for patent needs to be re-negotiated. A shorter period to balance the interests of the patent holders and consumers may be more appropriate;
- Allowing extension to 'services' should be linked to the free movement of 'provider of services' such as technical,

and professional personnel and labour;

- Dunkel Proposals as a 'total package' should not be accepted; and
- A new institutional arrangement 'Multilateral Trade Organisation' is not called for. The present arrangement of GATT and the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) could continue to look after their respective areas.

Price Control and Welfare Measures

Price Control

Inflation has been hitting the common man, specially the fixed wage earner, eroding his purchasing capacity and thereby, adversely affecting standard of life. Spiralling prices are an inbuilt result of the faulty economic policies followed all these years. The Economic Policy Statement enunciated here has considered this vital aspect and accordingly, aims at maintaining reasonable price stability. The major steps suggested in this respect are:

- Maximization of production and supply of all essential items;
- Emphasis on continuing upgradation of technology so as to minimise cost and maximise production;
- Demand management through control over money supply;
- Restricting budgetary deficit through control over borrowing;
- Adoption of austerity measures and stress on discouraging consumerism; and
- Rationalisation of indirect taxes.

Public Distribution System

The Public Distribution System (PDS) is a powerful instrument for protection of the vulnerable sections of our people. While the multi-pronged effort has to continue to improve their economic conditions, it is necessary that the approach and the system enable the target groups to get the essentials of life and benefits intended for them. Ritualistic expansion is of no consequence unless the supply of the essential goods is adequate, timely and of the promised quality. Special attention is called for in the countryside, tribal areas and in

the pockets of the poor and daily wage earners in rural areas, towns and cities. In order to benefit the needy, innovative and locality specific methods should be experimented. In the rural areas the fair price shops can be linked with the biweekly markets. The coverage of essential goods under the Public Distribution System should be monitored according to changing market conditions. To curb the evils of corruption and in order to restore the basic purpose of PDS, local community involvement is considered essential. Local social workers, especially women, should become an integral part of the monitoring system, as the BJP stands for their rightful and active role in social and political action.

Consumer Protection

The BJP stands for a fair, harmonious and just society. We are, therefore anxious that the movement for consumer protection, ensuring the consumer fair price and proper quality of product for his money, becomes broadbased and is intensified. With the initiative for the liberalisation of economy, there is greater need for the prevention of restrictive and unfair trade practices.

- The consumer protection laws be strengthened in the light of the experience gathered so far and their implementation should be made foolproof.
- It is absolutely necessary that the concerned forums should be enabled to take speedy decisions in providing redressal to the grievances of the consumer.
- Government departments and state sector undertaking, which provides consumer goods and services, should be fully brought within the purview of the consumer protection laws.
- Indian standards such as ISI mark, Agmark, should be strengthened and their coverage extended and the institutions laying down these standards are made to play a more meaningful role.
- The consciousness of the rights of the consumers should be enabled to spread in both the rural and urban areas.
- More and more voluntary effort should be evoked so that the individual consumer does not feel helpless.
- Women can play a very important role in this area. In consumer councils women should have statutory

representation at all levels.

- Whenever there be the need for changes in administered prices, the revision of prices must be done on the recommendations of an independent autonomous commission after consultations with the concerned interests. The interest of the community in pricing policy must receive utmost consideration.

Policy for Weaker Sections, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Economically Backward Classes and Women

The BJP sincerely believes that a healthy and vibrant society cannot afford to ignore any section of the society. Economic developmental programme would be meaningful only when it effectively takes care of all sections of the society and provides them with equal opportunities. In order to restore social equilibrium in society it is essential to give special treatment to hitherto neglected sections of the community. Similarly women because of their specific and peculiar problems require special support. The BJP has all along been addressing itself to this aspect of unequal development and distributive justice. This approach and the consequential directions have all along been specified and stressed throughout in our economic policy statements. Major steps suggested in this context may be stipulated by way of illustration as follows:

- Special assistance to scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women in promotion of cottage industries and small scale industries and all schemes and programmes of rural development;
- Reservation in employment;
- Adequate representation in various watchdog committees such as consumer protection councils and public distribution system;
- Separate Cooperative societies to promote entrepreneurial skills of the members of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women; and
- Adequate funds should be earmarked for the upliftment of weaker sections such as scheduled caste, scheduled tribes, economically underprivileged backward sections and women, taking into account their requirements.

Housing Policy

The BJP accords high priority to housing both in rural and urban areas. Housing is a basic human need and this activity has also a great potential for generation of employment. It is, however, necessary to promote low cost housing, use of locally available materials and designs suited to local conditions, climate, environment and needs. All impediments in the way of housing will be removed and steps will be taken to ensure adequate availability of funds on reasonable terms for this purpose. Particular emphasis will be laid on houses for the poor. A review will be undertaken of the relevant statutes, rules and regulations such as Urban Ceiling and Rent Control Acts to ensure that these facilitate rather than inhibit housing activity.

Population Policy

One of the key factors behind poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and environmental degradation is the uninhibited growth of population since Independence. The BJP believes that it should be an important objective of national and state policy to effectively pursue population control and promotion of the small family norm. This should also be regarded as a fundamental duty of every citizen irrespective of caste, creed or religion to promote and observe the small family norm. The policy followed during the last four decades has not succeeded as this programme has been viewed as a government programme and that too as only a departmental activity. There is need for a popular movement in the country involving central and state governments, political parties, religious leaders, opinion makers, voluntary organisations and all sections of the society. This programme should be made more comprehensive and cover eradication of female illiteracy, raising of status of women, raising the age of marriage, reduction of infant mortality, promotion of mother and child care and provision of infrastructure and facilities for rendering the needed services. It is recognised that education and information has a great role to play. The nation as a whole must be galvanised to address itself to this critical problem and national consensus should be worked out to ensure success in this vital area. It is equally important to adopt incentives and disincentives to check population growth and to evolve nationally acceptable norms in

this respect. All efforts at development will be self-defeating unless effective action for population control is taken.

Human Resource Development

Human Resource Development (HRD) is the key to development strategy and is vital for increasing economic growth, bringing about social change and achieving our national goals. Unfortunately, human resource development did not receive the priority and desired level of support with the result that there is much to be done in this vital area. Our literacy levels have remained low. According to 1991 census, the literacy percentage is 52.11. What is of great concern is that the level of female literacy is only 39.42 per cent. Besides, there is considerable amount of regional and urban-rural imbalance. There is an urgent need for accelerating HRD efforts for eradication of illiteracy, up-gradation of the level of education, particularly at primary and secondary levels, improvement of educational facilities in rural areas so that majority of our people can get education in their own social and cultural setting and in harmony with their environment. Special emphasis is required for upgradation of standards and modernisation at all stages of education, particularly technical education. The present aimless lure for degrees needs to be curbed. There has to be greater emphasis on vocationalisation of education and skill training in various crafts has to find an important place in our HRD efforts. Education is not a one time operation, the system must, therefore, provide for continuing training and upgradation of skills and should be capable of absorbing the latest technology and innovations brought about by scientific research and of reaching the same to the field through dissemination of information and incorporating these in the education process. The BJP feels that Human Resource Development is an area in which state has to play a major role along with voluntary agencies and private sector.

An important aspect of the Human Resource Development is also health care of the population. The way this important aspect has been dealt with during the last four decades 'health for all' appears to be a distant goal. Vast rural population has hardly any worthwhile access to health facilities. Even in urban areas the facilities are

inadequate and skewed. There is a need for revamping the entire health delivery system and for integrating indigenous systems of medicine with modern system. It has to be realised that the reach, spread and coverage of indigenous systems of medicine is greater particularly in rural areas. Full facilities for growth, development and research in these systems need to be effectively recognised and provided for. The practitioners of these systems should be accorded due recognition. There should be greater emphasis on preventive aspects. Medical practitioners of allopathic medicine as well as of indigenous systems of medicine and para-medical personnel and voluntary organisations should be actively involved in this process. Immunisation of children, mother and child care-both pre-natal and post-natal, clean drinking water, hygienic conditions, should form part of our strategy to improve health standards. As information and education have a great role to play in this area, every media including modern electronic media should be utilised for spread of health education. Besides, there will be need to improve and strengthen the existing health infrastructure and facilities, particularly in rural areas and urban slums.

Besides, Human Resource Development should take care of character building and promotion of enlightened citizenship along with awareness of not only one's own culture. As already stressed, the *Swadeshi* model of economic development, namely, Humanistic Approach to Economic Development believes in 'class cooperation', and social cohesiveness. The HRD plays a significant role in this respect. In fact, the whole economic programme depends on the quality and strength of HRD programme. The potential of investment in men and women as a national asset in the future of the country in all its aspects requires effective recognition in all policy making. The comprehensive, positive and holistic character of HRD has to be conceptually grasped and operationally pursued on long term basis with national goal in view.

Towards *Antyodaya*

The economic credo of the BJP is rooted in our social and economic reality and the historical experience. Yet, the BJP does not want the country to be blown off its feet by passing economic blizzards and lose its moorings. Internal policy making is the

national prerogative. It cannot be abdicated at the behest of external agencies and prescriptions for economic salvation. Again we believe that unchecked consumerism will undermine cultural roots and even render sustainable development impossible in India. That is why we emphasize the policy that emerges out of the happy blending of the far-seeing thoughts and perceptions of Gandhiji and Deendayalji. Blind imitation of any powerful developed country will not necessarily lead to the development of India with its own history, problems, peculiarities, possibilities. The BJP believes that community participation and involvement is crucial to all programmes of development. People must be taken seriously into confidence at different stages if the country has to move. Ritualistic homage to public participation of earlier years must yield to genuine effort aimed at people's involvement. Decentralisation is, therefore, not only a political and administrative device. It is a way of life. As the role of the Planning Commission has to change in the context of liberalisation policies and indicative planning in place of command and centralised planning, the decentralisation of power and authority must take place early. For the momentum of development to increase, the States have to come into their own and the decentralisation of financial powers should be speedily done. The States must be enabled to play their rightful role in the process of national development.

The BJP believes that scientific monitoring is essential for the success of our policy and programmes. Promises are not matched by performance; schemes and programmes fall on the way side and are resurrected under new names to camouflage failures. Along with community involvement, proper systems of monitoring and review can bridge this gaping chasm causing public disenchantment and frustration.

In a big country with its population like ours no simplistic solutions and readymade alternatively packaged prescriptions will usher in the future that we envisage. The complexity and multiplicity of our problems is such that no economic policy statement can be so comprehensive as to be complete in itself and will continue to require change and modification. Many suggestions and solutions may seem contradictory in isolation. Some of these may seem to be pedestrian on one side and overambitious on the other. It is, therefore, the spirit and the vision that underline and inform them which gives relevance, and purposefulness to the totality of the policy; it is the

clarity of approach, dedication and daring that translates a dream into reality. The BJP is proud of the patriotic dedication and daring of the people who are not enamoured of the structural adjustments in alien crutches and cosmetic changes on borrowed plumage. The BJP believes that India is no longer in slumber but is a nation reborn and on the move to its rightful economic destiny.

This then is the credo of the BJP. Rapid economic development with full employment and reasonable stability in price level - through '*Swadeshi*' and '*Swavalamban*', judiciously combined with self-confidence. We must keep our windows open but we must not let our roof fly off. We believe that the development of the nation depends on the mobilisation, galvanisation and optimisation of national will, national potential, national energy, national resources, national self-confidence, national pride, and national effort with people's involvement. In the economic setting of international globalisation, it is in this spirit of *Swadeshi* and with hope and faith that the Bhartiya Janata Party rededicates itself to the exacting and far ranging tasks of development which confront our nation today.

With our economic policy based on *Swadeshi* and *Swavalamban* we aim at wiping tears from every eye and achieve our goal of *ANTYODAYA*. The concept of *Antyodaya* is implicit in the philosophy of national cohesiveness and national development which is the unique feature of the BJP. For us it is neither mere rhetoric nor just a populist slogan. It is not simply the poverty removal strategy. It connotes the vision that the BJP has of the Indian society. It is our endeavour and our ideal. We believe in the society that cares, that is sensitive to the need for uplifting and levelling up each individual and each section of society. We believe in a society that is more equal, participative, mutually supportive and free. It is the society which reaches unto the last so that the distinction between the last and the foremost fades away. The blending of Gandhiji's *Ram Rajya* and Integral Humanism of Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyay logically leads us to *Antyodaya*. It is inextricably linked with our inspiration of the 1991 Election Manifesto — *Ram, Roti and Insaaf*. *Ram* symbolises the unity of the country and the people. Hence a total view of our goals and our endeavour. *Ram* stands for faith in ourselves and the people. '*Ram*' signifies elimination of hunger, poverty, disease and squalor. '*Roti*' represents development and progress of the people,

by the people and for the people. '*Insaaf*' means justice, social, economic and political. '*Insaaf*' for the BJP is the attitude of mind which pervades its policies and programmes where all citizens are treated equitably and at equal footing without any discrimination. It is not just any mechanistic or juristic concept. *Antyodaya* aims at a society which is cohesive, affluent and just not only for today but also for tomorrow. That is apparent in our approach throughout as regards the unprivileged, disprivileged, disadvantaged and deprived groups or people who have been left behind in the process of development due to historical reasons or geographic constraints. The BJP stands for a social, economic and political order which does not suffer from fear, want or discrimination. Our policy statement addresses itself to the economically disadvantaged as well as socially handicapped. The weaker sections, men and women, irrespective of caste and community, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes receive necessary attention so that we move speedily and realise *Antyodaya*.

With this we pledge to move towards *RAM RAJYA* and place our programme for approval and support of *Janata Janardan*.

Jai Hind!



National Executive

Jaipur

31 January & 1-3 February, 1991

Report of The Working Group

After the 1985 Lok Sabha elections, the BJP National Executive set up a Working Group with Shri Krishanlal Sharma, General Secretary, as Convener, to review the Party's working and draw up a 5-year Action Plan for its strengthening on all fronts and at all levels. This committee made several recommendations. Many of these were duly accepted and implemented, contributing significantly to the Party's successes in 1990 Lok Sabha elections and the subsequent elections to Vidhan Sabhas.

At its meeting in Calcutta on April 5-7, the National Executive set up an 11 member Working Group, with Shri Sundar Singh Bhandari, Vice-President, as Convener, to suggest ways and means of consolidating the electoral gains, extending our influence to more regions and wider sections of society to meet the challenges of the Nineties. Other members of this Working Group were

Dr. M. M. Joshi

Prof. Vishnu Kant Shastri

Shri K.L. Sharma, M.P.

Shri Jaswant Singh, M.P.

Shri V.K. Malhotra, M.P.

Shri K.R. Malkani

Shri O. Rajagopal

Shri Bangaru Lakshman

Shri Narendra Modi, and

Shri Govindacharya

The committee met over a dozen times. Within the very first month it issued a 20-Point Questionnaire and received hundreds of responses. It conferred with States' office -bearers, and discussed matters with our Chief Ministers, Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Shri Sundarlal Patwa and Shri Shanta Kumar. Committee members also visited several states and met state leaders. We discussed all the major organisational problems and came to certain conclusions.

We have dealt with those nitti-gritty problems in Part-II of our Report. But here in Part I, we would like to address ourselves to the challenges that have materialized much sooner than expected.

(Part I)

With the suicide of the V.P. Singh Government and the still-birth of yet another Congress Government, we have today in India what can be described only as a caricature of a Government. It is a situation in which the Centre is not able to hold and things are falling apart. The BJP as the party of National Unity, National Integration and National Honour, has to come forward and fill this power vacuum.

So far governments in India have been run only by Congressmen or ex-Congressmen. Today all these people stand thoroughly discredited. The whole country is looking to BJP with hope and expectation. The Party today occupies centre-stage in the national polity. Today BJP more than any other party constitutes the National Mainstream in the national psyche. Lok Sabha elections could come any time. We have to respond adequately to this great challenge which is also a great opportunity. We have to start working now to emerge as First Party in the land.

The Bharatiya Janata Party has always been inspired by the creed of Integral Humanism, enunciated by the Late Revered Deendayalji. And the Party has always been known for its principled policies and the sterling quality of our workers.

In the last ten months the country has also had the opportunity to observe BJP Governments of Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. A tree is judged by its fruit and a party is judged by

its performance in action.

The BJP has been tried and tested and found good and strong. While the Congress has been toppling its own Chief Ministers and the Janata Dal does not know whether its erstwhile Chief Minister belongs to JD. This JD or -That JD. BJP State Governments have been a model of stability, economy and sheer performance. Governments have launched many new projects. The Madhya Pradesh Government has waived the loans of the poor to the tune of more than Rs. 600 crore. It is currently building housing units for one lac SC/ST families. Rajasthan has launched Gopal Yojana to improve cattle breeds, Bhagirath Scheme for officers visiting villages regularly to oversee development works and address grievances on the spot and *Apna gaon Apna kam yojna* for total village development. Himachal Pradesh has launched *Vana Samrakshan Yojna* for employment and massive afforestation; encouraged the tourism industry in a big way and made Sanskrit compulsory in schools. The way these governments have maintained law and order, curbed corruption, cut wasteful expenditure and launched welfare schemes for the poor, is the envy of people in other states. They are a model for other state governments to follow.

All this has made BJP a formidable force in Indian politics today. The resounding success of the Ram Rath Yatra was the eloquent evidence of accretion of this new strength of the BJP. However, the stronger the BJP grows, the louder and shriller grow the calumnies of our calumniators. The BJP shall not be diverted by its detractors. It shall implement its Election Manifesto in full and give effect to the long-neglected Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution of India, in letter and in spirit. And it shall give the country Unity and Integrity, Law and Order, Peace and Progress. It shall not stop at building *Ram Janmabhoomi* Mandir. It shall go and strive to establish *Ram Rajya*—that is a just and moral order in social, economic and

political spheres of life.

Some of our professional detractors have been all along inciting our Muslim brethren against BJP. These gentlemen's only interest in Muslims is their votes. And their only gift to Muslims is some stunts. If Muslims are happy with this situation, they are welcome to it. If not, let them sit up and think afresh. The BJP would advise them to free themselves from fear. We shall neither appease anybody nor allow any injustice to be done to anybody. Let them stand up as Men with a capital 'M', be true to their faith as Muslims and true to the country and the Culture that is common to us all, as Indians. And they will have no problem. Let them work shoulder to shoulder with everybody else to rebuild the country.

Ever since Independence, much has been promised to the poor of the land, particularly SCs and STs, but little has materialised. The BJP must plan to wipe the tears of the poor. The BJP State Governments have done much in this direction. We will need to do more.

More recently job reservation has been promised to OBCs. Here the position is that the Forwards among the Backwards are able to look well enough after themselves in open competition. The really backward Backwards no doubt need to be helped with jobs. The BJP has, therefore, favoured job reservation with economic criterion for the poor among the backwards. However, the BJP is not enough. Bright children of poor families must be helped to come up and get jobs on merit. We, therefore, suggest that bright children of poor families of all castes and communities should be identified at an early age. Their education and upbringing should be a charge on the State. We suggest that all Navodaya Schools may be converted into residential schools for the bright children of poor families.

Nor need we stop there. Only ten per cent people are employed in private, public or government service. The remaining ninety per cent are self-employed etc. The BJP should think in terms of re-training these people in their respective craft or occupation, so that they can improve their economic condition. The state should also give them interest-free loans to modernise their equipment and implements.

A basic reason for the discontent and tensions gripping the country today is our low rate of economic growth. The GNP cake just is not growing fast enough to meet the rising

expectations of an increasing population. There is no earthly reason why our economy cannot grow at the same smart rate as those of Japan, Taiwan and South Korea. We recommend the appointment by the BJP, of an Expert Committee, to suggest ways and means- programmatic, institutional and structural-of doubling our Growth Rate by the year 2000 AD. Indeed, we should make such a success of our economy and our Polity that even neighbouring countries would like to join us in a Common Market and in other common endeavours.

We are sorry to note that our beloved country has been declining in its position in the comity of nations. We have, for example, played no role in the resolution of the Gulf crisis, next door. Neither NAM, nor SAARC has amounted to anything much. Due to a long era of national dependence we in India have no proper appreciation of the concept and reality of Power. As a result, we have not been able to fulfil our Manifest Destiny. We need to put our Economy, our Society and our Polity in order, so that India can emerge as a Great Power with a Permanent Seat in the UN Security Council . In Brief, let us plan for Plenty for the People, for Power for the Country and for Justice for All.

We commend all these steps to the Party leaders and cadres so that we can make BJP a fit instrument for the realisation of national hopes and aspirations. The country is faced with a great challenge. Let the BJP respond to it equally greatly. Let us invite all public spirited people to enrol themselves as BJP members by the million. Let us, in this critical year, invite idealistic young men and women to come forward and offer a year or more to BJP in the service of the country. Let us put up something like five hundred candidates for the Lok Sabha to emerge as the First Party in the Land.

(Part II)

In order that the party be broad-based and effective in various sections of the society, the Committee has suggested the following steps for Rural Youth:

1. (a) To attract youth in rural areas, every district unit of the Party should organise conferences to highlight rural problems along with propagating party policies and

programmes. To make these conferences attractive, sports competitions, debates, folk dances and dramas should also be organised.

- (b) Efforts should be made to have mini-stadium down to the block level.
 - (c) Yuva Morcha should conduct Adult Literacy classes, particularly at night. Education and entertainment should be combined in film shows.
 - (d) Yuva Morcha Committees at the District and Mandal levels should have at least 50% men and women from the countryside.
 - (e) School and college hostellers should be contacted in District Headquarters so that these students can carry the message of BJP to smaller towns and villages when they go home during vacations.
 - (f) Local party workers should serve the rural society by keeping the local Mandir, Market, bus stand etc. clean, and by better management of local fairs and festivals.
2. Serious efforts will have to made to establish the fact that BJP is equally concerned about the welfare of, and social justice for, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.
- (a) They have to be treated as equals in all respects.
 - (b) Social gatherings, festivals and Jayantis should be observed in their localities wherein participation of all important functionaries of the party and morchas of the area should be made obligatory.
 - (c) Adult Education Centres, Medical and Health Care Centres, Libraries should be run in their areas.
 - (d) Sports, dramas, folk-dances, painting and handicraft exhibitions should be organised and prizes awarded.
 - (e) Some ST/SC members should form part of the local BJP leadership. In party posters, hand bills, public meetings, processions, demonstrations, deputations this fact should stand out.
 - (f) Stay of our leaders coming on tour should also be arranged from time to time at the houses of SC/ST workers. Office-bearers' meetings should also be held

at their houses from time to time.

3. Backward Sections

- (a) Party manchs should be constituted (one for each category) to take care of the minorities and the social, educational, cultural and economic problems vocation-wise, specialty for (i) weavers (ii) carpenters, (iii) blacksmiths, (iv) barbers, (v) pashupalaks, (vi) safai karmacharis, (vii) fishermen, (viii) toddy-tappers, (ix) handicraftsmen (x) potters, (xi) construction workers, (xii) washermen, and others.
- (b) These manchs should also cater to their problems of drinking water, power supply, education, health and hygiene. They have to be safe-guarded against official harassment and neglect.
- (c) We should help them form cooperative societies, arrange the supply of raw material and help them also for marketing their products.
- (d) District and State level conferences will also have to be organised from time to time to press for their demands and secure remedial action.

4. Women

- (a) Mahila Morcha units will have to be organised down to Mandal level. State-level committee meetings must be organised at least once in three months while at the district level it should be held every alternate month. At mandal level Mahila get-togethers should be organised every three months wherein a state or district-level Mahila leader should be present to acquaint the gathering with the current political issues and the party line on the same. Kirtans, video cassettes can also form part of the programme.
- (b) Dedicated elderly Mahila workers should be appointed to organise constructive activity centres for adult literacy, handicrafts, knitting, first-aid and other welfare activities.
- (c) Social gatherings for women should be organised on festivals and Jayanti days of national leaders and

social reformers.

- (d) Women should be encouraged to organize Consumer Protection Forums at least upto district level to keep check on the availability, price and quality of essential articles.
 - (e) Mahila leadership should be developed by their active participation in all BJP public programmes.
 - (f) Whole-time Mahila workers should be appointed at State level to coordinate the activities at the district level and further down.
 - (g) Now that 30% seat reservations for women has been accepted in all Panchayat Raj institutions and civic bodies, special care should be taken to develop suitable Mahila candidates at each level.
5. (a) Special study should be made of all the ongoing welfare schemes taken by the State and Central Governments. Efforts be made for their successful implementation.
- (b) We should organise free tutorial and coaching classes for the children of the poor and the socially backward.
 - (c) Arrange *Samata Sammelans* and community dinners wherein all important BJP workers participate along with their families.
 - (d) Every BJP worker's house should be an example of social unity and equality.
 - (d) We should give a fair representation to all these sections of society in our working committees, office bearers and election candidates.
 - (f) Where a vocation does not engage a worker for the entire year, his spare time of two or more months in a year should be utilized for party work amongst his vocational colleagues.

Expansion of Party work in

- 1. (a) Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Punjab
- (b) The four Southern States
- (c) The eight North Eastern States

Different teams of MPs should be associated with these

areas — a team of three for (a), a team of 4 for (b), while-
another team of 5 MPs for (c).

2. These MPs should devote at least 10% of their non-Parliament time for touring these states in detail , study their problems and project them at the national level,
3. Frequent conferences should be held to focus the acute problems facing the people of these areas.
4. Special attention has to be paid to
 - (a) The pro-PAK and terrorist elements,
 - (b) Communist and naxalite menace,
 - (c) The problems of Bangladeshi infiltrators and refugees, and
 - (d) The local urges of the tribal population
5. Problems of southern states concerning Tea, Coffee, Rubber, Coconut, Jute have also to be dealt with.
6. Big state conferences should be organised in each state which national leaders should attend.
7. Whole time workers from other states should be sent to help build up the organisation base.
8. Until such time, as these areas do not have their own representation in the Lok Sabha, they should be enabled to have some representation in the Rajya Sabha through other BJP States.

Morchas and Manchs of the Party

1. There will be five morchas of the party:
 - (a) The Janata Yuva Morcha
 - (b) The Janata Mahila Morcha
 - (c) The Janata *Kisan* Morcha
 - (d) The Janata Anusuchit Jati Morcha
 - (e) The Janata Anusuchit Janjati Morcha.

2. The formation of the above morchas will be in accordance with the rules laid down in the Party Constitution.
3. The BJP Presidents at the various levels while announcing the Party office-bearers team will also announce presidents of the above morchas at their respective levels.
4. All Morcha Presidents will be permanent invitees to the office-bearers' meetings at their level.
5. Party Manchs (one for each category) should be formed to look after the social, cultural, educational and economic problems of the various vocational sections of the society, specially for those which have been mentioned on page 4 of this report.
6. There will be one all-India office-bearer to coordinate the working of the Manchs appointed by All India BJP President.
7. The State BJP Presidents will appoint State-level conveners for the various Manchs in consultation with the All India Manch Coordinator.
8. The District level Manch conveners will be appointed by the Distt. BJP Presidents in consultation with the State-level Manch Convener.
9. All Manch Conveners also shall have to be from among the Active members of the Party.
10. All Manch Conveners shall be permanent invitees to the Executive Committee meeting at the appropriate level.
11. Every Morcha and Manch should conduct at least one constructive work-project in each district and run it successfully.

Party Offices

To cope with the widening spectrum of the party and increasing public expectation, our offices at Central, State and District levels have to be thoroughly upgraded.

1. Central Office

- (a) It should have complete files on its internal organisation matters, party elections, public elections, general correspondence and complaints.
- (b) It should have facilities – for a Research Policy Formulation Publication (RPFP) Cell equipped with a suitable office establishment. The RPFP should come out with a standard monthly party organ.
- (c) The Central office-bearers available in Delhi should meet at a fixed hour every day to take stock of the national situation and, if need be, express themselves on the subject (s).

2. The State Office

- (a) It should have complete information down to the local committees, active Panchayatraj and civic institutions of the State.
- (b) It should maintain files on general correspondence and organisational as well as public complaints.
- (c) The State office-bearers present in the headquarters should meet daily at a fixed hour.
Statements on current political issues should be issued after these regular consultations.
- (d) From time to time central observers should visit state offices to ensure that they are working effectively according to the guidelines given by the Central Office.

3. District Office

- (a) There should be a District Party Office and party work should be carried out from there and not from any Party functionary's residence or his office.
- (b) There shall be a full-time office secretary.
- (c) The District Office shall maintain separate files for each Mandal as well as full information about the cooperative societies, Panchayats, municipalities in the

District. A complete copy of the Voters' list should also be maintained.

- (d) District Office bearers shall meet and confer atleast once a fortnight

4. All party offices

Central, State and District-shall be opened on all days, including Sundays and other holidays.

- 5. Central and State centres as well as cities with a population of 5 lac or more, may build or purchase their own office accommodation. All such properties shall be held in a trust of the Party under guidelines from the Central Office.

Coordination

- 1. The State office-bearers of BJP and the office bearers of the legislative party should hold meetings frequently to take stock of the then prevailing political situation and coordinate party and legislative functioning in the best interests of the Party.
- 2. A Steering Committee at the State level comprising three members of the organisation and an equal number of legislatures/ministers, should meet every month to chalk out party strategy.
- 3. At the central level, members of the central Parliamentary Board should formally sit with three or four senior members of our Parliamentary Party to take stock of the national situation as often as necessary
- 4. Elected Legislators and MPs should attend party offices, and Executive Committee meetings at the relevant levels.

Organisational matters

- 1. The provisions regarding inclusion of women and SC/ST members in various elected or nominated committees should be strictly adhered to and their number correspondingly increased.

2. In the elections to local, mandal and district committees the newly elected President should not be empowered to announce the members of his Committee.
3. The election programme of receiving nominations, scrutiny of papers, withdrawals and secret ballot should be strictly followed.
4. All members of an area should have access to the membership register and the Active Members' Lists as soon as the process of elections begins,
5. A candidate and a voter should be personally present at the time of Party elections.
6. Party organisations should also aim at developing a second line of leadership at all levels – and giving greater opportunity to youth.

Active Members

The Active Member is the key man in the organisation.

The greatest attention needs to be paid to his enrolment and development.

1. The active Member should have a primary membership of the Party for at least 2-year terms.
2. An Active Membership fee should be of Rs. 100 per term.
3. He should be an active participant in any one of BJP constructive activities in the last two years.
4. The list of Active Members should be prepared at the time of membership cut-off date for that term's election, and sent to the State Party Office for approval.
5. Additions to the approved list under Article 12(7) can be made at the State level a week before the election programme of the local Committee election begins.

6. Additions after that date will only be made with the consent of Central Screening Committee under 12(7).
7. The final list of Active Members must be published before the date when the election to mandal committee begins.
8. The total amount of active members' fee will be deposited at the State Office of which 25% will be remitted to the Central Office.

Cadre Building

Party cadre building is of the utmost importance. To this end:

1. We should organise Study Camps at District, State and National levels. There should be regular training camps with serious discussion on issues and not just meetings and speeches.
2. Annual District-level Camps should be full 2-day affairs, with the total number of participants not exceeding 150.
3. Annual State level camps should be for three days, with the total number not exceeding 200. Only those who have attended a District Camp would be eligible for the State Camp.
4. Annual All India Camps should be for not less than four days and the number should not exceed 300. Those who have already attended a State level Camp alone may attend the National Camp.
5. Special group discussions should be held in their own language of any sizeable group of workers in the National Camps.
6. Two or three-day Morcha Study Camps for Mahila, Yuva, *Kisan* and SC & ST should be held, every year –
 - (i) At the District level for upto 100 workers;
 - (ii) At the State level for not more than 150 workers; and
 - (iii) At the All India level for not more than 200 workers.

7. Annual 2-day State level Study Camps should also be held by the respective Manchis for minorities and Vocational groups like Artisans, Weavers, etc.
8. Two-to-three-day Annual Elected Representatives' Camps should be held for—
 - (i) Panchs and Sarpanchs at District level,
 - (ii) Members of Block and District Parishads at State level,
 - (iii) Municipal and Corporation Members at Divisional/Commissionary level,
 - (iv) Corporation/Council Chairmen/ Mayors at National Level,
 - (v) State Legislators at State level,
 - (vi) MPs at National level.

Days to be observed

1. We would again like to reiterate the observance of the following days or weeks every year as was stressed by the earlier Working Group in 1985:
April 6th to 13th : Foundation week and April 14th *Samata Diwas* (Dr. Ambedkar's Birthday).
June 23rd to July 7th National Integration fortnight (Dr. Mookerjeeji's *Balidan Diwas* and Birthday).
September 25th to October 2nd *Antyodaya Week* (Deendayalji's Birthday and Gandhiji's Birthday)
February, 11, *Samarpan Diwas* (Deendayalji's Martyrdom day).
2. The Samarpan Diwas should be observed throughout the country by all units with proper prior planning and preparations. On that day, every primary member of the party should rededicate himself to the Party and be requested to contribute his best or at least his one day's earnings.
3. The amount collected on the *Samarpan Diwas* should be on Party receipt books and its accounts should be properly maintained. Fifty per cent of this amount shall

be retained by the Mandal, 25% shall to go the District, 15% to the State and 10% to the Centre. The amount so collected at the Centre and State level along with the Active Members' Fee will be spent for organisational needs by a three men committee appointed by the respective Presidents.

Financial discipline

1. Annual budgets of income and expenditure must be prepared at central, state and district levels. This should include staff salaries, rent (if any), periodicals, books, stationery, publications, postage, travel, meetings, conferences, purchase of items like vehicles, office equipment etc, and miscellaneous expenses.
2. Accounts must be audited every year and presented to the relevant committee.
3. To meet the expenses incurred for organising study camps and conferences, a fee should be charged from each participant.
4. A separate election fund should be set up at state and central levels.
5. The accounts of the Legislative and Parliamentary Party offices should also be audited annually and sent to the BJP National Treasurer every year. Their budget proposals should also be finalised in consultation with the Party President and Treasurer of the State or the Centre, as the case may be.
6. Morcha accounts will form part of the appropriate BJP committee accounts. Morchas will collect money on receipt books issued by the BJP unit Treasurer and all accounts shall have to be submitted to him. The Morcha money should be spent only for the morcha concerned by its President.
7. The Manchras will be financed directly by the Party unit.

General Guidelines

1. In the activities and programmes of the Party, simplicity, minimum expenditure, worker-based efforts in the place of money-based efforts should also become the parameters for judging the success of programmes.
2. Social and family functions of BJP workers should be marked by simplicity.
3. Adequate cadre-training programmes should be organised.
4. Activities for ideological thrust through memorial talks, study circles should be emphasised.
5. More activity on issues from the angle of the poor and exploited masses is needed. Campaigns in favour of *Swadeshi*, self-reliance, environmental, ecological balance should be promoted.
6. Study teams consisting of party leaders MLAs and MPs should be rushed to areas of social strife, communal conflicts.
7. Two-way circulation and discussion system from Central to at least District level should be evolved for party documents and resolutions.
8. There should be periodic evaluation of the programmes undertaken by the party at Central and State levels.
9. Party leaders and legislators should specialise in various fields, e.g., Agriculture, Industry, Finance, Defence, Social Welfare, Foreign Affairs, Rural Development, Health, Education, Mass Media etc.
10. There should be a small Coordination Committee at the National and State level where we periodically sit with representatives of fraternal organisations to review the overall situation and problems facing the country, to evolve

schemes and programmes which will help us to serve the country and people better.

11. BJP workers should actively participate in social, professional and vocational associations/ organisations/ federations.
12. Assembly and Parliament Members should be entrusted with an additional constituency to nurse.

Expansion of Party Work

In the new atmosphere of a ground-swell in support for the Party, the above programmes should help us in broadening the organisational base in different areas of the country and different sections of society. Additionally, we would like to suggest the following steps for reaching out to the national intelligentsia.

1. We should form 'Kamal Clubs' of BJP sympathisers in urban areas. These clubs could meet once a month or so by rotation in members' homes.
2. Friends joining these clubs could be associated with appropriate projects that different Morchas are to run.
3. Annual Memorial Talks could be held in the bigger cities when BJP leaders could interact with the local intelligentsia.
4. We already have a Lawyers' Forum; we should also sponsor forums for Writers, Artists, Scientists, Sportsmen etc.
5. We should also have four study groups dealing with Economic, Political, Social and Strategic problems. Here we should associate sympathetic experts with experts in the Party ranks. This could help us develop a Shadow Cabinet.
6. We should have a BJP International consisting of BJP sympathisers and supporters, Indian or any other nationality, anywhere in the world. All these steps will broaden the base of the Party, strengthen it at all levels and carry us to new heights.



National Executive

Chandigarh

4 January, 1986

Statement on Education Policy

After the last general elections, the Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in his first nationwide broadcast, on 5th January, 1985 promised the country a new education policy. The same promise was repeated by him on 15th of August from the ramparts of the Red Fort.

Hectic activity went on in the Education Ministry for a couple of months and its various outfits were geared into motion. Officers of the Ministry engaged themselves in analysing the massive data and information material generated by organisations like NCERT, NIEPA, UGC and the Association of Indian Universities. Statements like, "The Government is actively considering the delinking of degrees with jobs", "Model schools will be set up in central sector in each district", "Suggestions for formulating a uniform national core curriculum to be introduced throughout the country are being examined", and "The Government was committed to Universalisation of Education by 1990" were issued from time to time with a view to throwing broad hints about the thrust of the New Education Policy.

High Hopes

Various working groups were organised to create an impression about the seriousness of the new regime in cleansing the rot which had set in the country's educational system for almost past 150 years. High hopes were raised throughout the country and particularly in the intellectual community, that a new education policy envisaging a radical transformation of the system was in the offing.

However, the crescendo ultimately culminated in an anticlimax when the document entitled 'Challenge of Education' – a policy perspective was presented to the Parliament. While the nation was eagerly waiting for a final policy statement, it received only a dull and drab overview of the state of education. This document did not provide a policy but aimed to provide the basis for a nation-wide debate which would facilitate the formulation of new education policy.

In fact the challenge document turned out to be a damp squib incapable of evoking any serious debate on the reorientation of the policy. The first three chapters are either an enumeration of the defects and distortions prevailing in the education system which have already been analysed in Radhakrishnan and Kothari Commission reports or other policy documents, or are empty generalisations about values, society and goals of education. The fourth chapter just refers to an approach to the reorientation of the education policy but offers no direction.

The document does talk about the 21st Century, the use of TV and satellites in educational programmes and also about computers but does not discuss poverty and role of education in eradicating it except for a casual mention. From the statistics scattered in the Challenge document and elsewhere, the existing state of commencement of the first Plan, to 1980s can be summed up as under:

- Educational institutions increased from 2.3 to 6.9 lakh (5.04 lakh primary, 1.23 lakh secondary, 52,729 higher secondary, 5,246 colleges and 140 universities).
- The number of teachers has gone up from 7.5 lakh to 32 lakh out of which 22 lakh serve in the elementary section.
- About 50 per cent of our schools have no buildings or drinking water facilities or even black boards. In 30 per cent schools there is just one teacher for three to four classes.
- The retention rate in the specific age group (6-14) remains almost at 23 per cent of intake and thus, 77 per cent of these children continue to remain outside the pale of formal education; a vast majority of these are females, Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes.
- The expenditure on education has come down from 7.2 per cent to less than 3 per cent of our GNP. It may be recalled that no nations, except a few like Afghanistan, Burma and Pakistan etc., spend around 8 per cent of their GNP on education.
- In each successive plan the outlay and the expenditure on elementary education have been shrinking. From 56 per cent of the total allocations for education it has now come down to 36 per cent. While in case of higher education the reduction has been about 10 per cent per

student per annum, and that in the professional courses is an astounding 50 per cent.

- The failures and dropouts in case of colleges and universities are about 60 per cent and at least 20 per cent of the Colleges are defined as unviable.
- Sixty per cent of the total work force of 24.4 crore is illiterate.
- Fifty-eight per cent of the workers in public and private sectors requiring technical skills had no formal instruction.
- The rate of growth of higher education in India has been about three times that of the GNP.
- The net result of the educational programmes has been to provide some manpower for the organised sector of India's economy and creation of an illusion of education for the poor and the underprivileged. In India, the education of the rich is being financed from the sweat and toil of the illiterate poor.
- The number of the educated unemployed is galloping fast. Official estimates speak of 3.7 million persons who are matriculate and above. The Seventh Plan will add another 1.3 millions. To this, if one adds those who are educated at the level of primary and above, then the number would swell to more than 15 million.
- The brain-drain continues. Government spends about Rs. 2,50,000 to train a doctor and about Rs. 1,50,000 to produce an engineer. Their immigration to affluent countries, in fact means training of experts by a poor country for a rich one at low cost.
- There continue to be two streams of education—one for the elite and the other for the masses. This duality of structure negates the concept of social justice and equality of opportunities in education and thus retards

the establishment of an egalitarian society.

The document is undoubtedly an official admission of failure. It exposes the incapacity of the present rulers to spell out a bold and imaginative educational programme to clear the mess. In the last chapter, the document discusses several constraints on re-orienting the policy and identifies a few of them. It is well known that the chief impediment in implementing the educational programme has been the lack of political will and management of education by those who had no commitment or sense of dedication towards the goals of a national education system. It is indeed amazing that the document quietly ignores to discuss this aspect and tries to shift the blame for the failure elsewhere.

It goes on to say that the selfish teacher or interested publishers have been offering resistance to a change. It also accuses the constitutional framework regarding centre and state relations of keeping an inefficient system; it highlights the financial constraints; it mentions politicisation of system as obstructing the transformation of education and stresses that cultural prejudices are holding back the pace of vocationalisation and skill orientation, but nowhere does it discuss the damage done to the system by a non-performing bureaucracy with a penchant for centralising all administration and scant respect for academic autonomy. The only three innovations which the document advocates for reorienting the educational policy are:

1. to set up one model school in each district;
2. to make some colleges autonomous; and
3. to produce a national core curriculum.

The document thus not only reinforces the concept of iniquitous education system but also provides an opportunity to elites to use education as a prerogative of their rule and as a tool for perpetuating the values upon which it has rested so far. In the opinion of the Bharatiya Janata Party, the document miserably fails to provide an alternative to the education system which we inherited from our colonial past and which continues with all its defects even today.

The Powerful Instrument

Recognising that education is the most powerful instrument of changing the human society, the Bharatiya Janata Party has

always been advocating urgent steps to create an education system worthy of the genius of our heritage and the undoubted capacities of our youth.

Education is intimately interlinked with the perspectives of a socio-economic order. If India accepts a social order based purely on limitless material growth which disturbs the balance between man and nature, ignores the needs for harmonising the inner and outer self in a human-being, and opts for a technology which has degraded the environment and has resulted in unlimited social tensions and dangers of a nuclear holocaust and above all, in establishing a highly exploitative world order, it will have to choose one pattern of education and one set of values.

If, on the contrary, the country opts for a paradigm based on the holistic and integrated approach which seeks a balance between man and his ecosystem and recognises an underlying unity in microcosm and macrocosm, it has to discover an alternative technology, different education and value orientation leading to the establishment of a society free from exploitation. The authors of the Challenge document have failed to recognise this real challenge arising from the predicament of choosing an appropriate social philosophy.

The Bharatiya Janata Party firmly believes and strongly advocates that education should lead to the development of an individual who recognises the unbroken chain of unity underlying the cosmic order and who is dedicated to the betterment of mankind as a whole. Education must lead one to understand that life in society is not a continuous struggle for survival but an ennobling experience in cooperation and universal brotherhood.

The educational programme should therefore, be directed towards the full development of individual personality and should create faith in the dignity and liberty of the individual.

The BJP had prepared a draft of its approach to National Education Policy as far back as 1981. The Party takes this opportunity to reiterate some of the suggestions incorporated in the National Education Programme document circulated by it to various organisations and Government agencies.

The BJP Line

The Party recommends that the country's education policy be formulated on the following lines:

1. Poverty and illiteracy go hand in hand. The main thrust of any national programme of Education should, therefore, be simultaneous eradication of both.
2. Top priority should be given to the Universalisation of Education. According to a World Bank report, there are only 26 countries with worse literacy rates than India. Even countries like Uganda, Paraguay, the Philippines, Chile, Cuba, Zaire have much higher rates than us, nothing to say of China. When Vietnam can have an adult literacy rate of 87 per cent as compared to 36 per cent in India, neither our paucity of funds nor population can be presented as an excuse for our poor literacy rate. The BJP suggests that by 1995 the goals of Universalisation of Education must be completed and following steps be taken to achieve this:
 - (i) The Seventh Plan be modified to earmark Rs. 10,000/- crore for Universalisation of Education.
 - (ii) A massive teacher oriented education expansion programme suitable to Indian conditions and traditions be undertaken.
 - (iii) All students above the higher secondary stage must be involved in Universalisation of Education.
 - (iv) Special schemes for recruiting and training lady teachers from villages be formulated so that the gap between male and female literacy is speedily bridged. Teach a mother and she teaches a family.
 - (v) Special incentives to teachers going to tribal and difficult areas.
 - (iv) Identifying the 'dark' villages where literacy rate is less than 10 per cent and making time bound programme for bringing them to national average. Alternative pedagogy which reduces the use of paper be evolved. Blind adoption of standards of affluent societies with regard to building and equipments etc. will not help in fulfilling the constitutional obligation.

- (viii) Non-formal, non-institutional methods of education should be used on large scale and voluntary agencies be involved in this programme.
- (ix) The content of primary education should have a direct bearing on the life of the students in the locality.

Equalisation of Educational Opportunities

3. The existing socio-economic disparities should not be allowed to perpetuate in the field of education. Equalisation of the educational opportunities is an imperative for establishing an egalitarian society. Opening of one model school per district would only add a new dimension to the existing school system which provides a divisive impact on the child. The BJP would, on the other hand, suggest that the common school concept should be given a fair trial and a network of good quality common schools be developed so that the clientele for the more expensive establishments like Public Schools disappears. The duality in education structure must be made to vanish under a time bound programme.
4. Autonomy in the field of education must not be only conserved but also strengthened. Healthy conventions in this respect must be allowed to grow. The teachers should be encouraged to regulate the system with a sense of accountability.
5. The non-governmental agencies must be allowed to contribute to the fuller and speedier development of the Educational Programme. Necessary incentives, e.g., a relief in income tax etc. be offered to invite community participation in education. Industry should be asked to become a partner in bridging the existing gap in the development of professional and technical education.
6. The allocation for education be raised to 8 per cent of the GNP.
7. A large number of institutions run by minorities, both linguistic and religious, have grown during the course of time under the provisions of the Indian Constitution. These provisions do not prevent the state from prescribing minimum norms of academic standards

or rules relating to fair employment practices. The Party suggests that an explanatory clause be inserted at the end of Article 30(1) of the Constitution stating that the scheme of administration and the service conditions of the employees of the institutions established under this article will be the same as are applicable to other institutions.

8. Curriculum for schools should reflect the rich diversity of experience which India has contributed to the advancement of world civilisation. Education in moral and spiritual values must be properly integrated with the curriculum. Schemes for providing Physical Education, Yogic exercises and organising sports be undertaken right from the primary levels. No curriculum would be complete without environmental studies and population education. Framing of a curriculum from the central agency does not fit in India's academic ethos.
9. India cannot afford to lag behind in using science for its development. Science education and work experience should be an important ingredient of school curriculum. There should be a common curriculum consisting of general and vocational training to be imparted to every student.
10. The management of educational institutions needs a fresh look at the state level and District Boards of Education on the lines suggested by the Education Commission should be formed. A National School Board be constituted to co-ordinate the work of the State Boards.
11. A policy of involving the centres of higher education in the study of the immediate problems confronting the country be pursued. Universities should be prompted to provide an objective assessment of the strength and weaknesses of the existing social order.
12. Degrees be delinked from job requirements wherever competitive tests can be organised.
13. The salaries of teachers should be comparable to those of the public servants with similar academic qualifications and duties. In universities the maximum should be comparable with the maximum remuneration drawn by the top-man in Civil Service. Adequate residential and health facilities

- be provided to the teaching community.
14. Membership of student unions should be automatic and they should be associated with the management of student welfare programmes.
 15. The Education Policy should conform to the principle that people have a right to be educated and run the administration in their own language.
 16. It should be the responsibility of the Central Government to make adequate arrangements for teaching modern Indian languages in each linguistic region.
 17. A policy of providing adequate assistance for the development and growth of Sanskrit and other Indian languages which are not state or regional languages but have contributed to the growth of Indian culture should be pursued.

The BJP recognises that a strong system of education existed in India before the Britishers occupied the country. Hundreds of thousands of schools flourished which were entirely based on local resources and their curriculum reflected the rich diversity of Indian wisdom. These village schools turned out the accountants, the doctors, the priests and other professionals required in the 19th century India. India was more literate in the 19th century than in the 20th. An indepth analysis of the phenomenon is necessary before a New Education Policy is launched. If the present trend continues, India would have a total of 54 per cent of world's illiterates on the turn of this century.

Reversal of these trends and creation of society which blends knowledge, science and spirituality is both a challenge and an opportunity for India. □

National Council

New Delhi

9-11 May, 1986

Economic Policy Statement-1986

The Bharatiya Janata Party visualises India as a political democracy, prosperous, progressive, egalitarian and enlightened, proud of its heritage and confident of playing its rightful role in the comity of nations.

Human Society today finds itself in the grip of an unprecedented global crisis which encompasses our socio-economic institutions and the value system. The modern mind is perplexed by the enigma that with all the sophisticated tools at their command, the experts are unable to resolve the various dichotomies with which the present day world is confronted. There is a growing realisation that the roots of this predicament lie in adopting a fragmentary approach towards social, economic, biological or material problems. The limitations of this approach are being increasingly recognised and its failure to provide any tangible solution for world problems demands a new paradigm. Holistic or integral approach then provides a rational alternative on which a new socio-economic order can be successfully constructed. The outcome of this approach is that in order to solve human problems we have to take into account its interaction with social and natural environment. This concept is in full consonance with the Indian ethos and was also propounded by our ancient seers who realised long back that there was no conflict between individual and society and between man and nature. Each in fact depends on, as well as contributes towards, the fulfilment of the other. The different dimensions of human personality described by the four-fold objectives (*Purusharthas*) ensured a balanced growth of human society, which had riches, without exploitation and pleasures without licentiousness.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that while we have a lot to learn from the advancement of science, we must adapt modern technology to suit our own requirements and national aptitude. It is only in this way that we can avoid the unhealthy aspects of modern industrialization and besides offer our own solutions to the basic crises mankind is faced with.

Capitalism may not believe in the outmoded concept of 'economic man' but a totally profit-motivated economy with competition as its sole regulator, and displacement of men in the name of saving labour had led to the creation of a society full of distortions and exploitations. Communism came as a reaction to the evils of capitalism, but succeeded only in changing the masters.

Any system which promotes concentration of economic powers in the hands of a few – whether private individuals or state officials – and reduces man to the level of a cog in the machine, robs him of his personality, and so is anathema to the Indian mind.

Gandhiji's ideas on many aspects of free India's economy were very exhaustive. He had underscored the importance of a decentralised economy and policy. He had propounded the philosophy of '*Antyodaya*' and '*Gramodaya*' (upliftment of the lowest strata of society). Loknayak Jayprakash Narayan also believed in evolving a system in which '*Lok Satta*' (People's Power) played a dominant role in establishing a political and economic order with a high degree of decentralisation. Deendayalji's integral humanism based on the principle of four *Purusarthas* had also emphasised the necessity of a socially regulated and decentralised economy, prohibiting all kinds of exploitation. Thus, decentralised economy, integral humanism and Gandhian Socialism are all manifestations of his thinking which can ensure the basic requirements of bread, freedom and equality and it is to this system that Bharatiya Janata Party commits itself.

The BJP believes the poverty and unemployment can be eradicated without in any manner interfering with human freedom. The Party commits itself to the economic goals enunciated in the Directive Principles of the Constitution without destroying or denigrating the fundamental rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution.

Approach

BJP's basic economic and development approach seeks to further extend and develop the principles enunciated by Gandhiji and Deendayalji in the modern context. After a careful re-examination of the burning issues of national economic policy the Party presents

the following formulations and recommendations:

In the opinion of the BJP, the prime thrust of India's economic programme should be to provide full employment and to remove poverty by strengthening the agro-rural base, and to inculcate a spirit of *Swadeshi*. The party strongly advocates the removal of all forms of exploitation of the peasantry, particularly of the marginal farmers, landless labourers and bonded labour. The BJP believes that decentralisation of all economic and developmental activities is an imperative for the rapid and balanced economic advancement of the country. The Party emphasises the urgency to adopt strong measures to eradicate the menace of black money which is eating into the vitals of our economy and to keep the skyrocketing inflation under check. For accelerating distributive justice regional and income disparities should be removed under a time-bound programme. The Party would like to guard the nation against the growing deficits in balance of payments and the dangers of a debt trap which would seriously impede self-reliance. The BJP believes in taking the benefits of science and technology to the doorsteps of the poor and would put stress on the development of an appropriate technology with a human face and without degrading the environment.

The problem of poverty and its wide dimensions

The government, on the basis of NSS data (38th round) has claimed a reduction of people below the poverty line to 273 million in 1984-85 or 37 per cent of the total population. It is really strange that whereas in the mid-term appraisal of the Sixth Plan, it was indicated that the number of people below the poverty line has come down from 339 million in 1979-80 to 282 million in 1981-82, the claim was seriously challenged by the economists like late Professor Raj Krishna and Professor S. Tendulkar and it was believed, that the most liberal estimate would mean 10 to 11 million poverty line crossers. The

economists, therefore, indicated that incidence of poverty in 1981-82 would be 46.5 per cent or 329 million poor instead of 41.5 per cent or 282 million poor as projected by the Planning Commission. But this could be verified because the Planning Commission stated the assumptions on which the estimates of poverty reduction were made. However, the Seventh Plan becoming more conscious this time, has only stated that as against 307 million poor in 1977, the number of poor has come down to 273 in 1984-85, that is, by 34 million and that poverty ratio has come down to 37 per cent. Whereas the mid-term appraisal assumed 339 million poor in 1979-80, the Seventh Plan takes 1977-78 data which was later on modified by the mid-term appraisal in the light of the 1981 census data. In case, we assume that 339 million persons were below the poverty line in 1979-80 and also assume that during the Sixth Plan, on an average 5 million persons crossed the poverty line every year, then it can be stated that the number below the poverty line works out to be 314 million in 1981-85 and not 273 million as suggested by the Seventh Plan. In other words, 42.6 per cent of the population is below the poverty line, assuming zero natural growth rate among the poor population. Even this is an under-estimate. If poverty can be removed by manipulation of statistics, then the Planning Commission can blissfully gloat over its achievements.

Unemployment continues to be a serious problem

The claim of the Planning Commission regarding improvement in the employment situation has also to be seen in the light of mid-term appraisal of the Sixth Plan which stated: "Nearly 12 million standard person years of employment were estimated to have been generated over the first two years of the Plan, constituting about 34 per cent of the total employment target of the Plan. This suggests some shortfalls in this area ... Furthermore, in the year 1982-93, a further deceleration in growth is expected, mainly due to a bad harvest. Taking all this into consideration, a significant shortfall in the Plan's employment target in 1982-83 is apprehended." But a review of the Sixth Plan, as made in the Seventh Plan document reveals that the employment target has been over fulfilled and that a dent even has been made into the backlog of the unemployed. According to the Seventh Plan, "as regards the provision of employment generation, against the estimated additions to labour force of about 39 million,

additional employment generation in the Seventh Plan has been estimated at 40.36 million standard person years. Thus the absolute number of the unemployed at the end of the Plan will be lower than at its beginning." With two years to jump from the apprehension of a significant shortfall in 1982-83 to over fulfilment in 1984-85 staggers one's imagination. This is more so when one examines the employment exchange statistics which show that rate of registrations in employment exchanges during the first half of 1985-86 amount, on an average, to 7.65 per cent, despite the setting up of new outlays to oversee manpower planning.

The total number registered in September, 1985 was 25-65 million as against 23.52 million in September, 1984. As against it, the vacancies notified were 64,000 in September, 1985 as against only 55,000 vacancies notified in September, 1984. Out of these, only 50 per cent of the vacancies could be actually filled. With this horrible situation, to claim that unemployment is declining is to live in a fool's paradise, to say the least.

Inflation continues unabated

A very serious problem affecting the lives of millions of the poor and the lower middle class of our society is the continuance of inflation. The Government assertion that inflation has been contained is misleading the public mind by ignoring the recent hike in administered prices. The hike in the prices of coal, food, fertilizers, petroleum products, bus fares has seriously affected the common man. Moreover, in case of petroleum, the hike is totally unjustified, more so in the face of falling petroleum prices the world over. The government strategy of first raising the price substantially and then permitting a minor de-escalation is nothing but a camouflage. Similarly, the rise in the issue price of food grains which is more than the increase in procurement price is highly unjustified. The effort of the government to foist on the people the administrative inefficiencies of running state enterprises by raising the prices of public sector products, taking advantage of its monopolistic position, is highly exploitative. The Palmoline which comes in the country at Rs. 6 per kg. is sold at Rs. 14 per kg. Cement which is imported at Rs. 26 per bag is sold for more than Rs. 60 per bag. The sugar bought at Rs. 2 per kg. is made available to the customer at Rs. 6. As against an increase in the procurement price of wheat by Rs. 5, the consumer

is forced to pay an additional Rs. 20. All these bring about Rs. 2000 crore to the government during the year. It is, therefore, necessary that the provisions of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act (MRTPA) should be extended to state enterprises as suggested by the Sachar Committee.

New Economic Policy of the Congress (I) – its baneful effects on Indian Economy

The New Economic Policy of the government in the name of modernisation and introduction of latest technologies, is introducing a highly capital-intensive pattern of development. Whereas modernisation and latest technology in certain areas are essential to reduce costs, to imbibe new technologies in more sophisticated lines of production in heavy industry, machine tools and engineering industry, and its indiscriminate use has only helped to permit (i) more and more of foreign collaborations on the one hand and (ii) indiscriminate 'open door' policy in import liberalisation which has led to a staggering balance of trade deficit of about Rs. 10,000 crore during 1985-86—a record deficit in the post-independence period.

The government policy of indiscriminate liberalisation of imports in the name of modernisation and encouragement to hi-tech has resulted in what is popularly described as 'Screw-driver-industrialisation'. The Policy of reckless import liberalisation has not brought about even a frog leap, not to speak of a big leap. Uncontrolled authority in the government to resort to public borrowing has burdened the country with a public debt of more than one lac crores of rupees. More alarming is the fact that total assets credited by this government are far less than the total liabilities incurred through borrowing and deposits. The government should, therefore, listen to saner counsel and go in for selective import liberalisation to save the country from further deterioration in the balance of payments. This policy of indiscriminate import liberalisation, if persisted with would lead the country into a debt trap or humiliate it further to beg IMF/IBRD/IDA for a big loan and be forced to announce another devaluation of the rupee.

The New Economic Policy is treating upgradation of technology as an end in itself, but fails to realise the fact that the ultimate end

of economic, social and technological development is to create conditions in which the personality of human beings can find full fruition. This naturally requires that policies of growth be harmonised with those of poverty removal and creation of employment. If growth accompanied by a continuous increase of prices, (aggregate price rise during the Sixth Plan was 45 per cent per annum) as it has happened, even during the so-called successful Sixth Plan, it shall result in distortions in income distribution in favour of richer classes and erosion of the income of the poorer classes.

Although the government announced substantial reduction in direct taxes during 1985-86 budget, it has failed to effectively reduce the deficit in the revised estimate. Instead of the budgeted deficit of Rs. 3316 crore in 1985-86, the revised estimates place it at Rs. 4490 crore. To cap it further, during 1986-87, another doze of deficit financing of the order of Rs. 3650 crore is planned. The continuing deficits only result in further stoking the fire of inflation. Whereas an effort has been made to increase tax revenues, no corresponding effort has been made to cut down non-plan expenditure.

The vicious circle of grinding poverty, mounting unemployment and rising prices must be broken with drastic changes in economic policy and structure. The basic thrust of the new approach should be to attain full employment, bring bulk of the population above the poverty line and maintain price stability.

The guiding principle of BJP's economic policy will be '*Har Haath Ko Kaam, Kaam Ke Sahi Dam-Jahan Ho vahim Par Kaam.*' Right to work should be treated as a fundamental right of every citizen and provision of irrigation to every farm-big or small-a fundamental input to trigger the process of growth in agriculture with greater tilt towards the small farmer.

This, the BJP holds, can be accomplished by a revival of the *Swadeshi* spirit, instead of the continuous and increasing adoption of five-star culture. This alone can ensure self-reliance and national reconstruction by fuller utilisation of the country's natural and human resources. This shall require a careful blending of highly developed technology suitably adapted to our needs consistent with national pride. This should be the concept of *Swadeshi* spirit.

Inflation

BJP believes that inflation can be curbed, and it must be curbed, by adopting the following policies:

1. The growth of money supply should be strictly restricted in proportion to annual growth rate. Also whenever credit is restricted, the restrictions should apply both to the private and public sector.
2. After several successive years of excessive deficit financing, it is now necessary to have a few years of balanced budgets. Much of the deficit financing arises due to colossal waste and corruption in government expenditure, particularly of the non-developmental variety. Therefore, a 10 per cent cut in overall expenditure can and must be made without damaging any essential or productive activity. For this purpose, it is suggested that the government should set up an Expenditure Commission which should examine the reason for cost escalation of various projects both in the plan and non plan sides of state expenditure and suggest measures to reduce them. This can be done only by cutting down graft, by bringing greater co-ordination between different ministries and strict adherence to time schedule and by the replacement of 5-star culture by *Swadeshi* Gandhian approach. The cosmetic surgery approach of the government to temporarily reduce a few employees, to reduce telephones etc. has miserably failed to reduce expenditure.
3. We must export more and more finished goods – and less raw materials – to increase employment and earn more foreign exchange. Only a concerted scheme of supply management can cure the country of its chronic shortages.
4. Finally, the public distribution system should be expanded to supply essential articles to low-income consumers at fair prices throughout the country. More fair price shops should be opened in the rural areas, particularly in the tribal areas, to supply grains, pulses, oil, kerosene, salt, sugar, etc. at reasonable rates. Restriction of rationing to low income groups will also help to reduce subsidies that are provided indiscriminately to all sections irrespective of income.

5. This package of policies, and in particular, balanced budgets and the necessary import prohibition can hold the price line.

Growth

1. Agricultural Sector

India lives in villages where 80% of its population depends upon agriculture. The problems of growth of Indian economy are directly dependent upon the growth and development of agricultural sector. Unless top priority is accorded to agriculture and agro-based industries, solution to the problem of poverty and unemployment will remain a mirage. It is only through an emphasis on these sectors that a self-reliant India will emerge. Development of agriculture is synonymous with the development of India.

Foodgrains production during the last three years since 1983-84 has been stagnant and has failed to cross the level of 152 million tonnes achieved in 1983-84. There is a need to spread the green revolution to new areas like Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar and Orissa which have lagged behind in agricultural growth. Greater importance should be given to coarse cereals in which our performance was dismal.

It is vital for the maintenance of self-sufficiency in cereals that the tempo of high rate of input growth is maintained. However, we must guard against the danger of foreign interests dumping harmful material in our country. Farmers should be assured of remunerative prices for all crops, covering their full costs of production, computed after taking into consideration all the parameters like costs of inputs, living index, etc. The government purchase operation should be widespread and efficient enough to guarantee that all farmers and particularly small farmers do in fact realise the guaranteed prices and are not forced to make distress sales. Indiscriminate import of agricultural produce should be discouraged so that indigenous production does not suffer.

Small and marginal farmers should be provided with subsidised inputs including credit at a low interest rate. This

would help increase agricultural productivity and elevate these farmers above the poverty line.

It may be clearly realised that no effort at enforcing minimum wages will succeed if rural areas continue to be plagued by unemployment and disguised unemployment. The key to enforcement of minimum wages lies not through administrative enforcement, but by the enlargement of employment by raising crop intensity in agriculture and decentralised rural industry in the non-agricultural sector. The Agricultural Prices Commission should be replaced by a broad-based agency which should include experts and representatives of farmers. Support prices of all major items should be declared much before the time of crop sowing, taking into account the costs of production and ensuring a reasonable profit to the farmers.

The scope and area of Cattle and Crop Insurance Scheme should be gradually enlarged. More and more land should be brought under 2 and 3 crops through small irrigation projects. Power lines for lift irrigation along the banks of rivers and rivulets be provided by the State Government. The policy of Cow Protection and '*Go Samvardhan*' or development of cow and cattle breeding, as laid down in the Constitution, should be implemented to develop dairy farming and animal husbandry, leading to a White Revolution in the country.

Development of Agro-based Industries

It is both ironic and dangerous that millions of people go hungry while food stocks are piling up. This anomaly is a reflection of the growing rural-urban dichotomy in which the rural areas are being forced to eschew industry in favour of the urban areas. It is this dichotomy which lies at the root of unnecessary high capital-intensity in the consumer goods sector.

Agriculture alone will not be able to absorb all the surplus population in the rural areas. Without providing non-agricultural occupations in abundance in the rural sector we shall be only compounding the problems of poverty, unemployment and the rush to the cities. This, then, necessitates a shift from capital-intensive production methods to labour-intensive systems. Unrestricted

growth of high-cost technology will further aggravate this dichotomy. A rapidly expanding network of low-cost agro-industrial complexes is the need of the hour. Apart from imbalances in investment between agriculture and industry, more than 80 per cent of the total outlay on social services is concentrated in the urban areas and the rural poor are denied their due share. Therefore, whole pattern of national investment on social and economic infrastructural development needs a drastic re-orientation.

Progress towards distributive justice can be greatly accelerated if the following policy measures are sincerely implemented;

1. The surplus land already identified (about 5.5 million acres) should be distributed to the landless within a maximum of 3 years through the medium of an expanded machinery. Additional surplus land should be identified by plugging legal and administrative loopholes.
2. All tillers of the land should be given title deeds, conferring on them ownership of the lands they till, on the basis of quick, on-the-spot inquiries by competent authorities. All currently cultivating tenants, identified as such, can thus be made occupancy tenants within a maximum of 3 years. A time-bound programme should be chalked out for every year.
3. All private tube-wells constructed by farmers should be energised within six months. The required quantum of power be reserved for such purposes. All inter-state water disputes should be speedily resolved.
4. Irrigation facilities be extended to maximum number of fields and equitable distribution of available water be ensured. Techniques of dry farming should be developed.
5. Block-level committees and tribunals with 50 per cent representation from tenants and landless labour should be appointed to implement land ceilings and tenancy reforms.

6. The Party accepts the need for organising the rural poor. Legislative measures for the protection of rural workers should be undertaken to speed up the pace of distributive justice.
7. The share in institutional credit of small and marginal farmers, landless workers and artisans should be gradually raised under a time-bound programme.
8. The Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme must be extended in phases to all regions of the country within 10 years as a core scheme of our future employment programme in the Seventh and the Eighth Plans. For the formulation of efficient, full-employment plans for the blocks, Techno-economic Project Formulation Bureaus must be established in all districts and blocks. The Plans must specially cover every poor underemployed family on the *Antyodaya* pattern.
9. A Work Guarantee should be declared in a block as soon as a block plan for full employment has been made and approved.
10. Collectors (District Development Officers) and/or elected bodies must be given adequate funds and powers to get the district block plans for full employment prepared and implemented.
11. Access to the following items of infrastructure and social services, provided or subsidised by the state, must be recognised as the elementary right of all rural and urban communities, and especially the rural poor and urban slum dwellers:
 - (a) Ample and clean drinking water supply,
 - (b) Energy (electricity, wood, coal, bio-gas and/or diesel, kerosene),
 - (c) All-weather pucca roads,
 - (d) Comfortable mass transit,
 - (e) Health and family planning knowledge, supplies and services,

- (f) Literacy and continuous non-formal education to transmit professional knowledge, and to raise the consciousness among the poor about current injustices, their rights and duties,
 - (g) Sanitation (with increasingly mechanised and covered waste and sewage haulage, disposal and recycling), and
 - (h) Housing (for the poor)
12. The BJP accepts the cooperative principle for industrial and commercial growth, for agricultural services as well as for the solution of the country's housing problems. It believes in the efficacy of cooperatives particularly in the field of milk production, rural credit and distribution of consumer goods. However, the movement must be cleansed of corruption and vested interests, as of undue official patronage, and should be made voluntary and self-reliant in the real sense.
 13. Big business houses should be asked to spend a portion of their wealth for the upliftment and welfare of the rural folk every year. Guidelines should be framed by the government in this regard.
 14. Preference must be given to women (and/or women dominated institutions), Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, disabled persons, and ex-servicemen in the allocation of all public sector credit, jobs and educational and training opportunities.

Industrial Sector

Under the New Economic Policy, the government is encouraging the production of electronics, computers and other areas which feed the demands of the relatively more affluent sections of society in the form of televisions, refrigerators, air-conditioners, computers and other mechanical gadgets. (i) This policy has encouraged the growth of consumer durables which largely go to meet the demands of the affluent sections; (ii) it has also increased the import components in our industrial production and thus made us dependent on multinationals to a large extent; (iii) it has further encouraged foreign

collaborations indiscriminately in our industry, even in areas which by no stretch of imagination can be described as essential; and (iv) it has neglected the production of consumer goods needed by the masses in this country. These policies need a radical re-orientation in favour of the people of this country. Therefore the following suggestions are made in this connection:

(i) Decentralised Industrialisation

India's development can benefit immensely through decentralisation of all economic and development activities. While the state should assume a guiding role, political, economic and administrative decentralisation would put real power in the hands of the people, reduce development road blocks, and improve efficiency. Decentralisation in the industry sectors, wherever practical, will reduce the hegemony of monopolies, either state or private. Consequently, it shall bring down the level of leakages, and make more efficient use of resources. Decentralization of industry will simultaneously lead to lesser impact of pollution, urbanisation and reduce the real cost to the nation's economy.

(ii) Hi-Tech In the Service of the Poor

The benefits of hi-technology have been, by and large, appropriated by the rich during the last 35 years. This trend has got further strengthened by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's slogans entering the 21st Century in the name of modernisation and upgradation of technology. If the present trend is allowed unchecked, some lucky few will enter the 21st Century, but the vast majority will continue in a state of degradation and poverty reminiscent of the 19th century. With recent advances in Hi-Tech methods, materials and machines, it has become now more than ever possible to use hi-tech in the service of the poor and to bring the benefits of modernisation to the rural areas and the lives of the poor. Hi-tech can provide energy, communications and employment opportunities to the under-privileged. Their productivity and working methods can be improved

which in turn can raise their wages earnings. The BJP believes that this can only be done if the emphasis is moved away from glamorous hi-tech in the service of the rich (e.g. cars, telephones, cassettes and videos) towards hi-tech in the service of the poor, mini-machines for decentralised productive systems, improved tools through new materials and technology, independent decentralised sources.

(iii) The industrial policy should lay greater emphasis on the production of wage goods.

In this context, the government policy of putting the entire burden of producing people's cloth in the National Textile Corporation at present and transferring it later to the handloom sector be changed and the private large mill sector should be asked to fulfil its social responsibility by producing people's cloth which should also include some low priced synthetic fabrics.

(iv) Foreign collaborations should be permitted only in strategic and sophisticated lines of production.

(v) Computerisation should be slowed down and restricted to areas of high priority and should not be encouraged wholesale.

(vi) Management and Operation of public sector undertakings:

Bulk of investment in the public sector has a very low rate of return. This is especially true of state sector public undertakings, specially state electricity boards, irrigation departments and state public transport. The government has been following the policy of raising the administered prices of the products/services provided by these undertakings in order to show profits. In other words, the inefficiencies of the public sector undertakings have repeatedly been passed on to the people in the form of 'higher prices'. It is high time this method of 'Indirect Taxation' of the consumer was discontinued. For this purpose, the following suggestions are made:

- (a) The management of all government sector enterprises be made more autonomous and professional. Political and bureaucratic interference must be minimised. The management of the public sector must be professionalised and a central service called the 'Indian Management Service' should be formed to select, train and allocate professional management personnel to public sector units. These should be appointed on fixed-term contracts renewable only if performance is good.
- (b) In some production sectors management contracts should be given to indigenous firms on fixed terms.
- (c) In all sectors, except the production of defence equipment, a policy of rational dualism needs to be adopted so that private and public sector units compete in producing abundant quantities of quality goods and services for the people at the lowest possible cost. All efforts should be made to establish industries in the co-operative sector. No stone should be left unturned to make industries in the public sector run more efficiently so that they can generate adequate internal resources for further development of the economy. Both private and state units should operate under some common, minimum necessary social controls. Bureaucratic and administrative controls at different levels of economic activity that tend to perpetuate corruption should be eliminated and the policy relating to re-allocation of industrial sectors should be given statutory sanction – and be effectively enforced.

(vii) Reservations for Small Scale Industries

There should be reservation of lines of production for cottage, small, medium and large industry. Marketing the small scale and cottage industrial production should be organized by the government. Besides this, the production of output and employment generated by each sector should be kept in view while deciding future plans. The basic principle of subsidies and concessions should be enlargement of employment and not output expansion. Moreover, reduced freight and power rates should be

available to small scale producers, rather than large scale producers in the name of bulk consumers.

The BJP notes with deep concern that the New Textile Policy and de-reservation of 200 items from Small Scale Industries list has adversely affected the interests of the poor handloom weavers and small entrepreneurs.

The annual Report of the Ministry of Textiles (1985-86) admitting the failure of its policy has drawn attention to the following:

The sickness in the industry has shown no signs of disappearing. The total number of mills closed on account of financial trouble, labour unrest and power cut rose from 77 in December, 1984 to 78 in December, 1985, with a corresponding increase in the number of spindles from 17.9 lakh to 19.6 lakh and idle looms from 18,400 to about 10,300. The number of employees losing their livelihood as a consequence rose by about 8,000 to 1,07,200. The total cloth production in the mill sector is estimated to have gone down during 1985— while both the powerloom and handloom sectors have to raise their output by a small margin. This underlines the need for reversal of the National Textile Policy so as to encourage powerloom and handloom sectors.

- (viii) Research and development must be given a big role in industrial growth.
- (ix) Infrastructural facilities must be made available in abundance for an uninhibited growth of the economy.
- (x) There must be a fuller utilisation of installed capacity to improve production and productivity.
- (xi) Due weight must be given to ecological and environmental factors in the country's industrialisation, and the future generation should not be exposed to the dangers of pollution as a result of short-sighted policies.
Earnest efforts must be made at afforestation to make up for the reckless destruction of our forest wealth in the past.
- (xii) The policy of taking over sick units needs rethinking.

Scientific and firm guidelines should be prepared by experts to avoid wastage of public money and to check unscrupulous industrialists dumping their sick units on government.

- (xiii) Indians living abroad should be encouraged to make investment in India and all necessary incentives including reasonable repatriation of their earnings from foreign exchange investments, should be given to them. Guidelines should be circulated to all Indian embassies abroad for the information of Indians residing there. Now, however, care must be taken to prevent recycled and laundered black money of Indian origin being reinvested as 'into white' by NRIs and subsequently repatriated as is happening on a large scale today. Care must also be taken to ensure that manipulations of share prices by NRI funds does not result in excessive drain on scarce foreign exchange. BJP also feels that India must guard against the danger of bogus NRI firms acquiring vital interest in India's key and strategic industries.
- (xiv) Equity participation up to 49 per cent by the public in public sector undertakings should be allowed.

Labour and Wages

- (i) In order to promote industrial peace, it is essential to have national guidelines for wage contracts in the organised sector, linking increases in wages to increases in objective indices of performance plus increases in the cost of living, estimated by expert bodies, compilation of working class indices on scientific basis.
- (ii) Workers need to be convinced of the earnestness of government to protect them in an effective manner against violations by employers of provisions regarding deposits of provident fund and ESI contributions, and safety regulations. BJP believes in the principle of collective bargaining by the labour. To make it effective, outdated labour laws will have to be revised. The representative

union shall be decided by secret ballot. Autonomous Industrial Disputes Tribunals should be set up for speedy and fair settlement of labour problems.

- (iii) The BJP also recommends that workers should be given the right to become participants in shareholding to the extent of 25 per cent in share capital. This can be the first step in giving a sense of belonging to the employees in the undertaking and pave the way for effective participation in the decision-making process of the undertaking.
- (iv) Every company should provide workers' participation in the decision-making processes at various levels so as to give labour a sense of belonging and responsibility. Consequently, labour should consider strike only as a weapon of last resort.
- (v) Steps should be taken to provide tax and non-tax incentives for companies making their permanent workers shareholders out of a part of their gross profit. Government sector companies must give a lead in this direction. Legislation should be enacted to require construction of labour quarters and for the improvement of other welfare facilities.
- (vi) A fixed minimum number of educated youth must be helped with self-employment every year on the basis of the financial, technical and marketing assistance given to them by banks and District Industries Centres. A National Employment Policy particularly about the youth must be covered under the scheme within five years, failing which a minimum subsistence allowance must be given to them.
- (vii) The job reservation policy for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes must be implemented in letter and spirit as provided in the Constitution.
A well coordinated wages, prices and profits policy will hold the price line, protect the purchasing power of wages and keep profits under control. The country

is maintaining various régime of wages in different undertakings. The guiding principle of state policy should be that equal work should draw the same level of wages and the pay-scales of persons doing smallest work should be identical. For the distribution of bonus and other perks, all undertakings should operate within the national framework. The wage levels in high wage islands should be allowed to rise at a relatively lower rate so that workers in other industries/establishments are able to catch up with them.

Consumer Protection

The fruits of the working of the economic system must also be shared with consumers who purchase these goods and services with hard earned money. The colonial maxim of 'Caveat emptor' (Let the buyer beware) needs to be replaced by 'Caveat venditor' (Let the seller beware). The public and private sectors of trade and industry must not be allowed to use exploitative business methods or unfair trade practices.

The consumer movement needs to develop as a non-partisan countervailing force in the Indian Economy. In this direction consumer protection laws also need to be strengthened. Economic laws like the MRTP Act among others have proved to be inadequate in this direction and need to be strengthened to prevent consumer exploitation and uphold consumer rights.

There should be a co-relation between the cost of production, profits and the price to be charged from the consumer. The Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices should monitor the system of price fixation so that excessive margins charged by business can be brought within reasonable limits. This bureau should protect the consumer and ensure the quality and fair price of the article supplied. It should be declared as a statutory body linked to the MRTP Commission. This should be implemented with reference to at least essential commodities.

(ix) Trusteeship – the Goal

The BJP accepts the principle of trusteeship as the ultimate goal towards the realisation of better labour – capital relations in industry. The concept of trusteeship embodies the right of capital-labour and the society in the allocable surplus of profit of an undertaking. Although the concepts of trusteeship involve renunciation of all power by an individual or a group over others, and recognise the need to grapple with the elemental urge for power, wealth and knowledge, trusteeship aims at giving a human face to power and a moral legitimacy to it.

Black Money and its Elimination

Black money generation has reached critical limits as a result of which the economy is being seriously distorted. With massive corruption no desirable national economic policy is possible. The main responsibility for generating black money lies on the unabashed manner in which government's licensing and regulatory powers and procedures have been used to collect massive money for the ruling party. National and international contracts are being given with large kickbacks. The burden of all this falls ultimately on the poor people. The BJP has pledged itself to correction of these policies and gives a national call to all honest and concerned citizens of India to fight this menace resolutely.

The second most important factor leading to the growth of a parallel and underground economy is the adoption of an irrational tax system, which needs serious rethinking.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that the taxation policy should be rationalised and the incidence and pattern of taxation should be so designed that:

- (i) it mobilises state resources for productive expenditure;
- (ii) it does not obstruct channels and does not destroy the incentive for investment;
- (iii) it motivates people for savings;
- (iv) it does not induce tax evasion or avoidance; and
- (v) it does not lead to harassment of the honest taxpayer.
 - (a) Exemption limit for income tax should not be less than

Rs. 25,000 and the rate of direct taxation should be brought down to 10% in the lowest slab.

- (b) Sales tax should be replaced by additional excise. The Centre should compensate the states in full for their losses—as also for the annual expected increase in revenue from sales tax.
- (c) Economic offences including smuggling and foreign exchange manipulation and black marketing must be expeditiously prosecuted—if necessary, by making economic offences non-bailable—and punished by special courts. Punishment should be deterrent, and economic offenders should not be allowed to retain the profits of their crimes.

The ratio of indirect taxes to the total tax revenue should be gradually reduced. The burden of indirect taxes and administered prices on items of mass consumption be minimised.

Population Policy

Population continues to remain India's primary economic problem. The present approach of merely providing funds and following time-worn frail methods pursued with bureaucratic inefficiency, is wholly inadequate.

BJP believes, population is too serious a problem to be a victim of political partisanship and, therefore, population policy should be based on a national consensus. Such a population policy should consist of innovative methods combining incentives as well as suitable disincentives, education and large scale policy involvement. BJP believes that within confines of India's democracy and free society and our people's known capacity to voluntarily accept new ideas and methods, it is possible to plan vigorous and effective population programme.

Daridranarayana National Fund

A *Daridranarayana* National Fund for the poor should be created with equal contribution by the states and the Centre. A special cess from the affluent, both urban and rural, may be levied to create resources for this fund. After a reduction

in direct tax limit and other steps for rationalising the tax structure, the nation would be willing to contribute for this noble cause. The amount should be earmarked for helping those who are the poorest. Programmes of *Antyodaya*, Food for Work, Literacy Drive on massive scale must be taken up vigorously to remove poverty. No administrative expenditure should be incurred from this fund. The report of the implementation of schemes under this fund should be placed and discussed in state legislatures and Parliament every year.

The affluent have to set an example in this regard and abjure vulgar display of wealth. They must be willing to make sacrifices in proportion to their prosperity. The hungry millions cannot wait and suffer in silence.

This, then, is the main direction in which the BJP would like the country's economy to move. Unless we as a nation agree, and the government is ready to display the necessary political will, to curb present consumption and undertake massive efforts for augmenting savings, inducing investment, and taking firm measures towards distributive justice, the country cannot be saved from the impending economic chaos.

BJP Stands for

1. Right to work as a fundamental right of the people.
2. Decentralisation at political, economic and administrative levels.
3. Provision of irrigation to every farm, big, or small with greater tilt towards the small farmers.
4. Payment of remunerative prices to farmers for all crops.
5. Subsidisation of inputs (including credit to small and marginal farmers at low rates of interest).
6. Rapid expansion of a network of low cost agro-based complexes to generate greater employment in the rural areas.
7. Provision of drinking water and social services to all villages, slum areas and jhuggi-jhonpuri clusters.
8. Bringing female literacy at par with the national average, generating employment opportunities for women, ensuring equal wages without gender discrimination and priority in loans to women entrepreneurs, and raising the age limit for

the recruitment of women in government departments and undertakings to 35 years.

9. Construction of dwelling units and providing other social services in Harijan bastys, slums and residential areas of weaker sections under a time bound programme.
10. Launching *Antyodaya* and Food for Work programmes with a special emphasis on providing employment to Harijans and Adivasis.
11. Protecting the environment and having a vigorous drive for tree plantation.
12. Abolition of sales tax and octroi.
13. Statutory reservation for cottage, small and village industries for consumer items.
14. Revival of *Swadeshi* spirit to use appropriate technology with adequate pollution control – less capital intensive technologies in the wage goods sector and highly capital intensive technology in the sophisticated and strategic lines of production.
15. Hi-tech to be used in the service of the poor
16. Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices to be made a statutory body linked with MRTP Commission so that excessive margins charged by business firms can be brought within reasonable limits.
17. Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practices Act (MRTPA) to be extended to state enterprises so that state cannot misuse its monopoly power.
18. Indiscriminate liberalisation of imports to be abandoned in favour of selective import policy, in sophisticated and strategic areas of production.
19. An Expenditure Commission to examine the reasons for cost escalation of various projects – both plan and non-plan expenditures.
20. An enabling legislation to be brought in the Parliament to get a unit registered under Trusteeship. Government should provide a flat and special rate of taxation at a relatively low level for such units.
21. A National Labour Resettlement Authority with contribution of 15% of value added by industries to help redeployment and resettlement of labour, displaced or unemployed.

22. Workers' participation in the decision-making processes at various levels to give labour a sense of belonging and responsibility.
23. Workers to be given right of participation in shareholding to the extent of 25% in share capital.
24. MINIMUM wages to all including farm labourers.
25. Workers' right of collective bargaining and recognition of representative trade unions by secret ballot.
26. Periodic improvement in the emoluments and service conditions of government and non-government employees, teachers and journalists and pensions of ex-servicemen and other retired persons.
27. Reservation for disabled persons in services.



National Executive

Bhopal

19-21 July, 1985

The Case for Reservation

Reservation: A National Commitment

In Gujarat, the reservation in postgraduate courses in Medical Colleges was provided in the year 1975. It was during the Janata regime that the carryforward system, interchangeability of seats between SC and ST students and the roster system were introduced in the year 1977 to make the reservation effective. The medicos staged their first demonstration on 5th January 1981 demanding cancellation of carryforward and interchangeability system. The Congress (I) Govt. in Gujarat readily accepted their demand and issued orders on the 8th January 1981 to this effect.

Following are some facts relating to P.G. classes in medical education in Gujarat. This year there had been 857 admissions in P.G. classes out of which 217 were reserved, but only 37 reserved candidates could come forward, and there were so loud protests against these 37 also. Out of 117 Professors in Medical Science in Gujarat, only one belongs to SC and he too could take up the job after getting himself qualified in UK. None belongs to ST. Out of 625 Assistant Professors and tutors, only 21 belong to SC (3% against the reserved quota of flow 7%). Out of 679 employees working in the Medical Colleges, none belongs to SC and only 2 belong to ST.

The above facts show that the anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat was ill conceived, ill intentioned and uncalled for. It is not a question of a few jobs here and there; the significance lies behind the mentality of the agitation. In Marathwara, there was no question of jobs or seats. The people there are not prepared to associate the name of the father of the Indian Constitution (Baba Sahib, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar) with the University.

Before their loud and bloody protest against the Govt. policy of reserving a share of postgraduate seats for SCs and STs in Gujarat Medical Colleges, the medicos had taken this issue to the Gujarat High Court. A division bench of the said High Court had observed, "The object underlying Article 64 is highly laudible." It aims at promoting the educational level of the SCs and STs and of weaker

sections of our people with the ultimate object of putting them at par with educated classes of our society. When the Directive laid down by Article 64 is fully implemented by the State, it will certainly go a long way in integrating different sections of our Society in removing different kinds of injustice meted out to educationally backward people and in ending all forms of exploitation. ... The objective underlying this Policy can never be questioned because it is not only intended to bring about social integration of this country, but also to make all sections of our people well informed and educated.

Commenting on the roster, system Justice SH Sheth who spoke for the Division Bench observed:

We have got to examine the roster, not necessarily with reference to any particular branch of P.G. Medical Education, but with reference to entire P.G. Medical Education.

(Dr. Arun Prakash Et 73 others

Vs State of Gujarat 181 XXII GLR 41)

The Gujarat agitation has however raised certain ticklish questions such as:

- (i) Whether the carryforward, interchangeability and roster system can lead to intake of SC Et ST in services more than the prescribed percentage for them ?
- (ii) whether merit and efficiency are at stake because of reservation?
- (iii) Should the reservation in promotion continue?
- (iv) Whether the so-called affluent SC and ST candidates should be debarred from the benefits of reservation?
- (v) How long the reservation should continue?

I shall take up the above questions one by one.

Carryforward, interchangeability and roster

- (i) According to the standing orders the unfilled reserved posts are carried forward for three recruitment years. After the third year of recruitment the reserved posts are interchanged between the SC and ST. The following illustration shall make the position quite clear. Supposing 100 clerical posts occur in an office every year. Following will be the position of recruitment for 4 years in the said office:

1st Year of recruitment (1980)

		Actually filled			Carried forward			
Total posts	others	SC	ST	others	S/C	S/T	S/C	S/T
100	78	15	8	88	10	2	15-10 = 8	
							5-2=6	

IInd year of Recruitment (1981)

Total	others	S/C	S/T
100	78	15	8.....in normal course
78-10=68	15+5=20	8+6=14	because of carry forward
68+19=87	12	3	Actually filled

IInd carried forward

S/C	S/T
20-12=8	14-3=11 (6+5)

IIIrd year of Recruitment (1982)

Total	Others	S/C	S/T
100	78-19=59	15-8=23	8+11=19
59+25=84	13		4.....Actually filled.

IIIrd carried forward.

S/C	S/T
10-5 of the	15-6 of the
Ist year=5	1st year=9
(i.e 1980)	(i.e. 1980)

IVth Year of Recruitment (1983)

Total	others	S/C	S/T
100	78-14 = 64	15+5=20	8+9 = 17
	64+18-82	14	5.....Actually filled

IVth Carried forward

S/C
6

S/T
7+5 of the year 1981-12

In the above illustration, 5 posts of S/C and 9 posts of S/T could be exchanged in the year 1982 and, similarly, 6 posts of S/C and 19 posts of S/T of the year 1983 could be exchanged by them mutually, but the need for interchangeability did not arise as, in both the cases the candidates for both the groups were not available. This happens in more than 95% cases. But even if the post are exchanged, the numbers of the reserved posts do not increase beyond their fixed quota. Further, in accordance with the standing orders of the Govt. issued in compliance with the judgment of the Supreme Court, in no case more than 45% of the posts including the carried forward ones can be reserved at a given time. Thus in the above case out of 400 posts, the three groups have got the following share.

Others	S/C	S/T
340 instead of 302	49 instead of 60	14 instead of 32

The roster system is nothing but fixing the position of SC and ST people in making appointments. It envisages 1st, 8th, 14th, 22nd, 28th and 36th positions for SC and 4th 17th and 31st positions for SC in a total of 40 appointments. It ensures that 9 out of 40 posts should go to SC and ST and serves as an indication as to how many posts have actually been filled by the SC and ST.

The whole purpose of carry forward, interchangeability and roster systems is to make the reservation of 22.5% effective. In no case does it lead to over all excess in the intake of S/C & S/T in services. The people who oppose these systems either do not understand the real implication thereof or they deliberately want that no record of backlog or deficiency of the reserve quota should be maintained so that the question of making up of the deficiency may not arise at all.

Merit and Efficiency

- (ii) The people generally presume that reservations are provided for unfit candidates. However, this presumption is based on totally wrong conception. A minimum percentage of marks or qualification are prescribed for SC and ST candidates for admission in educational institutes or services. Later on, the SC and ST students have to undergo various tests and examinations along with the students of other communities. No concession or relaxation is given to the SC, ST students after the stage of admission. More than often a 2nd class in BA may get 1st class in MA and a first class in BA may not even get through in MA. Subsequently it is, therefore, absolutely wrong to assume that the SC ST students getting admissions with lesser marks shall be inefficient in comparison with others in this connection. It would be most significant to note that there has been no agitation against the rich students with lower marks getting admission in medical colleges in various parts of the country including Gujarat on payment of capitation fee to the tune of Rs. 50,000 to Rs 2 lakh. Capitation fee is perhaps immune to merit and efficiency.

"Article 335 of the Constitution lays down that the claims of the SC and ST shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to service and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State."

In Devdasan case, Justice Suba Rao said as follows:

"It is inevitable in the nature of reservations that there will be lowering of standards to some extent. But on that count the provision cannot be said to be bad. Indeed the state laid down minimum qualifications and all the appointments were made from those who had the said qualifications."

Justice Krishna Iyer observed as follows in the recent judgement of the Supreme Court:

"Trite arguments about efficiency and inefficiency are a trifle phoney because, after all, at the higher levels Harijan-Girijan appointees are a microscopic percentage and even in the case of Class III and Class IV posts they are negligible. The preponderant majority coming from

the unreserved community are presumably efficient and the dilution of efficiency caused by the minimal induction of a small percentage of reserved candidates cannot effect the over all administrative efficiency significantly. Indeed, it will be gross exaggeration to visualise the collapse of the administration because 5 to 10 per cent of the total number of officials in the various classes happen to be substandard. We are not impressed with the misfortune projected about the governmental personnel being manned by morons merely because of a sprinkling of Harijans-Girijans who happened to find their way into services. The malady of modern India lies elsewhere and the merit mongers are greater risks in many respects than the naive tribals and slightly better off low castes."

"The fundamental question arises as to what is merit and suitability. Elitists whose sympathies with the masses have dried up are from the standards of the people Indian least suitable to run govt. and least meritorious to handle state business. If we envisage a service State in which millions are the consumers, a sensitive heart and a vibrant head, tuned to the tears of the people, will speedily quicken the developmental needs of the country, including the rural schemes and slum squalour sincere dedications and intellectual integrity these are some of major components of merit and suitability and not degree from Oxford or Cambridge etc. Unfortunately, the orientation of our selection process is distorted and those like the candidates from SC and ST, who from their birth have had a traumatic understanding of the conditions of domestic India have in one sense, more capability than those who have lived under affluent circumstances and are callous to the human lot of the surrounding masses. Moreover, our examination system makes memory the master of merit and banishes creativity into exile."

(iii) **Reservation in Promotion**

Reservations were effected only at the initial stage till 1959. The Railways introduced reservation for the backward classes in promotions made on selected basis. This decision of the railway ministry was challenged and ultimately the

Supreme Court upheld the provision for reservation in promotion. Chief Justice Gajendra Gadkar observed in the said case:

“The advancement of the socially and educationally backward classes required not only that they should have adequate representation in the lowest wing of the services, but that they should aspire to secure representation in selection posts in the services as well. We are disposed to take the view that the power of reservation which is conferred on the State under Article 16 (4) can be exercised by the State in a proper case not only by providing for reservation in appointments but also by providing reservation in selective posts. This would serve to give effect to the intention of our Constitution makers to make adequate safeguard for the advancement of backward classes and to secure for their adequate representation in the services.”

Angachari’s (AIR 1962, SC36)

In the latest Judgement (Nov., 80), the Supreme Court has again observed:

“Obviously, Article 16 (4) was not designed to get more Harijans into Govt. 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 community.”

(iv) **Affluent SC/ST**

The SCs and STs are coterminous with the oppressed classes. To say that by getting certain jobs the SCs and STs have been converted into an elite class is a distortion of facts. The SC people, no matter whatever be their economic status, have the stigma attached to them by birth. The Supreme Court negated the argument that the reservation benefits are cornered by a few affluent SCs and STs in Bramh case in the following words:

“If after collecting the necessary data, it is found that the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward in our opinion, the reservation made of

such persons will have to be upheld notwithstanding the fact that the few individuals in that groups may be both socially and educationally above the general average."

(AIR 1972 S. C. 1375)

Justice Krishna Iyer, (Supreme Court) also said in his recent judgement as follows:

"Nor does the specious plea, that because a few Harijans are better off, therefore, the bulk at the bottom deserve no jack up provisions, merit scrutiny. A swallow does not make a summer."

Even with the present so-called affluent SC/ST families are not getting their full reserved quota. The following figures showing the number of posts reserved during 1974, 1976 and 1977 reveal the hollowness of this demand. If some of them are debarred from the benefits of reservation, the representation of SCs/STs in services is bound to be further depleted instead of filling up their long due backlog.

The figures given below relate to the central services only. The relevant data has not been furnished by the states to the Commission for SCs/STs from whose latest report (for the year 1978-79) they have been quoted.

Statement showing details of de-reservation of reserved vacancies.

Year	Class I			Class II			Class III			Class IV		
	SC	ST	Tot.	SC	ST	Tot.	SC	ST	Tot.	SC	ST	Tot.
1974	107	87	194	15	32	47	389	748	—	3	3	
	through rectt.			through promotion								
	62	35	97	443	336	779	730	959	1689	26	49	75
Total	1169	122	291	458	368	825	1119	1318	2437	26	52	78

1976	116	95	211	462	410	872	1045	1524	2569	19	44	63
1977	174	126	300	451	362	813	1059	1275	2335	26	46	72
1978	254	190	444	604	487	1091	305	1606	3001	46	120	166

(Page 11-12 of the Report of the Commissioner for SC &

ST for the year 1978-79 Part II)

(v) How long the Reservation should continue

This being a very vital question needs detailed examination of the whole scheme. The attitude of the rulers and the bureaucrats who have utterly failed to implement the Reservation Policy earnestly has to be viewed seriously.

Sabotage of Reservation

The formula of reservation was a compromise known as Poona Pact between Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi for giving up his demand of separate electorate for the S.C. and S.T. by the former. Article 16 (4), 330, 332, 334 and 335 of the Indian Constitution contain the spirit of the said compromise. While article 16 (4) is a general clause, articles 330, 332 and 334 contain provision for political reservation in the Parliament and Legislative Assemblies and article 335 pertains to reservation in services. There is no time limit for reservation in services, but there was a time limit of 10 years for political reservations at the initial stage, which has been extended thrice for 10 years each.

Dr. Ambedkar was against any time limit of 10 years for political reservation as well. While replying to the points raised by some S.C. members in the constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar had observed:

“I would like to say one or two words on the remarks of members of the Scheduled Castes who have spoken in somewhat passionate and vehement terms on the limitation imposed by this article. I have to say that they have really no cause for complaint, because the decision to limit the thing to ten years was really a decision which has been arrived at with their consent. I personally was prepared to press for a larger time, because I do feel that so far as the scheduled castes are concerned, they are not treated on the same footing as the other minorities. For instance so far as I know the special reservation for the Mussalmans started in the year 1882, so to say, the beginning was made then. Therefore, the Muslims had practically enjoyed these privileges for more or less sixty years. The Christians got this privilege under the Constitution of 1935. The Commencement of this benefit of special reservation practically began in the year 1937 when the Act came into operation. Unfortunately for them, they had the benefit of this only for two years, for from 1939 practically up to

the present moment, or up to 1946, the Constitution was suspended and the Scheduled Castes were not in a position to enjoy the benefits of the privileges which were given to them in the 1931 Act, and it would have been quite proper, I think, and generous on the part of this House to have given the Scheduled Castes a longer term with regard to these reservations. But as I said, it was all accepted by the House. It was accepted by Mr. Nagappa and Mr. Muniswamy Pillai, and all these members, if I may say so-I am not making any complaint were acting on the other side, and I think it is not right now to go back on these provisions. If at the end of the ten years the Scheduled Castes find that their position has not improved or that they want further extension of this period, it will not be beyond their capacity or their intelligence to invent new ways of getting the same protection which they are promised here."

Assault on Reservation

The first assault on reservation was made in the year 1961 when the double member constituencies both for Parliament and Assemblies were abolished. In the Second General Elections held in the year 1957, late Shri V. V. Giri was defeated in a double member constituency and both the S C candidates were declared elected from the general as well as from reserved seats. Accordingly, a bill was introduced by the Government in the Lok Sabha in February 1961 to abolish the double member constituencies.

It will be interesting to know how some outspoken Members of Parliament had reacted to the said bill in the Lok Sabha:

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: "For the first time I heard of the breaking up of the plural member constituencies when we were told that one of the caste Hindu ministers was defeated and both seats in a constituency were captured by the Scheduled Caste members. According to the present set of things the Scheduled Caste candidates are privileged in the sense that in double member constituencies, if they are very popular and work better, they can capture both the seats. This was done once. As soon as this was done, I had a lurking fear that perhaps the caste Hindus would come forward with some proposals."

Mr. Deputy Speaker : "Would they not be able to contest from the general constituency" ?

Shri Mahavir Tyagi : "They will, but previously, in one attempt they could get both and when they did there were some fears lurking that the constituencies might be split up because it was an extra privilege given to them by the Constitution. They will now be deprived of that privilege. The Scheduled Caste people in each Constituency are hardly 10 to 12 percent. In a double member constituency, they would not be about 40 percent-20 from this side and 20 from the other side. But even when the percentage remains the same, they had the benefit of bargaining as Scheduled Castes because of the increase in their numbers. That strength will now be lost,

If there is a Scheduled Caste representative from a single member constituency which has about 80 percent caste Hindus, he may be Scheduled Caste genuinely born of a Scheduled Caste mother, but he will really be a representative of the 80 percent caste Hindus. It will be funny to call him a Scheduled Caste representative because 80 per cent of the people, non Scheduled Castes, have exercised their right of choice. There are a candidate coming from a single member constituency is basically are primarily a representative of the non-scheduled caste people."

Shri B.C. Kamble: "Reservation of seat means, if there is a plurality of seats, that is to say. If there are seats amounting to more than two or three then, out of two or three or four seats, one has to be reserved. When there is only one seat in one single member constituency, what is to be reserved. In fact this goes against the very spirit of the Poona pact out of which originated the principle of reservation of seats. Therefore, if you say now after a long, period of veer when Gandhiji's fast is over-that we will have single member separate constituencies, it means that this is the first step forward for probably making them demand a separate electorate."

Shri Khadilkar: "Therefore, I would appeal to the Law Minister that while looking at the Bill it looks innocent out it if you look at it from this angle, if you want to abolish the double member constituencies the logical process would be to abolish reservations.

(LS, Deb, Vol. 114-20 Feb. 1961 Col. 428)

Article 438 of the Constitution provides for appointment of a special Officer to look after the interest of the S.C. & S.T.

The said Special Officer was appointed by the President of India on the 18th November, 1950 and was designated as the Commissioner

for SCs/STs, and the commissioner submitted his annual reports to the Parliament containing most valuable recommendations and his critical assessment of various activities of the Central & State Governments for the welfare of SC and ST. Till May 1967, the Commissioner, besides his staff in Delhi, had 17 Regional offices—practically one for each State with the requisite supervisory clerical and other staff.

On one fine morning (3rd June, 1967) all the Regional Offices of the Commissioner were abolished. This was an assault by the Government on an institution provided in the Constitution for the safeguard of the SC and ST. The then Commissioner for SC and ST Shri S.C. Sengupta had to pay a heavy price for his protest. He was hunted out from the post of commissioner just after 8 months of assumption of office against a tenure of 3 years. The Parliamentary committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes took a strong note of this and made the following observations in its first report in November, 1969.

“The Committee are firmly of the view that by abolishing the field organisation of the Commission, the Government have not only crippled the organisation of the Commissioner and deprived him of his eyes and ears in the country but have also denigrated his office, his status, his authority and his capacity to discharge his constitutional obligations.” The Government did not accept the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee to restore the Regional Offices of the Commissioner for SC & ST.

The Janata Government tried to improve upon the things. They moved a comprehensive bill in the Lok Sabha in the year 1979 to change the status of the ‘Special Officer’. The designation was changed from ‘Commissioner for Scheduled Castes Scheduled Tribes’ to ‘Commission for SC/ST’ and restored his Regional Offices. But before the bill could be passed the Lok Sabha was dissolved.

Anti-SC/ST Person appointed as Commissioner in the Govt.

In the year 1966, one Shri N. K. Bose, a senior Central Govt. official issued a press statement in Gauhati (Assam) demanding abolition of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Shri D. Basumatari, Member, Lok Sabha (Cong.) from Assam

raised this issue in the Lok Sabha in the same year and demanded disciplinary action against Mr. Bose. However, strangely enough instead of taking any action against him, Mr. Bose was appointed as Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on 1st June, 1967 in place of Shri S.C. Sengupta referred to above. Shri N.K. Bose gave two wonderful recommendations to the National Integration Council in its meeting held at Srinagar in the year 1968. He suggested in writing that in order to bring the SCs & STs in the mainstream of the nation "The students of SCs & STs should not be allowed to study after matriculation and reservation should be abolished in all spheres." These recommendations were kept secret, but somehow I got a copy of those. Eighty (80) members of Parliament belonging to all political parties wrote a strong letter to the Prime Minister in the year 1969 demanding dismissal of Shri Bose from the post of Commissioner for SCs & STs for those nasty recommendations. The people will, however, be surprised to know that instead of removing Shri Bose from the post of Commissioner, he was rewarded by giving him extension after completion of his tenure of three years.

Lokur Committee

A Committee on the revision of the list of SCs and STs was formed on 1.6.65 under the chairmanship of Shri B. N. Lokur, Secretary to the Government of India, with two other members, also government officers. The Chairman and the other two members were to undertake this task in addition to their full time duties in their Ministries or Departments. The Committee had to advise the Central Government on the proposal received by Government for revision of the existing lists of SCs/STs and had to furnish its report within three months from the date of its appointment.

None of the three officers belonged to SCs or ST. While performing their normal full time duties they furnished their report one week in advance of the scheduled period. Without looking into their actual social, educational and economic conditions, the Committee recommended the exclusion of more than 50 castes and more than 60 tribes from the Scheduled lists. Para 50 of the Lokur Committee Report says:

"It is imperative that the more advanced communities in the lists are gradually descheduled. To accelerate the pace of rescheduling,

a deadline may perhaps be fixed when the lists of SCs & STs are totally dispersed with.”

I condemned this report and fortunately the report was not accepted by the Parliament.

Hostility of the Govt. to its own Committee

Another committee on untouchability under the Chairmanship of Shri L. Elayaperumal with Sarvshri B. K Gaikward, MP, C. Dass MP, SM Siddaya, MP and others, both officials and non-officials as members was appointed by the Central Government on the 27th April 1965, presumably to get a report that untouchability does not exist any more in India and the economic condition of the SCs has since reached the desired level. But the Committee prepared a voluminous report consisting of 431 pages (printed) of large size, quite contrary to the expectation of the Govt.

Getting a clear indication of the nature of the report under preparation, the Government withdrew its staff and all official assistance, and even locked and sealed the Committee office. While submitting its report, the Chairman and other members of the Committee wrote on 30.1.69 in the introductory part of the report as follows:

“In the end, however, we very much regret to place on record that even though the Committee was set up by the Department of social welfare, there was practically very little cooperation from the Department. The indifferent and non-cooperative attitude of the Department gradually developed into a state of active hostility even. The Department closed the Committee office and even sealed the rooms. In fact we had to conduct the meetings at the residence of a colleague and had to arrange privately for cyclostyling a considerable portion of the report at our personal expense “

However, the matter did not end there. Shri R. Achutan, a member of this Committee was brought from Kerala to Delhi by air, was promised a grant of Rs 2 lakh in the name of a school and induced to sign a dissenting note for the said Committee. Both the application for grant of aid in the name of the School and the dissenting note were dictated by a senior Government officer, were typed on the same machine by a government stenographer and bore the same date viz 24th January, 1969. The opening para of the dissenting note says, “I do not fully agree with the observations of my colleagues in

the Committee that there is acute problem of untouchability in the country and that this is the main handieap in the development of scheduled castes. I am not saying that there is no untouchability in the country. I mean only that economic and educational development of S.C. is the major problem and untoucability is only a secondary one,”

In this connection, it may not be out of place to mention here that Shri Achutan was a member of the Committee from the very beginning and in the words of Shri Elyperumal,” “On no occassion did he (Shri Achutan) disagree with any of the views and proposals of the Committee. Even when the Committee submitted its interim report it was clearly brought out that untoucability existed in acute form in many States convered till then and Shri Achutan had signed that report without any disagreement.”

Committee on Welfare of SC & ST

After a great tussle in the Lok Sabha, a Parliamentary Committee on the welfare of SC & ST was formed in the year 1968. This Committee did a commendable job and submitted several valuable reports containing various recommendations for the uplift of these downtrodden communities.

Soon after the dissolution of the 4th Lok Sabha, a decision was taken to abolish this Committee. Consequently, elections to other Parliamentary Committees were held in early June 1971 and there was no notification for this Committee. Again the SC/ST members had to fight hard to get the Committee revived. But significantly, a very important item namely “To consider generally and to report to both Houses on all matters concerning the welfare of SC & ST which fell within the purview of the Union Government including the administration of Union territories” was dropped from the list of its functions.

Through all these committees and officers, Government wanted to get doctored reports with an intention to abolish reservation but so far it has failed. All the details given above show that the Government has never been sincere in the implementation of reservation. The insincerity of the Govt. is evident from the bitter fact that even after 33 years of independence the representation of SCs & STs is negligible both in Central and State services. The following statistics reveal a grim picture of their representation in services.

Central services as on 1.1.79

SCs as against 15%

reserved quota

Class I 2.36%

Class II 4.23%

STs as against 7.5%

reserved quota

0.54%

0.97%

The position in the nationalised banks and public undertakings is still Worse:

State Services

Name of State	Class I		Class II		As on
	SC	ST	SC	ST	
Orissa	0.65%	0.41%	1.03%	0.51%	1.4.77
M. Pradesh	1.9%	0.6%	2.25%	0.05%	1 1.78
W. Bengal	1.81%	0.33%	2 65%	0 58%	31.3.74
Gujarat	4.1%	1.6%	3.38%	1.28%	1.1.78

Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Rajasthan Tamil Nadu, U.P. etc. have not cared to supply the required information to the Commissioner for SC & ST from whose latest report these figures have been quoted.

Anti Reservationist Attitude of PM

A news appeared on page 3 of the Daily Hind Samachar, an Urdu paper and the Punjab Kesari, a Hindi Daily of Jullundur in Punjab dated 14.1 .80 that the Prime Minister gave an assurance to a deputation of non-Scheduled Castes Scheduled Tribes organisation led by one Shri G. Hari Swamy that she was prepared to withdraw reservation in promotion provided the opposition parties agree to that. A similar news appeared in those days in Malayalam newspapers in Kerala. These reports were not contradicted by the Prime Minister or her Secretariat in the press.

While intervening in the discussion on Gujarat issue in the Rajya Sabha on 25.2.81 the Prime Minister said:

“We have moral obligations as well as the constitutional responsibility to advance the educational interest of the weaker sections in our society and in particular the scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes. But naturally we must ensure that merit does not

suffer and no section feels that it is being discriminated”.

Again the Prime Minister, while addressing a symposium of the Lawyer Members of her party in parliament, said on the 16th March, 1981, “The reservation policy itself was not a good thing. It should be worked in such a manner that genuine meritorious students did not suffer and discriminated against. If the meritorious ones did not get a chance, they would go abroad resulting in brain drain. This again would pose a major problem. The nation would ultimately be loser and we will have to depend on people from abroad.” (Indian Express, dt. 17.3.81)

The Prime Minister’s above statements gave renewed boost to the Gujarat agitations. Dr. Murgesh Vaishnav, President of the action committee of the agitating medicos said, “We would like to congratulate her for taking bold stand on the reservation issue. We particularly welcome her observation that the meritorious students should not suffer due to reservation and that this policy (of reservation) is not good in itself.” (Indian Express, dt 18.3.81)

There were loud protests against these statements of the Prime Minister from the opposition benches both in the Rajya Sabha and in the Lok Sabha. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee declared in the Lok Sabha on the 18th March 1981 that the above statements of the Prime Minister were a clever attempt some what inclined towards the other side. He emphasised that the country could not be administered with cleverness but with character and with a set of values. He declared that the ruling party would have to decide the issue boldly and with the cooperation of all.

He also declared in his Presidential address at the BJP National Council held recently at Cochin that justice should be done to the weaker sections. To say that merit should not be ignored does not lead us any where. The rationale of reservation is that the sections that have been neglected and exploited for centuries must be treated in a manner so as to raise them to the level of the rest of society, and, therefore, for some time and to some extent, shortcomings in respect of merit have to be overlooked. It would be a pity if the abatement of the agitation in Gujarat makes us indifferent to this very grave problem. Instead of rushing to dig a well only when a fire actually breaks out, let us apply ourselves to evolving a long term plan with respect to this question of national importance.

The BJP is of the firm opinion that the rationale which made

the Constituent Assembly favour reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes still holds. The reservation is a historical need, constitutional obligation and national commitment and as such it must continue and the Central Government should pass an act to ensure its speedy and proper implementation. The reservation policy, both in educational institutions and services, varies from State to State. Immediate action should also be taken to have a uniform policy of reservations throughout the country.



National Executive

Gandhinagar **9 October, 1985**

Working Group Report

- Ideological
- Organisational
- Agitational
- Constructive
- Electoral

Mr. President,

The National Executive of the BJP at its meeting held at Calcutta on 15, 16 and 17th March, 1985 constituted a twelve member Working Group. The Working Group was entrusted with the twin task of reviewing the Party's functioning, achievements and shortcomings during the past five years and to draw up a five year Action Plan for the future on all fronts—ideological, organisational, agitational, constructive and electoral. The report was to be submitted by 15th May, 1985. However, since the Working Group decided to obtain a larger feedback for preparing a comprehensive report, more time was needed to complete the assignment.

In the first meeting of the Working Group held in Delhi on 2nd and 3rd April, a Questionnaire (Annexure-1) to be despatched to prominent workers of the Party was framed. Accordingly, about 4000 copies of the Questionnaire were sent to state offices for onward transmission to various activists. The document was also directly mailed from the Central Office to the members of the National Council and some others. Unfortunately, all the despatches did not reach their destination, presumably due to malfunctioning of the postal department.

Besides sending the Questionnaire, four Sub-Groups were constituted to tour different states. These teams went round the country and tried to assess the mood of the main functionaries of the state units, intellectuals, friends, and supporters of the Party.

In all, 549 Questionnaires were received duly filled and twenty separate notes were also sent to us dealing with various aspects of the

Questionnaire. This, however, cannot be considered as a satisfactory response to the Questionnaire. The touring Sub-Groups met about a thousand friends personally and held discussions on various aspects with them.

From the preparation of the draft Questionnaire to the finalisation of this report, the Working Group met five times in Delhi. Discussions were held with the Party President and other senior leaders as well. We are sorry that due to the constraints of time schedule we could not avail of the opportunity of being benefited by the views of some functionaries of our Party.

The Working Group has compiled this report on the basis of the suggestions received in response to its Questionnaire and opinions expressed during group meetings and interviews. The document in the present shape is the outcome of prolonged deliberations amongst its members.

The spirit behind this document has been to bring to focus those questions which have been uppermost in the minds of the Party workers and supporters and to present solutions therefor as they emerged during the course of our survey. In this light the recommendations made in this report should be taken as suggestions for the future working of the Party. The report is not an outcome of a referendum, but is in a sense an attempt to reflect the views of as large a cross-section as was feasible.

This perhaps is the unique case in the history of Indian political parties when such an extensive effort has been made for self-introspection and analysis by any Party. This goes certainly to the credit of the BJP that it took a bold decision and entrusted to the Working Group the task of presenting a frank report. The decision has in fact been widely acclaimed both within and outside Party circles. It is often said that the style in which a sportsman plays the game is only a reflection of his personality; this total personality is revealed by the manner in which he faces the defeat. The BJP has accepted its defeat at the hustings in good grace. But defeatism and despondency are not in the grains of our Party. We, therefore, accept the challenge of defeat and make a firm resolve to transform it into a future victory. This churning of ideas will definitely help us in moving towards this goal.

The Working Group, fully conscious of its limitations and in a spirit of humility presents this report on Analysis, Ideology, Electoral

strategy, Organisational and other issues to the President, for the consideration of the National Executive.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to express on behalf the Working Group our sincerest gratitude to the Party President for entrusting us with such an important task. Despite our best efforts, there are certain shortcomings in this report and I owe an apology for that.

The Working Group also wishes to thank those intellectuals and experts who despite their busy schedule gave us a sympathetic ear and also offered numerous inspiring ideas and suggestions.

Thanks are also due to those Party colleagues whose valuable contributions have formed the basis of this document. I do believe that they will take a generous view if we have not been able to incorporate their suggestions in the manner they were worded.

Personally, I am grateful to all the members of the Working Group whose labours have produced this report and who spared their valuable time and energy for completing this task and never made me feel about my limitations.

Yours sincerely,
sd –
Krishanlal Sharma,
Convenor,
Working Group

Report 1

1. This Working Group was set up by the Party President at Calcutta National Executive Meeting. This setting up of the Group made some feel that it has been done so in the background of the results of the recent elections. The Party President at the said Calcutta meet in his opening

remarks had made it very clear that the Party should make an indepth study of the causes of its failure and should adopt effective ways of removing the short-comings and drawbacks, in the background of his observation that “in 1980 Bombay Session of the Party, it was felt that BJP should be developed as an alternative to Cong. (I), but today after five years we find ourselves miles away from the objective.”

2. The National Executive in its resolution significantly stated – “on April 6, 1985 the BJP will complete five years of its existence. That would be an appropriate occasion for stocktaking. The National Executive welcomes the President’s proposal to set up a Working Group which would review the Party’s functioning, achievements and short-comings and recommend correctives. Let this Group also draw up a 5 year plan of action on all fronts – organ – isational, agitational, constructive and electoral – which can galvanise the Party and make it an effective instrument of political and, socio-economic change.”
3. Both the Party President’s address and the National Executive’s resolution dispel any mistaken impression that the task entrusted to this Group was to prepare a postmortem report of recently held elections. In fact the task is to suggest ways and means in the background of last five years’ experience to make the Party a powerful and vibrant political instrument to face various challenges including the electoral challenge successfully.

This exercise was to have been taken up much earlier when the leadership found that the growth graph of our Party after 1983 was found not going further up. But as there was a constant threat of a mid-term poll this could not be taken up earlier.

President’s two Questions

Shri Vajpayee in his opening remarks had posed the following two questions to the Party:

1. Whether the Party’s defeat was because of our decisions to merge Jana Sangh with Janata party in 1977 and withdraw from Janata Party in 1980? Were these two decisions wrong?

2. Should BJP go back and revive the Bharatiya Jana Sangh?

The Working Group is of the view that these two questions need to be clarified at the very outset.

The history of the formation of Bharatiya Jana Sangh under the inspiring leadership of late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjeeji in 1951 is well-known. The mantle of guiding the course of the Party fell upon Pt. Deendayalji after Dr. Mookerjeeji's martyrdom in 1953 in Kashmir. Under Deendayalji's leadership and guidance, the JS grew from strength to strength and carved out for itself a position in Indian politics as a nationalist party with dedicated and disciplined cadres. After Deendayalji's death in 1966 the progress continued. But the political situation started undergoing a qualitative change from 1971 onwards. The leadership of the Party was even then engaged in finding ways and means to meet these newer challenges. The strongest challenge came when the Emergency was proclaimed by Smt. Indira Gandhi. The 20 months' period of Emergency and what happened during those days and how the Government trampled under their feet the very basis of our Constitution and what all it stood for, brought about a vast change in the very texture of Indian politics which was positively detrimental to the orderly progress through democratic process.

Everybody knows that Janata Party was formed in this background and out of the challenges thrown up by the Emergency.

It is needless for this Group to go into the details of the reasons for and the circumstances in which we had to leave that party and form the BJP. Obviously, the issue of dual membership came as a last straw on the camel's back.

Further, it must also be borne in mind that the decision to merge Jana Sangh into Janata Party was taken in a delegates' session at Delhi specially called for that purpose and equally the decision to come out of Janata Party to form BJP was also taken at a specially convened session in Delhi itself. It is also worthy of note that the delegates at the latter session were asked to suggest a name for the Party. Out of hundreds who responded to it, only a few—less than a dozen persons—had suggested for naming the party again as Jana Sangh.

With this in background, in the considered opinion of the Working Group, the answers to the President's queries are: that the Party had taken a correct decision when it decided to merge Jana

Sangh in Janata Party, a wise decision when it decided to come out of Janata Party to form BJP and a right decision when it chose to be BJP.

This Group would like to emphasise that, we are very much proud of Jana Sangh heritage; we benefitted by our experience when we were in the Janata Party and that we will march ahead by building up BJP, towards our cherished objectives.

1980 Situation

It is worthwhile to recall the Indian political scene of April, 1980, when as a result of the elections to Lok Sabha, Cong. (I) had succeeded in coming back to power. In 1977 the Janata Party secured 295 seats out of 405 contested and had 42.1% of valid votes polled as its share. The same party in 1980 contested 431 seats and secured only 18.93% of valid votes bagging 31 seats out of which 14 came over to BJP at the time of its formation. So 1980 elections saw the rout of all opposition parties, and credibility of all opposition parties was at its nadir. The press and public opinion at that time was that no credit-worthy opposition party was possible for the next decade or two and because of that they felt that Cong. (I) and Smt. Indira Gandhi had acquired an unassailable position for the next 20 to 25 years. This was the political mood at that time.

Achievements

Glimmer of Hope

It was while the country was in this mood that the BJP was founded. The growth of the Party was quite fast and it looked as if it was racing against time to catch up with the time lost. Strenuous efforts of leaders and workers of BJP took the message of the Party to all parts of the country as well as to different sections of people. Organisational elections held within a short period of 8 months and duly elected committees and leaders were carrying on the work. Bombay conference came as a big surprise to friends and critics alike. A Party which was looked down upon as an opposition party to be counted out of the race, one which was expected by some to take a long time to emerge as a potential challenger, emerged in a giantlike appearance

creating awe and respect in the minds of all. This singular success of the session made the BJP emerge on the political scene, in the words of Shri M.C. Chagla, 'like a glimmer of hope'. In the resolution adopted at the National Council at Cochin on 27th April, 1981, the Party rightly assessed the reaction of the people to our Bombay Session when we stated therein that 'critics and admirers alike of our Party took note of the session, described it as a landmark in recent political history and conceded that the BJP had immense potential for the future'.

In a symposium titled 'The challenge of 1981' published by Times of India's Sunday Review (18 January, 1981), Chagla wrote — "There is just a glimmer of hope which is beginning to show itself and that is the extraordinary strength which this new party Bharatiya Janata Party has shown. And if the Party goes on from strength to strength and receives the support of the people from all over the country, we might at least have a democratic alternative to Indira's Government.

Thus within a short period of eight months BJP did succeed in bringing about a basic change in the attitude of the people towards opposition as such. From a mood of despair and despondency regarding opposition parties in particular, BJP succeeded in converting it to a 'glimmer of hope' for possibly providing a 'democratic alternative to Smt. Indira's Govt.' This indeed was a grand achievement of BJP.

By-elections

BJP's success in a number of by-elections in many states fighting on its own strength is to be recognised. We won Baroda City (Gujarat), Hiranagar (J&K), Indore (M.P.), Sagar and Jabalpur (both in M.P.) and Naroda and Limbdi in Gujarat and Khunti, a tribal seat in Bihar. Significant also was our winning in Himayatnagar in Hyderabad City in Andhra Pradesh defeating Telugu Desam which had just then been swept into power.

Towards the South

Another significant achievement of BJP has been its success in expanding not only its organisational network in four southern states of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu but also in securing our electoral breakthrough in Karnataka and Andhra. BJP was looked upon as a Party of the North, but because of the intensive efforts

made by the leaders as well as workers of the Southern region, the Party can no longer be called a Party of the North.

Widening Base

BJP has expanded its base to rural areas too in many states. Similarly, it has spread its work amongst various sections of the society.

Another significant factor is that BJP has a special appeal to the youth. If there is any Party amongst the Opposition which attracts large number of youths and under whose banner and leadership, youths – both educated and uneducated, urban and rural – flock, it is Bharatiya Janata Party.

Internal Democracy

While all the parties have only nominated ad hoc committees, it is only BJP, ever since its inception, which has been holding regular organisational elections and has leaders and committees duly elected from Panchayat level to National level. BJP's success in ending ad-hocism and setting up an elected organisational infrastructure from the lowest to the highest level has had a catalytic impact on the general political scene.

Chain of Achievements

During these five years, BJP has succeeded in being recognised by all as the only organised Party. It has acquired a built-in resilience. BJP is the only Party which has laid down a Code of Conduct for its elected representatives to State legislatures and Parliament and which has seen to its scrupulous adherence by persons concerned. It is equally significant to note, that inspite of appeal to other parties including Congress (I) to come forward and co-operate in drawing up an agreed Code of Conduct for all MPs and MLAs irrespective of Party affiliations, there was no response. Thus BJP alone has positively contributed to the orderly functioning of parliamentary democracy. BJP is the only Party which has been practically free from the malady of defection which is an achievement by itself especially in days of rampant defections.

Shortcomings

The Working Group during the course of its exercise came across certain shortcomings. Unless the Party take note of these shortcomings and initiates remedial steps it will be difficult for the Party to grow to its full measure and achieve its ultimate objective.

The shortcomings were:

1. A communication gap between the leadership level and the grass-root level.
2. Lack of political training in a systematic manner to educate the workers on political, economic, ideological and organisational matters.
3. Our stand on Punjab has been resolute opposition to Anandpur Sahib Resolution, but continuing insistence on firm action against terrorism, endorsement of army action in Amritsar, but strong condemnation of anti-Sikh violence following Mrs. Gandhi's murder. However, the Party could not mobilize the public opinion in Punjab effectively to combat terrorism and its stand was appreciated neither by the Hindus in areas concerned nor by the Sikhs. The stand was patriotic and sound and actuated purely by national interests, but electroally it proved very costly.
4. Our inability to capture power in Himachal Pradesh in 1982 and in Delhi in 1983 greatly upset and affected the morale of our workers and dampened their enthusiasm.
5. Our efforts towards electoral understanding with other democratic opposition parties and particularly the formation of NDA was understood to mean that we could not do much without cooperation of other parties and that, therefore, we had gone in for soft options. This was further construed as going in for opportunistic and unworkable alliances.
6. Lack of agitations at national level on national issues like Kashmir Resettlement Bill etc.
7. The poor response from women and Party units' failure to pay special attention and care towards this section.
8. Party's decision to support Janata Party in Karnataka in the background of that party's negative attitude towards us in Himachal Pradesh, betrayed an anxiety to remove Congress (I) from power to the extent of being unconcerned about the Party's own interests. Many felt that it was

because of this approach that we had denied ourselves proportionate gains in Indian politics today.

Factors To Recognise

Having had a sharp look into ourselves for the first five years of Party's existence, we now turn to the coming five years. How to go about in Indian political field is the prime concern now. But before going into it, it will be wise on the part of the Party to take note of certain factors that compel our attention.

Replica of India

Our country is a huge country. It has a population of more than 700 million. It has people following various ways of worship, speaking different languages, living in thousands of towns and cities and lakhs of villages, enjoying different climates and such other variations. To provide leadership to such a huge population and lead them in the right direction, making them happy and satisfied in their aspirations and expectations, drawing out their best for the progress of the nation as a whole, and to see that right kind of social, economic and political environment is maintained in the country in order to enable the growth of the individual as well as the society of which he is an integral part to the maximum in all respects, is a stupendous task. If this is sought to be achieved, then one can visualise the tremendous efforts that are to be put in by lakhs and lakhs of persons dedicated to this. This can become possible only if BJP becomes a mini India by itself, a replica of India—not the present India with all its apparently insurmountable problems and difficulties in all fields of activities, but a replica of India of our vision—an India of Tomorrow. This will give an idea of enormity of the problem of building up an allembracing party organisation to lead us towards this end.

Character of Electorate Changed

As a political party and especially functioning under the parliamentary democratic system based on adult franchise, it becomes imperative for us to keep a close watch not only on the change of mood of the electorate, but also on the change of character

and composition of the electorate. From 1952 to 1967 general elections the electorate consisted only of those who belonged to pre-independence generations. But in 1971 general elections, persons born after Independence exercised their franchise for the first time. The percentage of this post-independence electorate has been increasing ever since and it can be reasonably assumed that they will form not less than fifty per cent of the total electorate by the time the country faces the next General Elections. This has certainly brought about a qualitative change in the character of the Indian electorate. So if BJP is to appeal to this ever growing electorate in order to seek their support and co-operation, then, those factors that appeal to them will have to be identified and analysed. Therefore, BJP's ideological, political, social, economic, organisational, electoral, emotional appeal and approach should be such as to be in consonance with the aspirations and expectations of this new generation of electorate also.

Electoral Response

The next factor to be borne in mind is the level of electoral success we had achieved during the BJS days and in BJP. This will give an idea about the all round efforts that ought to be made in the next fifty months or so. It is incumbent on the Party to study the percentage of votes polled by us as BJS from 1952 to 1971, as part of Janata Party in 1977 and 1980 and as BJP in 1984. BJS secured 3.1 % in 1952, 4.9% in 1957, 6.44% in 1962, 9.4% in 1967 and 7.4% in 1971. Janata Party had secured 42.1% of votes polled and won 295 seats in 1977. Since BJS contingent had secured nearly 13 of 295 seats, it can be assumed that it secured $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ of 42.1% also. On this reckoning it can be taken that the former BJS had secured a minimum of 14% of the total votes in 1977. The percentage of votes secured by Janata Party in 1980 was 18.93%. Applying the above method it can be assumed that the former BJS secured 8.6% of polled votes in 1980. In 1984, percentage of votes secured by BJP was 7.66% which was higher than that of other opposition parties. Incidentally, it will be interesting to note that we secured 8.60% of valid votes in 1980 when there was an anti-Janata feeling. And in 1984 when there was a giant sympathy wave, on account of the murder of Smt. Indira Gandhi, which swept the entire country, BJP lost roughly only 1% of its votes even in this extraordinary situation. The BJP's present vote of 7.6% was the same as BJS's 7.4% in 1971. This reveals another interesting fact that the

notion that there has been a very serious erosion in our vote bank is not quite correct. No doubt, there has been an erosion but it has been compensated by new voters to BJP. Although from seats' point of view, we had gone back to 1952, from the percentage of votes' point of view we are as in 1971. Hence, but for this extraordinary circumstance of Smt. Gandhi's murder and its consequent sympathy wave, our votes could have gone up anywhere between 10 to 15% keeping in mind the enlarging circle of sympathisers and supporters and our success in so many by-elections.

So assuming that our ability to secure votes gets fixed at a maximum limit of 15% of the total votes polled, then it can be seen that if we are to secure power the Party should be in a position to secure at least 42% of total votes polled which Janata Party got in 1977, if not 49% by Cong. (I) in 1984. Leaving aside a margin of 10% vote swing at the time of elections for various reasons, then, we must have an additional 22% to 25% of votes polled. How to go about securing this 20% to 25% of votes must be definitely borne in mind while deciding upon our ideological, organisational, electoral etc. approach for the coming 5 years.

Ideology

The distinctive features of a political party are manifest in its organisational structure, its style of functioning, the degree of idealism in its workers and its ideology. It is ideology which generates the necessary fervour in a political activist and sustains his idealism and commitment to the cause. The role of ideology in shaping the personality of a party is thus well recognised. In fact a political party shall continue to have a separate identity so long as it is able to project its own ideology. The statement that BJP is a party with a difference means that the Party, amongst other things, possesses an ideology which is not fully shared by others. In ultimate analysis the strength and spread of a political party will also depend upon its ideological appeal. A party must, therefore, keep on reviewing whether the basic premises of its ideology are capable of resolving the various conflicts which confront the society at that point of time and also whether they are properly understood by those for whom they are meant. With this end in view, the Working Group tried to assess (a) to what extent during the past five years the party workers were

able to assimilate the Party ideology and how far could they carry it to the masses, and (b) what further steps should be taken, including the updating of basic policy documents, so that the Party ideology is more clearly understood by different sections of the society?

From the analysis of the views expressed before the Working Group, it appears that after having adopted the two basic documents viz., the Five Commitments (FC) and the Economic Policy Statement (EPS) very little attention was paid to convey their importance right up to the grass root levels. Except in a few states, regular ideological discussions, so necessary to sharpen the basic concepts, were very sparingly organized. Literature explaining Party position on various issues in simple language in the background of these two documents, was also not available. Consequently the Party workers were not fully equipped to carry the Party ideology to our supporters and sympathizers.

In the opinion of the Working Group this has been a major shortcoming and we recommend that regular study camps be organised at Central, State and District levels. We would also recommend creation of a cell at Central and State levels to oversee the ideological training of Party workers and preparation of position papers.

The opinions expressed in response to the questions regarding the main ideological thrust of the Party and the need for updating the basic documents (FC and EPS) had a very wide amplitude. Suggestions have been advanced to incorporate a few more commitments, e.g., *Antyodaya*, establishment of a society free from exploitation and based on equality, modernism and application of science and technology for eradicating poverty, upliftment of *Deenjan* (the downtrodden) etc. The view, that the existing commitments are sufficient, but the documents (FC and EPS) are required to be updated, finds wide favour. A few suggestions to scrap all the commitments except one, i.e., Nationalism, have also been received. In general, it has been emphasised that the Party should adopt Integral Humanism as its creed. It has also been stressed that the Party should enunciate its ideology including the commitments in a manner which reflects the distinctive BJP approach.

There is then another aspect of the question. While the Party workers have recognised the validity of the Janata experiment as a

logical corollary of a political situation, they have also recognised that the subsequent formation of the BJP was a step in the right direction. But by and large, the adherents of the political movement which culminated in BJP have not been able to identify the BJP ideology as a derivative of the political philosophy which they so assiduously formulated. Persistence of this hiatus during the past five years is yet another shortcoming in the domain of ideological training. In the opinion of the Working Group, incorporation of Integral Humanism as an ingredient of the Party ideology would go a long way to fill this void.

Five years ago when the BJP was formed, it had resolved to fulfil a national historic role with a full sense of responsibility and urgency. It had given a call to its workers to rededicate themselves for creating a national alternative to meet the crisis of Indian Society. Despite the massive majority of the ruling party in Parliament, the crisis is deepening every day. The need to have a national alternative is far more today than ever before. So is the need to formulate alternative ideology around which a national movement be built. Needless to point out that such an ideology can resolve the multi-dimensional crisis confronting mankind today. In this backdrop, the Working Group suggests that the following should form the basis for providing the main ideological thrust of the Bharatiya Janata Party.

The Scenario

Mankind today finds itself engulfed by an unprecedented crisis. The crisis has assumed global dimensions and envelopes almost all aspects of human life and environment. It encompasses our economy and ecology, our socio-economic institutions and our politics and ethics. In fact, human society today faces a very real threat of the destruction of civilisation and even extinction of life on this planet. This predicament of mankind which springs from growing economic anomalies, frightening social and moral pathologies is worse confounded by the fact that if the present trend of growth in industrial and agricultural production, pollution, population and indiscriminate consumption of non-renewable resources continues there is a possibility that our social and economic systems will collapse in about one hundred years, if serious amends are not initiated right now.

‘No country in the world, whether rich or poor is free from

stresses and strains. All nations of the world are troubled nations in a sense. They are unable to understand and diagnose the problems which plague them. Problems like degradation of natural and social environment, uneven distribution of income and wealth leading to the curious paradox of poverty amidst plenty and slums underneath the skyscrapers, loss of faith in values, traditions and institutions, monetary disorders like yawning inflation and mounting unemployment and numerous signs of social disruption, like rise in crime, violence, alcoholism, drug abuse, have become universal phenomena. The human mind today is perplexed by the enigma that with all the skills and sophisticated tools at their command the experts are not in a position to offer solutions to these problems.

The model and its Failure

Failure to provide effective solutions, in all probability, arises because a majority of the modern thinkers continue to analyse and examine individual problems without realising that the whole is not merely an aggregate of its components and that a change in one constituent of the complex of problems is bound to produce a change in the other.

There is a growing realisation, that the belief that all complex phenomena, social, biological or material, can be understood by reducing them to their constituent parts and considering the universe as a machine, has resulted in this predicament. This mechanistic view of nature in ultimate analysis leads to a reductionist or fragmented approach and accords sanction to the exploitation of nature and weaker sections by a superior mind. Roots of an exploitative society and various socio-economic systems and institutions perpetuating it, thus, lie in this defective perception of the world phenomena. The belief that life in society is a competitive struggle for existence also emanates from this perception and also the obsession for economic growth is a direct consequence of this approach.

This obsession with unlimited growth, both in the capitalist and the communist systems has obliterated many of their distinguished features. The distinction between the two seemingly different systems is fast vanishing because most of the socioeconomic models, whether non-Marxists, or Marxists believe in the reductionist or fragmented approach. They have become inadequate to resolve most of the modern conflicts.

Integral Approach

In the second half of the present century, scientists began to realise that the mechanistic view of the nature suffers from several limitations. Modern science is now seriously engaged in scrutinising many of its tenets. The new approach emerging from these efforts points out towards an 'unbroken wholeness' pervading right from sub-atomic to galactical phenomena. This 'wholistic' view means that each part in some sense contains the whole. According to this perception the physical world is structured according to the principle that "whole is enfolded in each of its parts."

According to this perception 'Whole' and 'Part' are not in mutual conflict and the social system is in a state of dynamic balance, each part enjoying autonomy – while functioning as a whole – and also submitting to the demands of the larger whole – and in this sense functioning as a part. Life, society, institutions are thus found to interact and influence each other.

Integral Humanism : An Alternative

The magnitude of the world crisis and the failure of the reductionist approach to provide any tangible solution demands that a new paradigm be created to clear this impasse. Integral approach then remains the only alternative on which a new socio-economic order can be successfully constructed. Contrary to the mechanistic view, individuals in this approach are not parts of a social machine, but are representatives of the human society, in mutual and perpetual interaction with each other and nature. Human personality will thus occupy a central position in this approach. 'Integral Humanism', a concept which was enunciated by Pt. Deen Dayalji, can appropriately describe this 'unbroken wholeness' underlying between man and the ecosystem. The outcome of this approach is that no human problem can be solved without taking into account its interaction with social and natural environment.

The quintessence of Indian culture has been to recognise the basic unity in the diversity of the cosmic phenomena. Long back the ancient Indian genius had enunciated the principle *Yat Pinde Tad Brahmande* ('That' what is in whole is also in parts, or the 'part' and the 'whole' are manifestations of one and the same reality). Integral Humanism is thus at once in consonance

with Indian ethos. It confirms the basic Indian understanding of reality and is the extension of the tenets of Indian philosophy in building up a social order capable of resolving modern conflicts. Integral Humanism assures of a social order free from all kinds of exploitation. According to the integral approach, the relationship between the society (whole) and individuals (part) is symbiotic. They sustain each other. Since each part contains the whole, the exploitation of a part by the whole or of one part by the other is also ruled out. The essential similarity or equality of the constituents and the fraternal bonds which keep them within the system can easily be recognised on the basis of this approach. Belief in Integral Humanism means belief in a social order based on equality and free from exploitation.

This new approach accepts democracy and decentralisation as a natural consequence of its tenets. The viability of the system depends upon the principle that while each constituent enjoys an autonomy within its domain, it also remains in a dynamic equilibrium with the entire system. Equal participation by each constituent in sustaining the system is thus an inherent attribute of the new paradigm. The democratic order which Integral Humanism envisages would lead to a complete decentralisation of political and economic power for the constituents. Fundamental rights, and their scope can also be deduced quite naturally from this model.

Human society is composed of various nations, which in their turn are constituted of social groups, communities and individuals. Nations, therefore, are a part of the vast human family and function as wholes for the individuals. They, according to the integral approach, are not creations of political compulsions but are conceived as the natural groupings of human beings through which the 'wholeness of the mankind' is manifested in a deeper and fuller sense. Each nation may be recognised as exhibiting some aspects of this wholeness in a striking manner. Nations, therefore, must maintain a balance and equilibrium amongst themselves so as to serve the well being of the entire mankind. A sense of nationalism thus releases immense energies to work for the development of fellow nations and also for the progress of mankind.

The interactions on spiritual plane between various groups and individuals may result in a variety of experiences which

may sometimes appear to be quite divergent. Different modes bound to exist. Any social order based on Integral Humanism will recognise this divergence as the manifestation of different aspects of one and the same cosmic spirit. The inescapable conclusion is that social and political institutions will always have to keep in mind that all religious experiences are to be equally respected. This is the positive aspect of secularism and is synonymous with the Indian tradition of *Sarva Dharma Sambhava*. It is in this sense that BJP has accepted positive secularism.

One of the major components of the global crisis is the prevailing economic disorder accompanied by a threatening environmental degradation. Solutions for these disruptions can be found within the framework of the integral approach provided it is realised that in a finite environment there is a limit to expansion. Equilibrium between various social and economic forces and tendencies, on the one hand, and the limited dimensions of our planet, on the other, is a must if mankind is to be really saved from the dangers of a catastrophe looming large. Unlimited growth in less than a third of world population and untold misery and dehumanising deprivation in the third world with environmental hazards all around are not solutions to this economic impasse. Technology must not serve the affluent nations alone. It must not lead to high degree of concentration of economic power which enables a few to exploit the many. Integral Humanism demands a technology with a human face. A technology which provides employment and bread to the hungry millions and economic system which is free from exploitation is a must if quality of life in our society is to be improved. In Indian context Gandhian approach to economy which aims at the decentralisation of power and regulating the production and patterns of consumption to ensure distributive justice represents the basic features of the integral humanist approach. Freedom, bread and employment along with an emphasis on a non-exploitative society are the main characteristics of this economic order.

Socialism all over the world has acquired different connotations. In India it is understood as a synonym to social justice. Socialism enshrined in Indian Constitution is thus a creed for the upliftment of the poor and the downtrodden. In this sense it is quite in line with Integral Humanism.

Belief in a non-exploitative system implies a social order based

on a set of norms and values. Human activity devoid of any values leads to a virtual collapse of the social system. Integral Humanism believes in a value-based society. Political activity without any commitment to a set of norms and values becomes merely a self-seeking game.

Modern state apparatus has become the most powerful instrument for transforming the society. If the quality of human life has to be improved and social justice is to be ensured, State must give top priority to the welfare of its people. A welfare state based on democracy and decentralised economy and belief in human values can bring about a socio-economic metamorphosis which is urgently needed in India and most parts of the world.

Recommendations

The Working Group, therefore, makes the following recommendations:

- (a) Integral Humanism should be the basic philosophy of the Party.
- (b) The objective of the Party should be to work for the rebuilding of our country on the basis of Indian Culture and tradition which is essentially integral in outlook, and to establish a political, social and economic democracy, guaranteeing equality of opportunity and liberty of person and freedom of belief to all its citizens so as to build a prosperous, powerful and united nation—progressive, modern and enlightened, and to be able to play its effective role in the comity of nations for the establishment of world peace.
- (c) The Party should adopt the following as its commitments:
 - (1) Nationalism and National Integration,
 - (2) Democracy,
 - (3) Gandhian Approach to socio-economic system, that is a society based on equality and freedom from exploitation (*Samata-Yukta* and *Shoshan-Mukta*),
 - (4) Positive-Secularism that is *Sarva Dharma Sambhava*, and
 - (5) Value-Based Politics.
- (d) In this background the Party documents (FC and EPS) be updated.

Electoral Strategy

The Bharatiya Janata Party, ever since its formation, has been consistently pursuing a pragmatic electoral strategy. Accordingly, the Party has been maintaining its separate identity, making sincere efforts for electoral adjustments with national democratic parties (barring the Cong. (I), the two Communist parties and the Muslim League) and for cooperating with the opposition parties both within and outside the Parliament and state legislatures on specific issues.

Following is the resume of various shortcomings in regard to the implementation of the above policy, brought to the notice of the Working Group in response to the Questionnaire and during the discussions.

1. Due to the ongoing efforts for opposition unity, workers started apprehending that merger with other parties was not completely ruled out.
2. The prolonged but futile parleys regarding seat adjustments and the fact that the parties arrived at a compromise in some places, but continued to be at loggerheads in the others, created confusion and irritation.
3. The efforts to seek adjustment with Lok Dal in 1982 Himachal Assembly elections and their subsequent failure damaged the Party prospects. We should have gone alone in those elections.
4. A large section of our workers and sympathisers did not look approvingly on the formation of the NDA.
5. Our unconditional support to the Janata Party in Karnataka did not benefit us.
6. Failure to achieve the desired success in BJP strongholds like Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and Rajasthan produced a feeling of frustration in our workers.

It also resulted in the percolation of a feeling of indifference about us in people's minds. It has also been pointed out that the seriousness with which electoral victories in those areas of influence should have been planned, resources, both human and material, should have been mobilised and the arrangements from polling to counting should have been made, was lacking both at the Central and State levels.

The 1984 Lok Sabha elections were held when the country was still under the trauma of the brutal murder of Smt. Gandhi. These were extraordinary elections contested under an extraordinary situation. In the opinion of the Working Group there is no room for any sense of defeatism or despondency due to the poor performance of the Party in these elections.

Another important factor leading to such poor performance was that the ongoing squabbles of the opposition parties did not lend any credibility to the idea of a Coalition Government at the Centre. But these cannot be the excuses to shun self-introspection so vital for the future growth of the Party.

It is the considered opinion of the Working Group that the voters in the country are in search of an alternative. Despite the huge majority of the ruling party in Parliament the void in politics persists. Indications are that wherever the opposition has been able to establish its credibility as a viable alternative it has been voted to power. It has also to be borne in mind that on issues of the unity of the country and a strong and stable Central Govt. the country is not in a mood to take any risk whatsoever.

As a matter of fact, right from the inception of the BJP, the country has been eagerly looking forward to its emergence as an instrument of change and a strong alternative based on principles. We must admit that we have belied their expectations. We must also admit that it is not the popular support which is wanting but our strong will to take initiative for becoming the pivotal point of the change in the country. The Party must catch up with the times and play its historic role for providing a credible national alternative.

In the opinion of the Working Group the following should form the future electoral strategy of the Party :

1. Immediate steps should be taken to organise all the 542

Lok Sabha seats and to make preparations for the next General Elections. Some States should be selected and be developed as areas of strong influence and Central and State leaders should concentrate on them.

2. Nothing should be done which raises apprehensions about the separate identity of the Party.
3. Our relations with other parties should be based on mutuality and reciprocity. Our experience of Karnataka shows that there is no place for altruism in politics.
4. Efficient election cells be constituted at Central and State levels.
5. Training for the management of elections be imparted to party cadres.

The Centre and State Election Committees should remain actively and continuously involved in the selection of candidates, charting of election strategy, managing the election campaign and disposing of the disputes arising during elections.

Report 2

A Organisation

Cadre based Mass Party

Every party likes to have an organisation that suits its purpose. BJP, too, has an organisation to serve its objectives.

We have succeeded in building up a cadre party. But this cadre party by itself will not enable us to reach our goal. Our being only a cadre party will limit our base to that extent. If we are to have a wide base then it should be only with the help and use of this cadre. We are to have a mass following so as to become a cadre based mass party. Apparently cadre base and mass base seem to be contradictory in terms. However, there can be a happy marriage between these two. The cadre while widening their base should also see that they become capable enough to provide leadership for the masses. Conscious

efforts should be made by the cadre to involve themselves more and more with the masses, by taking up their problems at various levels. They should also see that the masses in turn get involved in the programmes, agitations etc. organised by the Party.

Membership

Once BJP decides to have a mass base and mass following, then there will have to be conscious efforts to enrol members from all sections of society. While undertaking this task of enrolling members on a large scale, two factors compel our attention. At present as per our Party Constitution, membership is for two years and the fee is Re. 1 for the period and enrolment is done in the election year during the first four months. Although the enrolment of membership throughout the year is not prohibited in so many words, in practice many a unit have imposed the prohibition on themselves. This Working Group is of the view that in order to expand our base at a speedier pace, membership should not get confined to a limited period but should continue throughout the year. Naturally the question will be asked, which should be the cut off date for the purpose of elections. Keeping all this in mind, this Group is of the view that

1. There will be membership for the life time of member.
2. Those primary members who desire to be an active member or a voter in organisational elections will have to renew his or her membership every four years.
3. Membership fee shall be Rs. 2 for a four years term.
4. Membership Register shall be a continuing one, as and when new members are enrolled they are to be added to the Register.
5. Organisational elections will, however, be held once in two years.
6. Cut off date of membership for the purpose of organisational elections should be decided by National Executive on every occasion when elections are to be held.

This will spare the organisation from the burden of putting forth its efforts on a massive scale once in two years. This will enable the party to have the needed time and opportunity to spread out in amongst new areas and various sections of society and to enrol new members from amongst them. Organisational elections in between the four years term will not depend upon new membership register getting completed. The present time-table of elections require nearly 8 months to conduct elections and this can be reduced to a bare 3 or 4 months when no new membership register is needed. Once base register gets prepared additions and deletions, if any, by resignation, death or removal can be made and the Register will be ready at any given point of time.

Dynamic – who are

There is a feeling in the organisation that the number of persons who have become stay puts is slowly getting accumulated.

Even as running water gathers no moss, growing organisation gathers no such stay-puts. Some feel infusion of more and more young blood is one good anti-dote for this. Some others feel that those who have been in the organisation for a long number of years should yield their places to new. The Working Group is of the view that this matter should not be looked at from the angle of age. Growing organisation as ours needs the experience, expertise, skill and sound political acumen gathered through long years of service. Hence, talent, usefulness and their being active and available for any task to be entrusted by the Party should be the criteria on which a person's continuing in position in Party should be judged. It must be clearly borne in mind that just because one is a newcomer he should not be denied his rightful place in the organisation, while at the same time one cannot be considered as a better one to replace or displace an older and experienced member just because he is a newcomer. No talented person should go unnoticed nor his talents remain unutilised. This "spotting the talent" must be a continuous exercise in the organisation at all levels and every such person must have his place in the organisation and enough scope should be there for him to work out his talents. Further, if the pace of organisational functioning gets stepped up naturally those who

are unable to keep up to the pace will find themselves falling behind and fading slowly. Experience and youth should find a happy blend in the organisation.

The induction of youths below 35 years in committees at various levels should be taken up in all seriousness so much so that the representation of youths should not be less than 10%. The Group is also of the view that at each committee level efforts must be made to see that 20% of members should be new additions so that committees do not become static.

Workers as Leaders

Having more members in various sections of society in a representative capacity do not provide any leverage in that section. For this, either leaders of different social groups should be enrolled into BJP or such of those who are drawn to BJP from different sections of society are consciously shaped as leaders of these sections. Efforts in both these directions must be undertaken. By and large, many of these sections have a particular avocation to follow. If problems arise in pursuit of that particular avocation, the same should be taken up by our Party representatives belonging to that section. That will induce people of different social groups to look upon our workers as ones to lead them.

Morchas Must

It is in this context that the role of various Cells or Morchas comes into importance. A view was expressed that we should not have cells at all as that is not in consonance with our basic idea of one people. This view may be correct in its own way. But then it must be remembered that BJP is a Party that looks upon the entire people of this country as belonging to one nation. One country and one people have all along been our basic faith. Therefore, the creation of different cells does not mean that BJP divides the people or takes a compartmentalised look. It must never be forgotten that ours is a country having more than 700 million population divided on the basis of castes, communities, professions etc. Our efforts are bent towards unifying all. While

doing so, such problems that these sections have or such factors that stand in the way of perfect unification must be tackled and it can be done not by the organisation as a whole as it will have to attend to umpteen things simultaneously, but by those who can specially attend to them by virtue of their having some specialist knowledge and skill. Hence the organisation will stand to lose if it is to give up its cells. On the other hand, the need for having more cells to cover more sections has become necessary.

It is needless to stress that every one of the cells or Morchas that the Party sets up is an integral part of the Party and the functioning of each of these Cells and Morchas should be such as to be friction-free not only with the Party as a whole but also amongst themselves.

Further, these Cells are projections of the Party to penetrate those sections for which these Cells and Morchas have been set up. They are not only to attend to the problems of these people but also build up BJP's influence and image amongst these sections. These Cells and Morchas are not to compartmentalise the Party but to create channels for the steady flow of different sections of people into the Party. It therefore, becomes crystal clear that the Morchas and Cells cannot be independent, parallel or autonomous organisations but are part and parcel of the Party.

Kisan Cell

This requires no contradiction when we say that *kisans* and agricultural labour are the backbone of not only of our society but also of our economy. This huge section of our society which carries on their day to day toil facing the hazards of nature in order to feed the entire nation remains neglected with regard to their problems and sufferings. Unless many of their legitimate demands are favourably considered, dissatisfaction among them will only cost the nation dearly.

Under these circumstances the Party cannot any longer remain without turning its full attention on *kisans*. And for that purpose if a separate cell is not there in the Party it will be difficult to reach *kisans*, and study their problems and to fight for their redressal. Therefore, the Group recommends the setting up of a separate cell for *kisans*.

Labour Cell

In a similar manner, a cell for labour is a must. During the course of the tours of the Working Group teams when they met labour representatives, the Group members were pained to learn that BJP as such has not much impact on labour as a class. The reason given out by them was that BJP has not made itself known to have taken up the issues of labour to the extent required and not known to have identified itself with labour class by taking note of their problems and giving expression to its views on them. Formation of a Labour Cell is a must which can keep in touch with the existing Trade Unions, study labour problems, prepare draft resolutions, spell out Party's views on labour problems and suggest ways and means to build-up the image of the Party amongst organised labour.

A detailed discussion of the existing Morchas, their functioning and plan of action will be presented along with the Plan of Action.

Training

When we are a cadre-based mass party, the education and training of the Cadre, not only on the basis of the Party programme but also on various other subjects relevant to the growth of the Party will have to be undertaken. At present, there is no regular system or arrangement. In these five years only a few states had some training class or camp at the state level and quite a few states did not have any. The Party can neglect this kind of training of its cadre only at its own peril. These camps must be held once a year at district level and also at state and national levels. The district level camps should be for 2 days, state level for 3 days and All India level for 5 days. A small committee or cell be constituted by the Party's President not only to provide guidelines to these training camps but also to keep track of these camps.

Study Groups

Apart from various front organisations, cells and associations about which mention has been made earlier, the Party should also seriously consider in terms of taking an indepth study

of various topics. Subjects like foreign relations, agriculture, industry, economics, rural development, education, science & technology, unemployment, Centre-State relations etc. need to be studied well, source material on these to be collected, periodical notes prepared for the assistance of Party leadership and keeping the Party well informed with the developing situation in these fields. This will also enable the National Executive to add depth and range to its discussions on resolutions on these subjects. Hence this Group is of the view that a start can be made at the national level in the setting up of different cells or study groups in which almost all the members of the National Executive can get involved. The states can follow suit later.

Active Members

The Party is having now two kinds of membership. One, ordinary member and the other active member. The Group's view is that both should continue. All those who pay Rs. 2 per four year term will be accepted as primary members of BJP. The Party Constitution has already spelt out the criteria for an active member. The same are to be retained by an addition or two. Out of the 25 members an active member should enroll, a minimum of five of these should be from women, SC/ST or minorities. Another criterion should be that he should have participated in agitations, camps, programmes etc. undertaken by the Party. Strict enforcement of criteria to be fulfilled by those who are to be conferred active membership status and proper maintenance of their list as laid out in Party Constitution and Rules is needed. The suggestion that active members are to be issued appropriate cards should be given due consideration.

Full-Timers

The question of full-timers is seriously engaging the attention of workers at all levels. Everyone recognises the fact that politics has become very exacting and requires more and more hours to be devoted. The more and more full-time workers are put in the field. To that extent the grass root level work picks up. But then care will have to be taken in the choice of full-timers and the task entrusted to them. Full-timers should never be equated to paid employees. Only those who are ideologically committed, dedicated and devoted to the cause which the Party represents

and to the Party itself and who possess excellent character and integrity should be chosen as full-timers. Such persons as and where they become available, should be taken as full-timers and suitable organisational work entrusted to them. For this purpose in the opinion of this Group there is no need to amend the Constitution or its Rules as all posts other than the President's are nominated ones. Hence such full-timers can be nominated as Secretary Organisation. This group is of the view that one General Secretary at National level, one at State level and one of the secretaries at the District level should be termed as General Secretary Organisation and Secretary Organisation, as the case may be. Talent Utilization, making use of talent must be taken up seriously by the Party. Talents do not get exhibited unless opportunities are provided. If there can be a system evolved in the Party at various levels whereby everyone in the committee concerned gets associated in some form or the other with some aspect of the Party work, then everyone will develop a sense of belonging to the organisation and realise his talents to serve the organisation in a much better manner thereby deriving job satisfaction. How to evolve such a system is a big challenge. The following system, in the opinion of this Group can be given a fair trial on an experimental basis.

Every office-bearer in the Party at every level must be entrusted with some specific task and he should be made not only responsible but also accountable to the Party. This will enable him to evince more interest in the Party work, so much so that he will start putting his heart and soul in Party work.

One gets into the various executive committees only after appropriate experience in the Party and brought into these committees for the contribution he has made and his continued ability to do so. Hence everyone in the committee must be made to feel that he has a role to play and a task to carry out as a member of the committee. In this manner manpower and talent utilisation can be taken to the optimum level.

Party Functioning

Functioning is how we manage our Party. How we put together key elements of our Party as organisation, ideology, leaders and cadre etc. so that the Party moves towards our political ends should not be lost sight of. Proper functioning requires efficient and well-coordinated management of all these elements. Do we make use of our strong points to override our weaknesses, or allow our weakness to demolish our strength? How efficiently do we use our resources in terms of talent, manpower and other resources? Functioning involves all aspects of party working. We will concentrate only on those coordinating and managing elements that go to make functioning effective.

We consider our hard-core organisation our basic strength. And we must view our organisation as an instrument in achieving our goal. We must professionalise and modernise our methods.

For any political party liaison and co-ordination with 'Sympathetic' groups is a necessity. We have a large reservoir of support in many such groups. Co-ordination at all levels with our support groups is in the larger interest of BJP.

To improve Party functioning, the following actions are recommended:

1. Party must make up its collective mind that change is essential to progress. And every such change, consistent with our ideals and values that we hold vital, should be viewed only in terms of improving Party's ability to reach its goals more efficiently.
2. Lower level units be encouraged to take decisions on matters coming within their purview.
3. A system of follow up action to ensure implementation of decisions must be created.
4. Create a more professional and efficient approach for working of various systems of the Party, starting with National Executive Committee and the system should

percolate to other levels and other areas of Party activities.

5. Maximise use of available talent by encouraging various cell operations and provide support to them at all levels to plan, inform and provide necessary information to BJP on a few areas.
6. Create training cells at all levels and in multiple areas of BJP activities. Leadership at all levels should enhance the value and prestige of training by becoming 'trainees' as well as trainers.
7. Provide more functional opportunities to representatives of those sections of the people where we want to maximise our penetration and growth, i.e., Youth, Women, Backwards and Minority, *Kisan* etc.
8. Improve coordination with sympathetic support groups at all levels.

Growth

For a political party, growth basically means increased acceptance by voters as reflected in election results. The ability of any party to get votes is primarily based on its support of people. As more people feel the party represents them and speaks for them, the party grows. Why BJP failed to grow as expected is at the core of the whole exercise of our Working Group. It involves, matters of BJP's entire functioning and its image, ideology, organisational effectiveness, electoral strategy etc. Under this section of growth we will deal with growth relating to the spread of BJP in various regions and among various sections and classes of people. It may be pointed out that the process of assimilation of fresh elements has not been very satisfactory. The 'Alternative to Congress' euphoria of 1980-81 should have accelerated our growth. Proper planning and promotion could have enabled BJP to have growth with a wider base and deeper penetration.

To enable BJP to grow faster and broaden its base the following actions are proposed:

1. Promote specific issues and programmes that can interest and attract major sections of the society, e.g., labour, Jhuggi dwellers and farmers.
2. Recognise and accept that BJP cannot grow merely on traditional cadres who by themselves are a strong core group, but too small in numbers looking to the needs of an all India wide political party. Also recognise and accept that we must identify ourselves with all sections of the society.
3. Bring in women leadership at all levels of organisation and encourage youth in our Party.
4. Launch a specific programme to explain BJP's position on issues concerning minority and backward classes.
5. Launch a specific programme to clear misgivings about problems of those sections of the people whom BJP wishes to assimilate. Also make our workers aware that meeting the legitimate needs of these sections is fundamental to BJP policy.
6. Encourage BJP workers to champion issues relating to the development of various sections and regions thus projecting both such leaders and issues, like neglect of backward areas, problems of *Kisans*, the unemployed and the youth.
7. Project a clear, distinct identity and ideology, emphasize the failures of policies and programmes of past 35 years pursued by the ruling Congress. Simultaneously project BJP as a party of solutions to the problems.
8. Persuade our workers/leaders to enter additional areas of community life, such as co-operative movement, trade

and professional organisations etc. so as to, increase BJP's influence and project our workers on a wider platform in addition to politics.

Percentage of Performance

It was brought to the notice of the Working Group that a communication gap exists. As mentioned earlier there is a general complaint that the decisions taken by the Party either in the form of resolutions or otherwise do not reach grassroot level workers within the required time and unless they come to know of the decisions there is no possibility for our lower level workers to know the mind of the leadership on various issues and implement the decisions. So how to convey the decisions of the Party to the lower level is a question which the Party will have to address itself.

Secondly, there is no follow up action on decisions taken. It can otherwise be termed as lack of accountability. Unless one is entrusted with a specific responsibility of not only communicating the top decisions to grassroot level but also seeing to the implementation part of it, Party's leadership will not be in a position to know the end results of the decisions taken.

Ultimately, the strength of any organisation depends upon the extent to which it is able to get its decisions implemented. This is called percentage of performance. The greater the percentage of performance is the stronger and effective the organisation becomes.

Specific Responsibility

In order to see that proper follow through action is taken, feedback obtained and the organisation is kept alert and in a trim condition in all its important aspects, this Group recommends the following scheme.

The Party Constitution provides for general secretaries at the national level. This Group suggests that each one of the general secretaries and vice-presidents must be entrusted with a specific responsibility or some important aspect of Party work, such as general co-ordination, organisation, elections etc. They will be responsible for it and also accountable for it.

The All India Secretaries should be entrusted with the task of looking after specific territories and functions. In the states too, the above responsibilities should be distributed among the General Secretaries and other functionaries.

Indiscipline

Here and there, indiscipline is cropping up. The feeling prevalent is that efficient steps should be taken to nip it in the bud itself. The present provisions in our Party Constitution and Rules are sufficient to deal with the situation. Want of provisions in the Party Constitution cannot be given as an excuse for not dealing with any act of indiscipline. The State President has been empowered to take immediate action where it is warranted. Still, if some acts of indiscipline remained unattended to, then the reason is that the enforcement machinery provided for it is not acting promptly. Hence, care must be taken to see that wherever any indiscipline takes place, prompt and immediate action is taken by the State President to whom the said act of indiscipline should be communicated within 7 days from the occurrence of indiscipline. In case of indiscipline during elections, when one works against the official candidate, or sets up himself or any other person as a rebel candidate, and generally carries on propaganda so as to mar the chances of the official candidate, he or she should be deemed to have been removed from the Party membership.

All India Disciplinary Action Committee and any state level Committees should see that they promptly look into acts of indiscipline referred to them and effectively dispose them.

Days to Observe

It will be appropriate if BJP observes the following days or weeks every year. Party units throughout the country should get involved in observing these days and weeks in accordance with the decisions taken by the National Executive.

April 6th to 13th — Foundation Week and April 14th *Samata Divas*. (Dr. Ambedkar's Birthday)

June 23rd to July 7th — National Integration Fortnight (Dr. Mookerjeeji's *Balidan Divas* and Birthday).

September 25th to Oct. 2nd — *Antyodaya* Week (Deendayalji's Birthday and Gandhiji's Birthday).

Apart from these chosen days and weeks at the national level for observation by all the units in a manner directed by the National Executive, each State should choose at least one such day which has significance for the State. For instance, Tamil Nadu can observe Bharathiyar Day or Thiruvalluvar Day.

Leaders' Tours

Regular tours of leaders in a planned manner is an absolute must. The present practice is for the leader to accept programmes arranged by the states. The tour of the Central leaders should be arranged by the Central Office itself in a very well planned manner. This can take into account the specific request from states also. The tours of national leaders be arranged in such a manner that each state gets its due share. The tours should not remain confined to the addressing of public meetings alone. There must be provision made to meet the workers also. Tours should be fixed well in advance and sufficient time be given to the units concerned to make the preparation.

Conferences

Conferences must be a regular feature for the Organisation. A huge session, as we had in Bombay, can be there once in 5 years prior to general elections. The state conferences must be held on a large scale once in 3 years. District level conferences must be a regular annual feature. The district unit should arrange also one day conferences of women, SCs and. STs, *kisans*, labour etc. every year. Along with these, District *Karya Karta Sammelan* must be held every year for a minimum of two days in which a senior leader must be present. The first round of *Karya Karta Sammelan* must be held before the end of 1986. In a similar manner, a state level *Karya Karta Sammelan* or a Study Camp must be held once a year and the first of such Camp or *Sammelan* should be held before the end of 1986.

Agitations

Agitate or Vegitate—so the saying goes. Whether it is true or not with regard to other institutions or organisations working in other fields, it is quite true for parties and much more so to a party like BJP. Normally, in a perfect democracy where the government is receptive of people's grievances and responds to their needs and problems, public agitations need not be resorted to, although even there a protest demonstration may be required on occasions. For a sensitive government, even a silent protest is sufficient to convey the demands to the right quarters.

But as things are, when there is a government which is impervious to the grievances and imperious in its behaviour to the suffering people, political parties are left with no choice in a democratic country, to bring home the truth of the situation to the masters concerned, but to organise agitations. A very responsible person, whose profession is to keep his fingers on the pulse of the people had gone even to the extent of suggesting to the Working Group that BJP agitations are too peaceful to wake up the sleeping masters and wanted some militancy to be inducted in BJP agitations. This is to be taken as a sad commentary on a democratic government.

BJP believes in peaceful demonstrations and agitations. The cadre also gets baptised through this process, This is a democratic right of a political Party. Specific issues on which all India agitations should be launched will find a place in Plan of Action to be submitted.

At National Level

An agitation at national level on a crucial national issue or issues once or twice a year, as the need be, should be organised and agitators from all over the country should participate in it. Sufficient time between the date of the decision and the date of agitation should be given to enable the leaders at various levels to build up the right climate and to prepare the volunteers for the agitation in order to make it a success.

Local Level

Normally, all agitations should be organised at state, district or at local level on local issues. Agitations are of various types and it is not necessary that every time the agitation must be a Jail going one. These should be decided at respective levels. Any unit which does not participate in any agitation continuously for three times should be considered as a defunct unit.

Finances

Finance to parties is what petrol is to engines. The proverbial lack of funds in our Party is well known. Even at the national level we are much handicapped for want of sufficient funds. Then what of States and lower units. Many of the lower level units at local and mandal and even at district level are sluggish more due to paucity of funds than paucity of workers. If this is the case for even routine organisational work, then what of funds at election times? Hence, on the basis of last five years' experience, some special arrangements will have to be made by the Party to attend to this most important factor needed for organisational growth and expansion.

Dependable Money Power

It will be a salutary principle if an organisation can run its routine organisational machinery on funds raised by the members and sympathisers of that organisation from amongst themselves. Even as an organisation runs on the efforts of those who are within its organisational circle so also if funds too could be raised from within the Party itself then the Party can run smoothly on its own rails without anybody outside calling for change of track, or in other words, it can dance to its own tune and not to the tune of others. An organisation which has a dependable manpower should also have a dependable money power raised within the party itself. Party has been running on this salutary principle, but growing, as it is, it needs more funds and with a better planning this need can be met.

Financial Strategy

If we can have a suitable financial strategy for the Party, the cadre well instructed in it, then this cadre will surely

respond to fulfil the needs of the Party.

As a first step, each unit should prepare a budget for the next financial year well in advance keeping in mind the expansion that is to be achieved by that unit. Having chalked out the budget it must also look into the sources within its area and the means by which to raise the necessary funds to meet the budget. It will be good if the unit succeeds in collecting the required amount within the first two or three months of the financial year.

February 11

Pandit Deendayalji has become a point of sentiment for all those who had known him, who were led by him and who had been inspired by him.

His day of martyrdom falls on Eleventh February. If this day can be observed as *Samarpana Divas* throughout the country by all units with proper prior planning and preparations, then on that day every member and sympathiser can be requested to contribute his best or at least his one day's earnings. This will go a long way to find necessary funds for lower level units.

Collect from People

April 6th to 14th should be observed as Foundation Week with 14th as *Samata* Day (Dr. Ambedkar's Birthday). Since we are having membership enrolment throughout the year, there is no need for special occasion like Foundation Week to approach the people. On the other hand, this period can be successfully employed to go in for more collections from friends, relations and from bazaar also. These collections should come not from Party members and close sympathisers but from persons who can be approached by us. A batch of persons with Party flags going in a bazaar and requesting for funds can definitely get funds.

Finance Committee

A small Finance Committee at the state and district levels must be constituted for collecting funds for state and district under the chairmanship of the treasurer. This committee should work throughout the year to collect funds.

Accounts Check

Guidelines for preparation of annual budget from district level units onwards as well as submission of audited accounts to concerned committees by these units must be issued. The Centre should also depute a suitable person to look into the maintenance of accounts at state level and in a similar manner depute proper persons for the respective districts.

Publicity

It is common knowledge that BJP's publicity and public relations are not up to the desired level. Neither at the Centre nor at the state level does the Party have effective publicity cells. In the light of recent electoral experience, when we were up against a deluge of publicity and public relations typhoon, we must realise the need for setting up effective publicity and public relations network at all possible levels.

Publicity Cell

One of the functionaries at the national level must be entrusted with the responsibility of the publicity cell at the Centre. With some efforts, it will not be difficult to persuade Party workers and sympathisers engaged in the profession to help and assist this cell. The convenor of the central cell will be totally responsible to set up publicity network, give direction and generally supervise this work. Matters to come within the purview of this Publicity Cell are:

1. Maintenance of an efficient office for this purpose.
2. Having a mailing list to meet the needs.
3. Setting up a well equipped reference section.
4. Going in for a photo library.
5. Arranging for press releases.
6. Setting up press conferences.
7. Maintaining live contact with media people, especially of the press.
8. Directing the holding of public meetings properly arranged.
9. Bringing out publications and Party literature.
10. Making effective use of available media.

Promoting a Cultural Wing

Party news sheets '*Agami*' and '*About Us*' need to be refashioned and made more useful and purposeful to meet the present day needs of the Party. As it is, they are publishing only about programmes that have been held in various states, but they don't carry articles and such other materials to educate workers. It must contain articles from leaders, important policy speeches of leaders, press interviews, a regular periodical letter to workers from Party President and Party General Secretary etc. Early steps have to be taken in this regard. If this change can be brought about before the end of this calendar year, these two can be brought out in a new format from 1986 beginning. A separate publication department as an adjunct of Central Office or under publicity cell is to be set up to bring out Party literature. Apart from publishing the resolutions passed by National Executive and National Council meetings, Party must also publish booklets on specific subjects written by leaders or specialists under the guidance of the Party.

These Party publications will be valuable in educating our workers. From this point of view, members of National Council, National Executive, State Council, State Executive, District Committee members and Mandal Committees as such should subscribe Rs. 501 per year to the Central Office so that the Central Office (Publications Division) shall send all the Party literature brought out including '*Agami*' or '*About Us*'. This facility should be extended to all.

Party Offices

The Party office is the nerve centre of the Party activities. Therefore, a well equipped, efficient, effective, functioning office is a must at the national level, State level and district level. In many states and even at the central level, the Party offices have not been up to the mark to cope with the work. Serious efforts will have to be made to modernise the office, and to bring it up to the requisite level of efficiency. The Secretary-in-Charge of the Central office must take steps in this direction. He must draw guidelines for the maintenance of the standard required by the Party.

As it is, the State office of many a state is not upto the mark. In a large number of districts throughout the country,

there are no regular Party offices. Hence it must be laid down that Party offices in a manner in which we require as per the guidelines of central office secretary should be set up in all the districts throughout the country within a year.

This Working Group will present a Plan of Action on various aspects on the basis of the views expressed and the suggestions made on the reports as such.

Annexure-1

Questionnaire

I. PAST PERFORMANCE

1. In view of the experiences gained during the last five years what in your opinion are
 - (a) the major achievements, and
 - (b) the major shortcomings of our Party in various fields?

II. IDEOLOGICAL

1. What should be the main ideological thrust of our party and whether the same has properly been reflected in our FIVE COMMITMENTS?
2. Do you feel that the basic documents on FIVE COMMITMENTS and the Economic Policy Statement need be updated? If so, in what manner and to what extent?
3. Do you feel that our worker is fully equipped to carry our ideological message to our supporters and sympathisers? If not, your suggestions in this regard?
4. What in your opinion makes BJP a Party with a difference? Your suggestions regarding effective measures to project this distinctive identity?
5. What programmes and techniques would you suggest to make Party ideology more clearly understood by different sections of the society?
6. Our consistent stand had been: Merger – No, but adjustment of seats with like-minded parties and cooperation with other parties on specific issues – Yes. Does this stand warrant a rethinking?

III. ORGANISATIONAL

- 1 . In order to streamline the organisational machinery, do you find any need for any change in the Party Constitution? If so, spell out specifically and concisely?
2. What are your suggestions to streamline our process of member enrolment?
3. Suggest ways and means to enrol larger numbers from youths, women, minorities, Scheduled Castes and Tribes, working classes and rural sections of the society.
4. On the basis of your experiences, do you feel that changes are required in the process of the organisational elections which is being followed at present ? If so, what are your suggestions?
5. Do you feel that regular Study Camps be held at District and State levels ? If so, your suggestions regarding their periodicity and nature ?
6. What are your suggestions for imparting training to improve the quality of leadership and develop a sense of political maneuverability in our workers?
7. If you feel that the decisions at various levels in the Party are not taken efficiently, your suggestions to make the decision making process more effective and efficient?
8. How can, in your opinion, the State and Central leadership contribute to make the Party vibrant and active in your area?
9. What are your suggestions to improve the functioning of Party offices at all levels?
10. What, according to you, should be the criteria for being an active member of the Party? Your suggestions as to how an active member be identified?

11. Suggest the method you consider to be effective for cadre building in the Party?
12. What are your views about the utility, role and position of the full time workers in the Party set up?
13. Which Front Organisations and Cells of the Party are functioning in your area? Do you feel that they are proving useful in making Party organisation broad-based? Your suggestions to improve their working?
14. What are your concrete suggestions to make the Youth Front of the Party more active, effective and creative?

IV. DISCIPLINE

1. Do you agree that the cases of indiscipline are on the rise in the Party? If so, the reasons thereof ?
2. Suggest ways and means to take effective and speedy action against indiscipline.
3. Your suggestions for effective functioning and quick disposal of the cases of indiscipline by the Disciplinary Committees at State and National levels ?

V. FINANCES

1. Are various units of the Party in a position to collect sufficient funds for their routine activities?
2. Is there any system to ensure regular flow of funds for organisational work and electioneering.
3. What are your suggestions for creating sufficient resources for funds required for both routine work and elections ?

VI. LEGISLATURE WING AND ORGANISATIONAL WING

1. What is the impact of the performance of the legislature Party of your State in general? Suggest ways and means to improve the performance.
2. Is there a proper co-ordination between the legislative and organisational wings of your State. If not, suggest ways and means to obtain better co-ordination between the two?
3. Suggest how an elected representative (in local bodies, state legislatures and Parliament) can perform better in various bodies as well as nurse his constituency.

VII. ELECTION STRATEGY

1. In view of the experiences of the last Lok Sabha and Assembly elections do you feel that the election strategy adopted by the Party needs some modification? If so, in what manner?
2. What are your impressions regarding formation and break-up of the National Democratic Alliance?
3. What in your opinion should be our attitude towards other National Opposition Parties?
4. What in your opinion are the factors leading to the success of regional parties in certain States?
5. (a) What should be BJP's attitude towards these regional parties ?
(b) Should BJP also concentrate only in a few States?
6. In certain states BJP possesses sufficient organisational base and mass support to come to power, but the Party has successively failed to achieve this. How do you think can this situation be remedied ?
7. What are the main factors and events which hurt our Party the most during Lok Sabha and Assembly elections?

Mention three main reasons for the Party's defeat in the last Parliamentary and Assembly elections with reference to your State ?

8. How do you explain some gains in Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and heavy losses in Himachal Pradesh and Karnataka during the last Assembly elections?
9. What in your opinion should be the criteria and method for selecting the candidates for elections to the local bodies, assemblies, and Parliament ?
10. What steps should the Party take to merge as a third pole in the states like Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra, J & K, Punjab etc, where a clear polarisation of electoral politics between two camps has taken place ?
11. What are your suggestions to make our election campaign more effective and less expensive ?
12. Has our method of campaigning failed and does it require overhauling? Specify new methods.
13. What is our support base? Has it eroded during the last Lok Sabha and Assembly elections? If so, specify causes and suggest measures to reclaim the lost support base and for its further expansion.
14. Suggest ways and means to create leadership which can be identified with some area and/or some definite sections of the society ?
15. It has been a general experience that a large number of our legislators are unable to retain their seats. What in your opinion are the reasons and what steps should be taken in this regard?
16. Suggest measures to prevent booth-capturing and other malpractices on polling day.

VIII. PUBLICITY

1. Is the Party receiving adequate publicity through various media? If not, what are the deficiencies? Suggest specific steps to gain more publicity.
2. What are your suggestions for effective working of the publicity cells at State and national levels ?
3. Any suggestions to improve our Party Bulletins and *About Us*?

IX. AGITATIONAL

1. How far in your opinion have the agitational programmes taken by the Party succeeded in catching people's imagination?
2. Suggest two specific issues of national importance and three concerning your State on which agitational programmes should be undertaken.
3. What is the most effective technique of agitation in your opinion which would involve larger participation of masses especially, the youth, women and working classes ?

X. CONSTRUCTIVE

1. What in your opinion is the reason that various units of the Party have not responded to the call given by the President for undertaking constructive activities as one of the planks of the Party ?
2. Identify three spheres, which in your opinion should be selected by our workers for launching schemes for constructive activity?



National Executive

Gandhinagar

9 October, 1985

Basic Philosophy and Commitments of the Party

The National Executive of the BJP records its appreciation of the painstaking report produced by the Working Group set up by the Party President to review the Party's working during the past five years.

The Executive endorses the core recommendations contained on pages 20-21, and commends to the Party's National Council the following resolution:

The National Council hereby resolves:

- (a) That Integral Humanism, propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, shall be the basic philosophy of the Party.
- (b) That the Party restates its basic commitments as follows:
 - (i) Nationalism and National Integration,
 - (ii) Democracy,
 - (iii) Gandhian approach to socio-economic issues leading to the establishment of an egalitarian society free from exploitation,
 - (iv) Positive Secularism, that is, *Sarva Dharma Sam Bhava*, and
 - (v) Value based politics.
- (c) That the Party restates its objective as follows:

The Bharatiya Janata Party aims at establishing a democratic state which guarantees to all its citizens irrespective of caste, creed or sex, political, social and economic justice, equality of opportunity and liberty of faith and expression.

"The Bharatiya Janata Party is pledged to build up India as a strong and prosperous nation, which is modern, progressive and enlightened in outlook and which proudly draws inspiration from India's age-old culture and values, and thus is able to emerge as a great world power playing an effective role in the comity of nations for the establishment of world peace and a just international order."



National Council

Gandhinagar

11 October, 1985

Basic Philosophy and Commitments of the Party

The National Council hereby resolves:

- (a) That Integral Humanism, propounded by Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay, shall be the basic philosophy of the Party.
- (b) That the Party reiterates its basic commitments as follows:
 - (i) Nationalism and National Integration,
 - (ii) Democracy,
 - (iii) Gandhian Socialism,
 - (iv) Positive Secularism, that is, *Sarva Dharma Sambhava*, and
 - (v) Value based politics.
- (c) That the Party restates its objective as follows: "The Bharatiya Janata Party aims at establishing a democratic state which guarantees to all its citizens irrespective of caste, creed or sex, political, social and economic justice, equality of opportunity and liberty of faith and expression.

The Bharatiya Janata Party is pledged to build up India as a strong, prosperous and self-reliant nation, which is modern, progressive and enlightened in outlook and which proudly draws inspiration from India's age-old culture and values, and thus is able to emerge as a great world-power playing an effective role in the comity of nations for the establishment of world peace and a just international order."



National Executive

Gandhinagar 11 October, 1985

Action-plan

Ideological

1. A Party with a difference

Primary thrust on :

- (i) Nation first
- (ii) Integrated approach
- (iii) Value based politics

2. Five Commitments

- (i) The basic Party document '*FIVE COMMITMENTS*' be updated in the light of the recommendations.
- (ii) Booklets elaborating '*INTEGRAL HUMANISM*' and '*FIVE COMMITMENTS*' be published in Hindi and English at the Centre and be translated and published in regional languages by respective States.

3. Economic Policy Statement

To update the '*ECONOMIC POLICY STATEMENT*' in the background of the integrated approach.

4. Follow up Campaign

Preparation of position papers relating to various subjects, particularly in relation to discrimination, untouchability, etc. An effective follow-up campaign to highlight the Party Policy and decisions on various issues be launched.

5. Study Camps

Chain of regular Study Camps at National, State, District and Mandal levels to educate the workers on ideology, policies of the Party, organisational matters, agitations, election management and constructive activities.

Agitational

The BJP is to project its image as a Party fighting for the interests of various sections of the society at national, state and local levels with effective planning and prior education of the masses. Some of the burning issues to be taken up for launching sustained agitations and mobilizing strong public opinion are suggested hereunder. The items suggested are illustrative, and not exhaustive:

1. Problems of the farmers and landless labour.
2. Right to work and eradication of unemployment.
3. Social and economic justice to SC, ST and other weaker sections.
4. Electoral reforms.
5. Atrocities on women.
6. Protection of environment.
7. Rising Prices.
8. Law and order,
9. Corruption.
10. Problems of Slums and Slum-dwellers.

Constructive Activities

Our motto should be : 'One Mandal-One Project'.

Party workers should effectively take part in the following areas of constructive activities :

1. Co-operative movement, especially cooperative banking.
2. Co-operatives and work-centres for women.
3. Blood donation.
4. Tree planting.
5. Sports Clubs.
6. Eye donation.
7. Literacy Drive.

Electoral

1. Immediate beginning for preparations for all the 542 Lok Sabha seats in the country.
2. BJP Committees on 50 per cent Local Committee area and an election reserve of Rs. 3 lakh, for each seat in 375 Lok Sabha seats upto 1987 and cent per cent Local Committees be completed by 1988.
3. BJP Committees on 25 per cent Local Committee areas, and an election reserve of Rs 1. lakh for each seat in remaining 167 Lok Sabha seats upto 1987 and at least 50 per cent Local Committees be completed by 1988.
4. An election office and a wholetime election in-charge for each Lok Sabha seat upto 1987.
5. Selection of candidates in 1988
6. At least 20 per cent youth and 10 per cent women candidates be accommodated.
7. The tasks before the Bharatiya Janata Party
 - (i) A careful and well considered effort to select a suitable candidate.
 - (ii) To mobilize adequate resources in men, materials and money.
 - (iii) Political strategy for the particular constituency.
 - (iv) To effectively develop the constituency to win, to make it a permanent stronghold to retain it

continuously.

- (v) To combat the menace of bogus voting and booth capturing; vigilance in respect of electoral rolls.
 - (vi) To man all the polling stations with effective and trusted polling agents.
8. The Central Election Committee should own a direct and active responsibility for evolving the strategy and in selecting the candidates for Lok Sabha as well as the Assembly elections in every state.
 9. State units should be vigilant in respect of all impending by-elections, Parliamentary and Assembly, as also of Local body elections in the respective state, and, where necessary, hold prior consultations with Central Election Committee about the strategy etc. to be adopted.

Election Cell

1. A well equipped Election Cell in the Central Office as well as in all the State Offices.
2. A scientific approach for comprehensive data collection and pre-assessment about the mood of the voters using modern technology.
3. As a part of the Election Cell the Centre and the States should organise election publicity cells with modern technique and infrastructure.
4. Alternative devices to combat the ruling party propaganda on AIR & TV, like audio and video cassettes.
5. Effective press publicity.
6. Proper use of advertisement media.

Organisational

1. The main objective should be to emerge as a powerful cadre based mass Party by:
 - (i) Broadening the base,
 - (ii) Strengthening the cadre,
 - (iii) All-out concentration on youth and women, and
 - (iv) Effective penetration in rural areas, labour and weaker sections.
2. BJP units must be established in all Mandal areas in the country upto 1987.
3. Presidents and office-bearers in every unit should be assigned specific individual responsibility and accountability.
4. One General Secretary at the national as well as the State level and one Secretary at District level be assigned work as In-charge of organisation.
5. A team of dedicated whol timers be created.
6. Policy decisions should be taken at appropriate forum.
7. Constant organisational tours by the national and state leaders be undertaken.
- 8 The first round of district development conferences in every district of the country to be completed in 1986 under central planning and later the process should continue periodically.
9. Discipline should be observed firmly and the State and the Central Disciplinary Committees should promptly decide the cases of indiscipline.

Days to be Observed

January 26

February 11

Republic Day.

Samarpan Divas.

Collection of funds from BJP workers.

	They be inspired to donate at least one per-cent of their income.
April 6 to 13	Foundation Week as Mass Contact Week, Collection of funds from masses.
April 14	<i>Samata Divas</i> – As <i>Shoshan-Mukta</i> and <i>Samata-Yukta Samaj Divas</i> and Dr. Ambedkar's Birthday.
June 23 to July 6	National Integration Fortnight. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee Martyrdom Day and Birthday.
August 15	Independence Day.
September 25 to October 2	<i>Antyodaya</i> Week (Birthday of Pandit Deendayalji and Mahatma Gandhi).
October 11	<i>Lok Shakti Day</i> -Birthday of Shri Jaya-Prakash Narayan.

Massive Programmes in Rotation

1. Plenary Session of the Bharatiya Janata Party.
2. National level demonstrations.
3. National level Conferences of Morchas and Cells,
4. State level Party sessions – once in two years.
5. Primary member level Conference – every year.

Healthy Traditions

1. The President of any unit shall not hold office for more than three consecutive terms.
2. At least 20 per cent change in the team of office-bearers and members of the Executive at all levels. Representation to various sections of the society on Mandal and onward Party units. This should become a continuous process.

Morchas & Cells

Bharatiya Janata Yuva Morcha

1. The BJYM to be streamlined and all units to be constituted according to the laid down rules.
2. Age limit of 35 years to be strictly observed.
3. *Janata Vidyarthi Morcha* units should be properly organised and activated.

Mahila Morcha

The *Mahila Morcha* be governed under the same rules as the BJYM excepting the clause regarding the age limit.

Other Morchas

Morchas for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Minorities and all other Morchas be properly constituted at National and State levels according to the rules laid down in the Constitution. They should organise national and state level meetings at least once a year.

New Cells

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. KISAN CELL | Convenors should be appointed at National and State levels. |
| 2. LABOUR CELL | Convenors should be appointed at National and State levels. |
| 3. CULTURAL CELL | For cultural activities and to conduct programmes to honour national heroes. |
| 4. LEGAL CELL | Convenors should be appointed at national and State levels. |

General

1. FINANCE AND ACCOUNTS

1. A regular and vigorous campaign to raise party funds be organised every year.
2. Accounts should be strictly maintained in all units.
3. Party funds should be properly deposited in a bank and should in no case remain with any individual.

4. Accounts should be regularly audited.
5. Copies of the audit reports should be sent to the State and Central offices

2. PARTY OFFICES

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| (a) Central Office | The Central Office should be properly revamped with a good reference section and library. |
| (b) State Offices | An efficient office with at least one whole time Office Secretary in every State. |
| (c) District Offices | Regular district offices, with one office in-charge and a telephone, be organised in maximum possible districts in the country upto 1986. |

Party Bulletins

- 1 . The get-up and the matter of the *AGAMI* and *ABOUT US* to be improved to make them more attractive and useful.
2. Every Mandal and upper level Unit, and all office-bearers of District and upper level units to become subscribers.
3. By paying Rs. 50 per annum a member will get *AGAMI* or *ABOUT US* and all PARTY LITERATURE.
4. Every State should have a Party Bulletin in the regional language.



National Council

Bombay

28-30 December, 1980

Economic Policy Statement 1980

Introduction

At its Hyderabad meeting on 25th October, 1980, the National Executive of the BJP set up a sub-committee to prepare a draft of the Party's Economic Policy Statement so that it could be discussed and adopted by the Party's Plenary Session scheduled to be held at Bombay on December 28, 29 and 30, 1980.

The sub-committee comprised the following members :

Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta (Convener), Dr. Bhai Mahavir, Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Dr. M.M. Joshi, Shri Keshubhai Patel, Shri J.P. Mathur, Shri A.K. Subbaiah, Shri V.K. Malhotra and Shri Ram Prakash.

This sub-committee held four meetings. They also had discussions with eminent economists and some former members of the Planning Commission. The draft statement that emerged from these labours was placed before the National Executive's pre-session meetings on December 26 and 27. The National Executive discussed the draft for seven hours, commended several modifications and returned the draft to the sub-committee for further revision and refinement. The sub-committee held a night-long sitting and completed their task just in time for presentation to the mammoth plenary session of the Party attended by nearly 55,000 delegates, and presided over by Shri A.B. Vajpayee.

The resolution for adoption of the statement was moved by Shri Bhairon Singh Shekhawat and seconded by Dr. Bhai Mahavir. A vigorous debate ensued. Some three hundred amendments were tabled. Apart from verbal changes, eight substantial amendments were accepted by the mover. When the resolution was finally put to vote, it received near unanimous endorsement from the huge conclave, with five delegates standing up to record their dissent.

The text of the Statement as finally approved is being presented herewith.

Economic Policy Statement 1980

Bharatiya Janata Party visualises India as a political democracy, prosperous, progressive and enlightened, proud of its heritage and confident of playing its rightful role in the comity of nations. Some of the countries which have attained the highest levels of prosperity are faced with worst problems of social tensions and psychic maladjustments. They are realising that while material possessions are essential for human well-being, unrestrained pursuit of material ends does not yield a truly happy, peaceful and contented life.

Indian culture looks upon man as an integral being who has physical needs, but who also has a mind, an intellect and a soul. It considers the development of a human being incomplete unless there is harmonious growth of all these attributes. Our ancient texts, therefore, while praying for bountiful material gifts, emphasized that man can no more be identified with his belly than with the clothes he wears. As a result of this, the attitude grew that intellectual freedom, much less spiritual peace, could not be sacrificed just for the sake of material progress.

Our ancient seers realised long ago that there is no conflict between the individual and the society. Each in fact depends on, as well as contributes towards, the fulfilment of the other. The four-fold objectives of man described as the four *purusharthas*, viz., *dharma* (righteousness), *artha* (wealth), *kama* (enjoyment) and *moksha* (emancipation), ensured the growth of a human society which had riches without exploitation and pleasure without licentiousness. It was only such a culture in which man's status was not measured by what he had, but what he was.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that while we have a lot to learn from the advancement of science, we must adapt western technology to suit our own requirements and national aptitude. It is only in this way that we can escape the unhealthy aspects of modern industrialisation and besides offer our own solutions to the basic crises mankind is faced with.

Capitalism may not believe in the outmoded concept of 'economic man', but a totally profit-motivated economy with competition as its sole regulator, and displacement of man in the name of saving labour has led to the creation of a society full of distortions and exploitation. Communism came as a reaction to the evils of capitalism, but succeeded only in changing the masters.

Any system which promotes concentration of economic power in the hands of a few – whether private individuals or state officials – and reduces man to the level of a cog in the machine robs him of his personality, and so is anathema to the Indian mind.

Gandhiji's ideas on many aspects of free India's economy were very exhaustive. He had underscored the importance of a decentralised economy and polity. He had propounded the philosophy of '*Antyodaya*'. Lok Nayak Jai Prakash Narayan also believed in evolving a system in which '*Lok Satta*' played a dominant role in establishing a political and economic order with a high degree of decentralisation. Deendayalji's integral humanism based on the principle of four *Purusharthas* has also emphasised the necessity of a socially regulated and decentralised economy, prohibiting all kinds of exploitation. Thus, decentralised economy, integral humanism and Gandhian Socialism are all manifestations of one and the same continuing theme. Only a system based on this thinking can ensure the basic requirements of bread, freedom and equality and it is to this system that Bharatiya Janata Party commits itself.

The BJP believes that poverty can be eradicated without in any manner interfering with human freedom. The Party commits itself to achieving the economic goals enunciated in the Directive Principles of the Constitution without destroying or denigrating the fundamental rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution.

Approach

The BJP has carefully re-examined the burning issues of national economic policy, and presents the following formulations and recommendations:

The most immediate problem is hyperinflation. But simultaneously new emphases are necessary to solve long-term

chronic problems—a low rate of economic growth, a high and rising volume of unemployment, the vast and growing number of people below the poverty line, and continuing gross inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth. The whole framework of planning and economic policy has failed to tackle these problems in the last thirty years.

The overall rate of economic growth in India has averaged only about 3.7 per cent per annum over a long period of 30 years. This rate is lower than the rate achieved in many other developing countries of the world, communist as well as non-communist.

It is significant that the growth rate has continued to decline ever since Mrs. Gandhi came to power. In the 15 years before her assumption of office, the growth rate averaged 4.8 per cent, but since then it has declined to less than 3 per cent. In one year, it even approached 0. In the first two years of Janata rule, the growth rate was more than 6 per cent per annum. It drastically declined during the Lok Dal interregnum, and during the one year of Mrs. Gandhi's rule since she came to power a second time.

The volume of unemployment is currently estimated at 20 million, and it is rising year after year.

The number of people below the poverty line is officially reported to be 309 million. And if the present trend persists, it should increase by at least 5 million a year.

The distribution of agricultural land continues to be as unjust as it was 20 years ago. In spite of massive land reform legislation, only a fraction of the estimated surplus has actually been acquired and then distributed among the landless. Millions of tenants still operate—without any legal right.

In the private corporate industrial sector, the control of more than half of the production capacity remains in the hands of just two dozen families. The BJP is against the concentration of wealth and is committed to a widening of the base of ownership and control. Suitable measures should be undertaken to implement it.

The vicious circle of rising prices, mounting unemployment and grinding poverty must be broken with drastic changes in economic policy and structure. The basic thrust of this new approach would be towards eliminating unemployment and attaining full employment according to a time-bound programme.

The guiding principle of BJP's economic policy will be '*Har haath*

ko kaam, har khet ko pani' (work for every body, water for every field).

The BJP calls for a revival of the *Swadeshi* spirit. This alone can ensure self-reliance and national reconstruction by full utilisation of the country's natural and human resources.

Inflation

BJP believes that inflation can be curbed, and that it must be curbed, by adopting the following policies:

1. Money supply should be increased only in proportion to the annual growth rate – that is, by only about 3 per cent as of now. Also, whenever credit is restricted, the restrictions should not apply only to the private sector.
2. After many years of excessive deficit financing, it is now necessary to have a few years of balanced budgets. Much of the deficit financing arises due to colossal waste and corruption in government expenditure, particularly of the non-developmental variety. Therefore, a 10 per cent cut in overall expenditure can and must be made without damaging any essential or productive activity.
3. The policy of continuing and increasing the exports of essential articles of mass consumption must be discontinued forthwith.
4. We must export more and more finished goods – and less raw materials – to increase employment and earn more foreign exchange. Only a concerted scheme of supply management can cure the country of its chronic shortages.
5. Finally, the public distribution system should be expanded to supply essential articles to low-income consumers at fair prices throughout the country. More fair price shops should be opened in the rural areas, particularly in the tribal areas, to supply grains, pulses, oil, kerosene, salt, sugar, etc. at reasonable rates.

This package of policies, and in particular, balanced budgets and the necessary export prohibition can hold the price line.

Growth

1. Agricultural Sector

Agricultural growth trends in the Indian economy took a favourable turn during the days of the Janata Government, when the irrigated area, fertilizer consumption and the per

acre production under high-yielding varieties increased very rapidly. There was a record increase in irrigated land during Janata regime.

The high rates of input growth led to a remarkable increase in India's food reserves so that even during the severe drought of 1979-80 cereal imports were not required.

It is vital for the maintenance of self-sufficiency in cereals that the tempo of high rates of input growth is maintained. Farmers should be assured of remunerative prices for all major crops, covering their full costs of production, computed after taking into consideration all the parameters like costs of inputs, living index, etc. The government purchase operations should be widespread and efficient enough to guarantee that all farmers, and particularly small farmers do in fact realise the guaranteed prices and are not forced to make distress sales.

Small and marginal farmers should be provided with subsidised inputs including credit at a low interest rate. This would help increase agricultural productivity, and elevate them above the poverty line.

Minimum wages for agricultural labour should be raised and strictly implemented.

The Agricultural Prices Commission should be replaced by a broad-based agency which should include experts and representatives of farmers and consumers. Support prices of all major items should be declared at the time of crop sowing.

The scope and area of Cattle and Crop Insurance Scheme should be gradually enlarged. More and more land should be brought under 2 and 3 crops through small irrigation projects.

The policy of Cow Protection and '*Go Samvardhan*' or development of cow and cattle breeding, as laid down in the Constitution, should be implemented to develop dairy farming and animal husbandry, leading to a White Revolution in the country.

Milk based industry should be set up in the rural areas to enable dairy-farmers to get a remunerative price for their milk.

2. Industrial Sector

In the industrial sphere, the growth outlook is extremely bleak. While the private sector is making huge profits, the public sector is making huge losses.

According to the new Plan Framework of August 1980, Government sector losses have risen to the fantastic figure of Rs. 1,100 crore a year.

Delays in project construction have been increasing, so that capital costs multiply two-fold and three-fold before projects are completed.

After capacity is created, it is operated at very low levels of utilisation. In the power sector alone last year capacity utilisation was as low as 44 per cent. The position is equally bad in steel and fertilizers.

Industrial disputes are resulting in serious loss of mandays and industrial production.

This pathology requires drastic treatment. The BJP recommends the following key measures:

1. The management of all government sector enterprises has to be made more autonomous and professional. Political and secretarial interference must be minimised.
The management of the public sector must be professionalised and a central service called the 'Indian Management Service' should be formed to select, train and allocate professional management personnel to public sector units. These should be appointed on fixed-term contracts renewable only if performance is efficient.
2. In some production sectors management contracts should be given to indigenous consultancy firms on fixed terms.
3. In all sectors, except the production of weapons, a policy of rational dualism needs to be adopted so that private and public sector units compete in producing abundant quantities of quality goods and services for the people

at the lowest possible cost. All efforts should be made to establish the industries in the co-operative sector. No stone should be left unturned to make industries in the public sector run more efficiently so that they can generate resources for further development of the economy.

Social and economic considerations, and not political, should be the criteria for running and taking over any industry in the Public Sector.

4. Both private and State units should operate under some common, minimum necessary social controls. Bureaucratic and administrative controls at different levels of economic activity that tend to perpetuate corruption should be eliminated and policy relating to re-allocation of industrial activity between cottage, small and large industrial sectors should be rigidly enforced.

There should be a statutory reservation of production of consumer items in the small sector. What can be produced by small and cottage industry, should not be allowed to medium industry; what can be produced by medium industry should not be allowed to big industry; whatever can be produced indigenously should not be allowed to any foreign company.

5. In order to promote industrial peace, it is essential to have national guidelines for wage contracts in the organised sector, linking increases in bonus to increases in objective indices of performance plus increases in the cost of living, estimated by expert bodies.

Workers need to be convinced of the earnestness of Government to protect them in an effective manner against violations by employers of provisions regarding deposits of provident fund and E.S.I. contributions, and safety regulations. Whenever collective bargaining fails to resolve any dispute, it must be referred to a compulsory but quick arbitration conforming to the national guidelines. Autonomous Industrial Disputes Tribunals should be set up for speedy and fair settlement of labour problems. Every company should have a labour representative on the

Board of Directors to give labour a sense of participation and responsibility so that labour considers strike only as a last weapon.

The principle of Trusteeship in industry must be recognised and encouraged.

Research and development must be given a live role in industrial growth.

Infrastructural facilities must be made freely available for an uninhibited growth of the economy.

There must be a fuller utilization of installed capacity to improve production and productivity.

6. Due weight must be given to ecological and environmental factors in the country's industrialization, and the future generation should not be exposed to the dangers of pollution as a result of short-sighted policies.
Earnest efforts must be made at afforestation to make up for the reckless destruction of our forest wealth in the past.
7. Steps should be taken to provide tax and non-tax incentives for companies making their permanent workers shareholders out of a part of their gross profit. Government sector companies must give a lead in this direction. Legislation should be enacted to require construction of labour quarters and for the improvement of other welfare facilities.
8. The policy of taking over sick units needs re-thinking. Scientific and firm guidelines should be prepared by experts to avoid wastage of public money and to check unscrupulous industrialists dumping their sick units on government.
9. Indians living abroad should be encouraged to make investment in India and all necessary incentives, including full repatriation of their foreign exchange investments should be given to them. Guidelines should be framed and the same should be circulated to all Indian embassies abroad for the information of Indians residing there.

10. Equity participation up to 49% by the public in Public Sector undertakings should be allowed.

A well co-ordinated wages, prices and profits policy will hold the price line, protect the purchasing power of wages and keep profits under control.

Rural-Urban Dichotomy

It is both ironic and dangerous that millions of people go hungry while food stocks are piling up. This anomaly is a reflection of the growing rural-urban dichotomy in which the rural areas are being forced to eschew industry in favour of the urban areas. It is this dichotomy which lies at the root of unnecessarily high capital-intensity in the consumer goods sector.

Agriculture alone will not be able to absorb all the surplus population in the rural areas. Without providing nonagricultural occupations in abundance in the rural sector we shall be only compounding the problems of poverty, unemployment and the rush to the cities. This, then, necessitates a shift from capital-intensive production methods to labour-intensive systems. Unrestricted growth of high-cost technology will further aggravate this dichotomy. A rapidly expanding network of low-cost agro-industrial complexes is the need of the hour. Apart from imbalances in investment between agriculture and industry, more than 80 per cent of the total outlay on social services is concentrated in the urban areas and the rural poor are denied their due share. Therefore, the whole pattern of national investment needs a drastic change.

The BJP recommends a population policy of responsible parenthood through proper education to ensure the health and happiness of the citizenry. It should be voluntary and there should be no scope of any compulsion and coercion. The Government should encourage and assist voluntary organisations in implementation of the programme. Population control programmes should be given high priority in our planning.

Black Money And Its Elimination

Black money generation has reached critical limits as a result

of which the economy is being seriously distorted. With massive corruption, no desirable national economic policy is possible. The main responsibility for generating black money lies on the unabashed manner in which Government's licensing and regulatory powers and procedures have been used to collect massive moneys for the ruling party. National and international contracts are being given with large kickbacks. The burden of all this falls ultimately on the poor people. The BJP pledges itself to the correction of these policies and gives a national call to all honest and concerned citizens of India to fight this menace resolutely.

The second most important factor leading to the growth of a parallel and underground economy is the adoption of an irrational tax system, which needs serious re-thinking.

The Bharatiya Janata Party believes that the taxation policy should be rationalised and the incidence and pattern of taxation should be so designed that

- (i) it mobilises State resources for productive expenditure,
- (ii) it does not obstruct channels and does not destroy the incentive for investment,
- (iii) it motivates people for savings,
- (iv) it does not induce tax evasion or avoidance, and
- (v) it does not lead to harassment of the honest taxpayer. To this end,
 - (a) the rate of direct taxation should be brought down to a maximum limit of sixty per cent with a differential slab system and lower rates for fixed income group;
 - (b) Sales Tax should be replaced by additional excise. The Centre should compensate the States in full for their losses – as also for the annual expected increase in revenue from Sales Tax;
 - (c) economic offences including smuggling and foreign exchange manipulation and black-marketing must be expeditiously prosecuted – if necessary by making economic offences non-bailable – and punished by special courts. Punishment should be deterrent, and economic offenders should not be allowed to retain the profits of their crimes;
 - (d) various drives for Voluntary Disclosure schemes were undertaken in the past. The experience has not been

happy. These schemes have been viewed with cynicism and have generally been considered as a premium on dishonesty. The Party believes that there would be no justification for any such scheme after the limit of direct tax is reduced to sixty per cent.

However, immediately after the announcement of this reduction, the Government may, with a view to promoting distributive justice, announce certain schemes like Housing programmes for the weaker sections, welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, job opportunities for the physically handicapped, public purposes like running of schools, colleges, libraries, community centres, dharmashalas, places of worship, construction of roads, wells, setting of training centres, providing special coaching centres for students of weaker sections, helping people during natural calamities, and invite investment in these schemes. A statutory agency independent of Government will be set up to keep watch over the implementation of these schemes and programmes. This agency will submit a report annually to the Assemblies and to Parliament. Participation in, and contribution to, these schemes within six months from the date of announcement will exempt a person from disclosing his source of investment in any of these schemes. Such opportunity should be given only once. The Government may make necessary rules in this regard.

Assault On Poverty

The BJP dedicates itself to the upliftment of the *Daridra Narayana* through work, increased production and a firm commitment to social justice.

Progress towards distributive justice can be greatly accelerated if the following policy measures are sincerely implemented:

1. The surplus land already identified (about 5.5 million acres) should be distributed to the landless within a maximum of 3 years through the medium of an expanded machinery. Additional surplus land should be identified by plugging legal and administrative loopholes.

2. All tillers of the land should be given title deeds, conferring on them ownership of the lands they till, on the basis of quick, on-the-spot inquiries by competent authorities. All currently cultivating tenants, identified as such, can thus be made owners within a maximum of 3 years. A time-bound programme should be chalked out for every year. A report regarding the progress made in this connection should be placed before the Assembly every year for approval.
3. Block-level committees and tribunals with 50 per cent representation from tenants and landless labour should be appointed to implement land ceilings and tenancy reforms.
4. The Party accepts the need for organising the rural poor. Legislative measures for the protection of rural workers should be undertaken to speed up the pace of distributive justice.
5. The share in institutional credit of small and marginal farmers, landless workers and artisans should be gradually raised up to 50 per cent. A time-bound programme in this direction should be evolved.
6. A Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme must be extended in phases to all regions of the country within 15 years as a core scheme of the five-year plans. For the formulation of efficient, full-employment plans for all blocks, Techno-economic Project Formulation Bureaus must be established in all districts and blocks. The plans must specially cover every poor under-employed family on the *Antyodaya* pattern.
7. A Work Guarantee should be declared in a block as soon as a block plan for full employment has been made and approved.
8. Collectors (District Development Officers) and/or elected bodies must be given adequate funds and powers to get

the district block plans for full employment prepared and implemented.

9. Access to the following items of infrastructure and social services, provided or subsidised by the State, must be recognised as the elementary right of all rural and urban communities, and especially the rural poor and urban slum dwellers:
 - (a) ample and clean drinking water supply,
 - (b) energy (electricity, wood, coal, bio-gas, and/or diesel, kerosene),
 - (c) all-weather pucca roads,
 - (d) comfortable mass transit,
 - (e) health and family planning knowledge, supplies and services,
 - (f) literacy and continuous non-formal education to transmit professional knowledge, and to raise the consciousness of the poor about current injustices, their rights and duties,
 - (g) sanitation (with increasingly mechanised and covered waste and sewage haulage, disposal and recycling), and
 - (h) housing (for the poor).
10. The BJP accepts the cooperative principle for industrial and commercial growth, for agricultural services as well as for the solution of the country's housing problems. It believes in the efficiency of cooperatives particularly in the field of milk production, rural credit and distribution of consumer goods. However, the movement must be cleansed of corruption and vested interests, as well as of undue official influence and should be made voluntary and self-reliant in the real sense.
11. The Sixth Plan quantitative targets for these amenities must be fulfilled.
12. Big business houses should be asked to spend a portion of their wealth for the upliftment and welfare of the rural folk

every year. Guidelines should be framed by the Government in this regard.

13. Preference must be given to women (and/or women dominated institutions), Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, disabled persons and ex-servicemen in the allocation of all public sector credit, jobs and educational and training opportunities.
14. A fixed minimum number of educated youth must be helped with self-employment every year on the basis of the financial, technical and marketing assistance given to them by Banks and District Industries Centres. A National Employment Policy particularly about the youth must be drawn up. The educated unemployed must be covered under the scheme within five years, failing which a minimum subsistence allowance must be given to them.
15. The job reservation policy for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes must be implemented in letter and spirit as provided in the Constitution.
16. There should be a co-relation between the cost of production, profits and the price to be charged from the consumer. Nobody should get away with super profits.
17. An autonomous authority must be established to protect the consumer and ensure the quality and fair price of the articles supplied.

Daridranarayana National Fund

A Daridranarayana National Fund for the poor, amounting to Rs. 500 crore per year, should be created with equal contribution by the States and the Centre. A special cess from the affluent, both urban and rural, may be levied to create resources for this Fund. After a reduction in direct tax limit and other steps for rationalising the tax structure, the Nation would be willing to contribute for this noble cause. This amount

should be earmarked for helping those who are the poorest. Programmes of *Antyodaya*, Food for Work, Literacy drive on massive scale must be taken up vigorously to remove poverty. No administrative expenditure should be incurred from this fund. The report of the implementation of schemes under this fund should be placed and discussed in State Legislatures and Parliament every year.

The affluent have to set an example in this regard and abjure vulgar display of wealth. They must be willing to make sacrifices in proportion to their prosperity. The hungry millions cannot wait and suffer in silence.

This, then, is the main direction in which BJP would like the country's economy to move. Unless we as a nation agree, and the Government is ready to display the necessary political will, to curb present consumption and undertake massive efforts for augmenting savings, inducing investment, and taking firm measures towards distributive justice, the country cannot be saved from the impending economic chaos.

Five Commitments

I. Background

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was born under stunning circumstances over which it had no control, circumstances which were both tragic and grotesque, tragic because they marked the shattering of JP's dream of building a party which was to be a national alternative to the Congress and was meant to safeguard the interests of the poor, grotesque because a set of dubious politicians without a political base but with unlimited and unprincipled ambition succeeded in destroying a mass party. The gibbering hideous mask they wore over their faces has now been torn.

Despite the fact that BJP had no control over the aforementioned circumstances, it is determined to have a complete control over its destiny because it is a Party which rests on the strength of lakhs of selfless workers, has a popular national base and represents the aspiration of patriotic elements. The Party is determined to fulfil a

national historic role with full sense of responsibility and urgency. Those who have formed the BJP believe in the politics of moral renewal. Humility and service are as important as the struggle for power. BJP has been formed at a time when the nation is faced with an unprecedented crisis. Our people need faith and hope but without any illusion.

II. The Genesis

Under the stewardship of JP the Janata Party came into existence after a prolonged struggle against the decay and corruption of Congressism. The leaders of the Congress Party desperately tried to prolong their stay in power when the social and economic conditions of the country required an alternative to it. The Janata movement started in 1973-74 and this movement of people of different ideologies and parties combined to create an alternative to Congress. The various splits in the Janata Party have pushed back the creation of this alternative and it should be the endeavour of all those who want to meet the crisis of the Indian Society and economy as well as the challenge of authoritarianism of the Congress to rededicate themselves to the creation of that alternative. BJP would be ready to join in cooperation with all those forces who wish to engage themselves in this endeavour.

The last split in the Janata Party came on the issue of so-called dual membership. When the Janata Party was launched in January, 1977, or when it was formally inaugurated in May, 1977, no one had raised any objection to the association of former Jana Sangh members with the RSS. Even after the Janata Party came to power, dual membership remained a non-issue until the internal power conflicts within the party became very sharp. It was then that this bogey started being used as a whiplash against former Jana Sangh members. It is not a matter of coincidence that the issue of dual membership came to the surface in a big way when the power game at the summit became acute. The Jana Sangh component

of the Janata Party tried to cooperate with others but without much success. It may be a matter of history now, but the fact needs recording that the Jana Sangh group left no stone unturned in maintaining the unity of the Janata Party and made every possible sacrifice it was called upon to make in order to maintain this unity, but the mutual bickerings of the leaders coupled with the activities of a group of compulsive, chronic party-splitters undermined Morarji's Government and the Janata Party.

BJP would like to make, at the very outset, its position on the so-called dual membership very clear, in case some people have any misgivings about it. The Party reiterates that the members of all those social or cultural organisations which are working for the social and cultural uplift of the masses and are not engaged in any political activity, are welcome to join the BJP and their membership of that Organisation will not be considered inconsistent with the membership of the BJP so long as they subscribe to the ideology and programme of the Party. BJP believes that politics without constructive work corrupts both leaders and workers. The Party enlists the support of all those who are engaged in constructive activity.

III. New Consensus

Today the country is facing very serious multiple crises in various walks of life. These crises are not the creation of the Janata Party or of its Government. These crises have been building up rapidly over the last one decade of Congress rule. The Congress leaders when faced with the successive crises resorted to hypocritical rectitude that crumbled under the pressure of the harsh realities of Indian life. Today, the Congress (I) is pushing the country towards polarisation and total conflict. The need of the hour is to create a national consensus on certain fundamentals, which have large areas for competitive politics.

BJP believes that both consensus and conflict are inescapable aspects of development. The Party would attempt to create

consensus on all major national issues and would compete with others where conflict situations arise. Consensus and conflicts are not ends in themselves but are processes through which development takes place. Consensus does not imply full agreement among all. However, national consensus cannot be based on mere struggle for power. It must be based on certain principles and national objectives. BJP puts forward five principles which it is determined to follow and on the basis of which a national consensus can be created. These five principles we now describe as Our Five Commitments.

The first principle is of NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION. We are living in an era of nation states and the welfare of the people largely depends on national efforts. Defence of national interests should thus become the primary concern of every Indian. India is one nation and Indians are one people, constituting and mutually accommodating plurality of religious faiths, ideologies, languages, interests etc. BJP believes that people of different faiths and different ideologies should be able to co-exist in peace and harmony with one another. National consensus will be possible when the development of one social group leads to the development of other social groups. Those who have external or extra-territorial loyalties and are engaged in anti-social activities cannot be by definition expected to contribute to national consensus and therefore will have to be kept out.

Second, a fundamental plank of the J.P. movement, and so also of the BJP approach, has been commitment to DEMOCRACY. The subversion of the democratic institutions in this country had been going on for a long time. It will be the endeavour of the BJP to defend democratic institutions and norms and fight ceaselessly against the emerging fascist trends. For the defence of democracy and fundamental rights, BJP will cooperate with other democratic parties.

Third, BJP believes in the policy of POSITIVE SECULARISM, based on moral values. Secularism of the Congress has been

totally immoral and opportunistic and a fraud played on the people of this country because it increasingly communalised the Indian politics. Communal vote banks have come to play a very crucial role in Indian electoral process. This canker of Indian politics has to be fought because it strikes at the very root of nationalism and national integration. BJP would ensure full protection of the life and property of the minorities.

Besides, secularism has been reduced to a totally negative concept. The Congress never gave any positive connotation to secularism as was given to it by Gandhiji. Secularism does not merely imply that there should be no intolerance among different religious groups. More positively, it also means distillation of common moral values whether derived from different religions or from other historical and civilizational experiences and approach, which always remained integral to the Indian civilization.

Fourth, the ideology of the BJP would be, broadly speaking, that of GANDHIAN SOCIALISM. Bread, Freedom and Employment are the Gandhian first principles. BJP would make these principles the central core of development strategy and try to build a national consensus around them. Gandhism has been misinterpreted to mean either total reliance on 'small is beautiful' or limited scientific and technological development. In fact, in the Gandhian framework, there is always a scope for large, medium and small, and there need not be any restriction on any technology so long as it does not debase human beings or becomes an instrument of exploitation or neo-colonialism. The Indian civilization has always progressed on the basis of a combination of moral values and positive approach to science; science and religion will have to be harmonized. Gandhian Socialism aims at ultimately replacing both capitalism and Socialism by the principles of a cooperative system and trusteeship in all fields of economic activity. Concentration of economic power either in the hands of the State or in the hands of the individuals has its own dangers and leads to corruption of power. Gandhian Socialism is not a mere set of objectives or ends. It also demands reliance

on right means. The gradual transformation of the society towards trusteeship and cooperative commonwealth should take place through non-violent means. BJP will follow these Gandhian practices to achieve Gandhian objectives.

Fifth, the central point of Gandhian Socialism is that there should be no poverty or exploitation of man by man. More positively, it means that social and political life should be guided by a set of norms and values, the abridgement of which should bring social sanctions and punishment. BJP will strive to build up such VALUE BASED POLITICS, and thus seek to cleanse the filth abounding in public life today.

With the overall ideological framework of these Five Commitments, BJP will take a flexible stand on other issues. For example, it will be prepared to cooperate even with the ruling party in respect of those programmes which are designed to help the poor masses but without making any compromise on its opposition to authoritarianism, corruption and anti-national politics and activities. Similarly BJP will go a long way to cooperate with all those opposition parties which have no extra territorial loyalty in evolving a common approach to resisting the authoritarianism, corruption and anti-national policies of the Congress Party.

IV. Janata's Performance and the Emerging Crisis

The Janata Party remained in power for too short a period to have reversed the process of decay and recession that developed during the period from the middle of 1960s to the middle of the 1970s. For two years 1977-78 and 1978-79, the performance of the prices remained stable; industrial production increased by 8 to 10 per cent per annum, agricultural production was one of the highest ever recorded and foreign exchange accretion increased further, etc. The Janata Government also started a number of programmes for the long term betterment of the poorest of the poor. Food for Work Programme, special assistance to small and marginal farmers, *Antyodaya* and special component plan for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, shift in plan expenditure in favour of agriculture, etc.

laid the foundation for both a balanced growth and social justice. The Janata Party prepared a draft Sixth Five Year Plan in which employment was given the highest priority besides making a massive allocation for the minimum needs programme to strengthen the social base of the poor. For the first time these objectives were so formulated as to be consistent with a reasonably high growth rate, 4.7% per annum. All these programmes were suddenly destabilised and indeed negated by the political crisis. Nearly for one year the country has not had any economic decision-making machinery to meet the economic crisis. This crisis is of massive proportions and the return of the Congress has only further intensified the economic crisis.

V. Dead End of Congressism

BJP recognizes the historical role of the Congress as a broad national front for anti-imperialist struggle. In the early years of independence it made some attempts to create national consensus. However, this was a short-lived experience and the Congress gradually lost its historical role. It tried to remain in power through the erosion and finally the destruction of a large part of the institutional structure created by it. Political manipulation, corruption, arranging defections, maligning opposition etc. became its chief instruments of grabbing power. The Congress betrayed the entire Gandhian tradition and heritage and thus reached a dead end.

It was the decay and degeneration of Congressism which manifested itself in the shape of the Congress (I) and which created a situation of perpetual crisis in this country. In their lust for power the Congress (I) leaders imposed emergency in this country in 1975 when they could not resolve the crisis created by their wrong policies. Congressism at this stage of our political development means definite return to authoritarianism of one kind or another. At the hands of the Congress political institutions have either eroded or have been destroyed one by one. The decline of Parliament, which is the pivot of Indian democracy, will lead to its extinction, if this decline is not stopped right

now. The judiciary is being forced by open or subtle threats to conform to the wishes of the ruling party. Without imposing direct emergency, press men have been already put under fear of emergency. The bureaucracy is totally demoralised. In other words, all the major instruments of political decision-making are being controlled by a small coterie which is hellbent on monopolizing total power. This coterie is oblivious of the crisis facing the country. For stable and democratic political order, a high level of institutional structure is necessary. The tragedy of the Congress Party is that in the first instance it created an inadequate institutional structure during the first fifteen years of its rule, but in the second phase the leadership consistently eroded even these institutions in order to retain its power. Political parties have been corrupted, a single individual has appropriated the entire power of the executive, cabinet formation has become a mere formality. Parliament has been weakened, press and judiciary have been immobilized, universities and colleges have been politicalised and their educational functions undermined. BJP would restore not only the power, the functioning and authority of the existing institutions but would also attempt to reform them to suit the new conditions. The Party would appoint a commission to go into the question of the institutional restructuring of India which will facilitate democratic and social development in a longer perspective.

VI. Electoral Reforms and Anti-Defection Law

It is quite clear that the electoral system fashioned thirty years ago itself now poses a threat to democracy by encouraging defections, corruption, party fragmentation and disregard for the norms of democracy. That is why Jayaprakash gave a very high priority to electoral reforms, the main thrust of which is sufficiently clear. Reforms must aim, inter-alia, at reversing the process of party fragmentation. Besides, state financing of elections on the basis of votes polled by recognised parties should be introduced in order to avoid dependence of parties on

big business and black money. Recognised parties must submit their accounts for national auditing. Also, voting age must be reduced from 21 to 18 years. In this task, BJP would seek the cooperation of all political parties which consider electoral reforms a matter of great urgency.

BJP will attempt to create a national consensus against defections and for enacting law against defections. Without going into too many details, BJP would recommend the adoption of anti-defection law which bars floor crossing. Not only are there in India too many political parties, there are too many proverbial splitters in the system. Authoritarianism and fascism have been historically the product of party fragmentation in democracies. That is how Hitler came to power in Germany or socialist Mussolini became a fascist power in Italy. The Congress or any other party can always manage to rule New Delhi with perpetual minority popular vote by arranging defections whenever needed. It is in the interest of all democratic parties that they must collectively insist on legal enactment against defections. Even the Congress Party stands a chance of reform if it agrees to combat defections.

VII. The Threat of Casteism

Thirty years of development or rather maldevelopment have pushed more and more people below the poverty line. There are two kinds of entrenched poverty in India: economic and social. Scheduled castes and tribes, some very poor backward castes, etc. have suffered from both economic and social poverty. In their case the two kinds of poverty overlap. But there are others in upper and middle castes who may suffer from no social disabilities but are very poor indeed. The Congress approach to solving issues of social poverty has been to structure a system of reservations for the socially discriminated castes. To some extent the reservation schemes have helped create political awareness among the socially underprivileged. However, that policy has permitted a small group among them to appropriate most of the advantages, leaving the mass of those who are daily subjected to social oppression to fend for themselves.

Reservation policy did not create many tensions and conflicts during the period and in the States in which economic growth has been reasonably high. But in the relatively fourteen stagnant States, with fewer and fewer jobs and advantages to be distributed, reservation policy is ripping the society apart, leading to large scale violence. Therefore, it is time to consider some alternative approach which combines protection and reservation for those who are economically poor, no matter to which caste they belong, with social defence of those who still suffer from social poverty. BJP would attempt to have a national consensus on the subject so that an alternative system is evolved which simultaneously meets both the challenges of economic and social poverty. To blindly accept or reject reservations is going to be counter-productive and further divide the society. The policy on promotions must be distinguished from that on reservations in the interests of efficiency, creativity and equity. BJP would aim at bringing about social equality without creating new conflicts. A society which tolerates untouchability or other forms of social discrimination will never get stabilized in the long run. Today, the structure of the Indian society is being weakened by the over politicization of the casteist forces. All these political practices or laws which create caste consciousness have to be fought with great vigour. Gandhiji had warned us a long time ago that the Indian society will become a victim of its own practices and external aggression if it continues to persist in caste practices. Those who believe that casteism is sanctioned by our scriptures do not interpret them correctly. Even if caste played some positive role in the past, it has ceased to play any such role now and the over-politicization of caste is the surest way of keeping the Indian society divided against itself. Political parties which have a caste base only pose a serious threat to a democratic and egalitarian political order. The doors of the BJP are open to people of all castes and creeds but nobody would be allowed to use his caste background or association for political purposes.

VIII. Economic Crisis

The nation is facing the most serious crisis in the economic field. Thirty years of Congress rule have left behind the ugliest poverty and most repulsive affluence. The successes achieved in the earlier phase in terms of growth rate, investments, price stability have all gone overboard. Today the monster of inflation stares at the faces of the poor, the working class and the middle class. Economic recession, as expressed in low or zero industrial growth rate, very limited agricultural growth rate and slow attrition of the small scale sector etc. has become a permanent source of economic crisis. Unemployment, particularly of the educated youth, is increasing instead of declining.

Almost all economists divide the experience of Indian planning and development into two distinct periods: (1) the period of the Nehru-Shastri era, and (2) the period of Indira Gandhi, with 1965 as the dividing line. These economists have shown that ever since Mrs. Gandhi came to power, the rate of growth continuously declined, the growth of industry reduced, the rate of employment generation sharply fell. On the other hand, prices rose on an average 2 1/2 times as much as those in Nehru era. Instead of meeting the crisis and stemming the decline, Smt. Gandhi has been increasingly resorting to populist gimmicks. The Janata Party's performance was far better, but one cannot claim that in the brief period of the Janata rule the trends in economy prevailing before 1977 were definitely reversed. Numerous crises are now converging and Mrs Gandhi is again back at her old tactics.

IX. Energy Problems and Policies

The energy crisis is overtaking every other crisis and the Government does not have any policy worth its name. The Janata Government had appointed a committee on energy. The Planning Commission has made useful suggestions but it seems the Congress (I) Government is playing politics

with it and the country is paying through its nose. The BJP would insist on only government to government buying of oil under signed contracts.

Besides imports of oil, India needs a comprehensive energy policy and balanced mix for consumption. For agriculture, artificial fertilizers must be mixed with natural compost, both to save on energy and to protect the fertility of land. BJP would insist on the government pursuing a programme of balanced development of thermal, hydel and nuclear power. Those power projects which are being run at big losses must be handed over to a central corporation. The bulk users and high-tension industries must pay fully for the cost of energy, and management pay for their failures.

X. Planning

The crisis of Indian economy is essentially the crisis of bad planning and mismanagement. One of the institutions whose power and authority has got eroded at the hands of Smt. Indira Gandhi is the Planning Commission. The new Commission, indeed, is no more than a stamping machine for the Government as against the independent stature it enjoyed under Mr. Nehru and Mr. Desai.

Over the last thirty years a lot of wasteful expenditure has been incurred by the Government in the form of non-plan expenditure leading to the rising budgetary deficits. The Planning Commission will have to be made responsible for not merely allocating resources but supervising and monitoring non-plan expenditure to avoid waste and to curtail unnecessary expenditure. In recent years, the balance has tilted in favour of the non-plan expenditure against plan expenditure adding a structural component to inflation. A balance has to be struck between plan and non-plan expenditure to avoid unproductive and non-developmental expenditure and to do so the task will have to be undertaken by a single authority, and that authority has to be the Planning Commission. BJP would restore the power and authority of the Commission in order that it makes the most rational use of resources and achieves objectives of growth, employment and justice as quickly

as possible.

BJP accepts, by and large, the strategy evolved in the draft Sixth Five-Year Plan. BJP believes that economic planning should become the area of national consensus. The strategy of the draft Sixth Plan was to create a high rate of economic growth, ensure full employment and provide minimum needs to the people. The Ruling Party's attempts to change this strategy for political purposes will only weaken the economy and deepen the crisis of stagflation which is already with us. There is nothing in the so-called 20-point programme of the Congress (I) which is not included in the Sixth Plan. The BJP would invite other political parties to draw up an alternative plan if the Congress Party insists on evolving a plan with political motives.

XI. Industrial Policy

BJP is totally against concentration of economic power, be it in industry, business or agriculture. In the field of industry, while BJP believes that a strong public sector is needed to protect vital national interests and to maintain the momentum of economic development, it recommends that those public sector enterprises which have developed some kind of sickness over the years must be shifted to joint sector as then they can be salvaged under a new management. BJP holds that further expansion of consumer goods industry for domestic consumption must be restricted to small and medium scale sectors.

Any further expansion of the large scale consumer goods industry will be limited only to (a) meeting export needs, and (b) establishing necessary linkages between different industries for optimal utilization of resources. The area of small scale industry will gradually expand into new areas and correspondingly the large scale consumer goods will have to vacate these areas until such time that full employment is achieved. The two most crucial but neglected areas to which BJP will pay special attention are the nation-wide development of marketing facilities and organization for the small scale sector and, second, the evolution of policy for the self-employed sector. The last mentioned has remained neglected for too long. No industrial structure can

be viable without having the support of the self-sustaining capital goods sectors. In the last few years of the Congress rule, the capital goods sector was neglected, which is now reflected in the perpetual crisis of the infrastructure. Therefore the capital goods sector base of the economy should be strengthened—both in the private and public sectors. Only that kind of foreign collaboration or import of foreign capital and technology be permitted which helps to create a strong R&D base and self-reliant economy.

XII. Science and Technology

India can be legitimately proud of its ancient scientific and technological traditions. These traditions remained strong and uninterrupted till the middle ages from whence they started languishing. India tried to recapture once again the scientific spirit in the post-independence period and succeeded in creating the third largest technical manpower. Yet, India today is too much dependent on imported technology and has failed to develop an indigenous R&D base. The best of our scientists and technicians are emigrating to other countries. Scientific institutions are controlled not by scientists but by political ideologues, pseudo-radicals and feudal minds. There is no integrated science policy nor a relevant policy on technology. The failure to have such a policy is now affecting our industrial development. We still import sophisticated defence equipment. BJP will give the highest priority to the creation and development of a powerful and self-reliant national scientific and technological base. Industrial policy and the policy on science and technology should be properly dovetailed to get maximum production at minimum cost.

XIII. Land Reforms and Agrarian Restructuring

Land reforms have their role but they cannot be a substitute for agrarian restructuring. What we need today is not mere reforms but the reorganization of agriculture in a manner that those not possessing economic holdings or having no land are organized in such a combination that they are able to optimize their economic functions in terms

of production, employment, and asset creation. BJP will insist on guaranteeing fifty per cent of the credit meant for agriculture to be given to small and marginal farmers and to those who would try to create non-agricultural employment opportunities.

We have not merely to move from land reforms to agrarian restructuring, we have to move several steps ahead to remove a series of rural-urban dichotomies that have been created by the Congress Party to retain itself in power or to distribute benefits of development to a small minority of rural and urban rich. It is not possible for agriculture to provide all the jobs needed for those who enter the active labour force in the rural areas, nor is it possible to create the jobs in the metropolitan towns whose social infrastructure is already coming under great strains. Already there are crores of people who live in slums. Our strategy of development would insist on the development of intermediate towns which would not merely provide services and inputs for agriculture but would create non-agricultural employment opportunities. A very high priority would be given to investment in these towns. BJP is not in favour of any tax on those companies which would invest specified activities in these towns. The main thrust of the economic development strategy should be to create a balance as much between different regions as between different sectors. Uneven economic development creates political problems – and sometimes may become even a threat to the whole Indian society and polity.

XIV. Anti-Poverty Programme

Poverty and inequality are the unresolved problems of India despite the so-called strides in development that the Congress claims on its own behalf. The Congress policies and culture are such that it can no longer be trusted to solve problems. BJP pledges itself to give the highest priority to the solution of these problems and for this it will enlarge all those programmes which are

designed for the economic and social advance of the poor. Some of these programmes have been defined in the draft Sixth Plan as Minimum Needs Programme. BJP demands of the Planning Commission to enlarge these programmes, particularly the programmes of *Antyodaya*, Food for Work, Adult Education, Drinking Water for Villages, Low Cost Housing, Nutrition, Primary Health Care and Family Planning etc. It seems the ruling party is bent on scuttling these programmes for propagandizing and politicizing the so-called 20-point programme. BJP does not see any contradiction between the two. We would welcome the enlargement of the area of programmes which are designed for the uplift of the masses.

XV. Centre-State Relations

India is a quasi-federal state. The founding fathers of the Constitution tried to create a very judicious combination of a strong central authority with devolution of considerable powers to the States. The rise of authoritarian forces has nothing to do with a strong Centre. BJP prefers a strong Centre but not an authoritarian Centre. BJP believes that it is the weak Centre which has a tendency to become corrupt and authoritarian. But a strong Centre does not automatically ensure that the Centre would not misuse its powers. What was done earlier in 1975 or has recently been done in dissolving several State Assemblies for pure political purposes should remind us about the danger of Centre-State conflicts. In several spheres, economic and social development depends upon the nearness of the Government to the people. Therefore, States must have adequate powers. In other words, both the Centre and the States must be powerful and that is possible only when the national power base is expanding. With a contracting national power base, as it is the situation today, Centre-State relations will remain under great strains and stresses. Secessionist forces raise their heads only when either the Centre or the States try to misuse their powers or,

when the national power base is narrowed. BJP does not believe in a weak Centre nor does it believe in the Central Government usurping the powers of the States as a substitute for its inefficiency and corruption and decline in political legitimacy.

Most of the major States of India, which are relatively underdeveloped, are too unwieldy for efficient administration and integrated planned development. The Indian experience is that, generally speaking, whenever big States were broken up and formed into smaller States, development picked up momentum. BJP strongly supports the demand for smaller viable States and will work for creating a consensus on the subject so that a smooth territorial transformation can take place.

XVI. Decentralisation

The Centre-State relation will always remain in tension if the power is not further decentralized from the States to the local bodies. BJP will work for a constitutional amendment which will guarantee protection to the local bodies against their arbitrary supersession by the State Governments and for financial and function devolution of powers from the States. The distribution of power has to be seen as several links in a chain and no link must be so weak as to cause the weakness of the whole chain. However, decentralization and centralization are not ends in themselves. They are processes through which democracy, development and peoples' participation have to be secured. BJP calls for a genuine national debate on the implementation of the Asoka Mehta Committee's Report on Panchayati Raj.

XVII. Education

BJP would insist on not merely reforming but completely overhauling the existing educational system from which only a small minority benefits at present. Education must conform as much to Indian values and traditions as to the needs of a modern society and economy. Different areas of education such as primary, secondary, higher, etc. are

to be treated as links in the same chain. BJP will work for creating a common school system with comprehensive education. Priorities would be given to those areas which would impart relevant education in skills to the unskilled and the uneducated masses.

BJP would try to have school education free but, following the Gandhian ideas, make college education pay for itself except for those who are bright but come from poor families. More and more education should be shifted to vocationalized community colleges so that majority of the students when they leave the school are well equipped to take up employment. All higher secondary schools should have two streams of education, though intertwined with each other, so that school education should be terminal for those who cannot afford or are not qualified to go for higher education. Technical education will no longer remain the responsibility of the Government only.

Industry, which is the largest user of technical manpower, would be asked to enter into a joint enterprise with the Government to make technical education more relevant and fill these gaps which exist at present.

BJP would completely reorient higher education in order not only to make it more employment-oriented but also to make it more balanced in order to stop the brain-drain. We would like to produce men and women of high skills but not at the cost of medium and low skilled manpower of which there is a great shortage in the country and which can help equip the poor. The country cannot afford to pay for the education of those who ultimately migrate to other countries. Indians are not being treated well abroad, therefore our educational system must meet this challenge of creating only those kinds of educational skills by which the educated are functionally and profitably employed within the country.

XVIII. Women

BJP pledges itself to restore to women the position of equality with men that the Indian tradition proposed

and accepted. Women are the most exploited section of our society and in recent years the use of violence against them has increased. Despite anti-dowry laws, women are burnt everyday. BJP would launch a campaign for the social defence of women. We believe the best defence lies in women organizing themselves. Basically it is the economic and social dependence of women that is the main source of their exploitation. Men and women are equal but they are not similar. Therefore, BJP would launch special programmes for women, such as education, child and maternity care, setting up of working women hostels as well as creches and day-care centres for the poor working women. Another sure way of producing security for women is to enlarge employment in areas and sectors which suit them most. BJP's approach to women's programmes will be three-pronged, (a) organizing women for their defence, (b) launching programmes for their employment and care, and (c) strict awarding of penalties for offences against women.

XIX. Youth

The demographic composition of India has been changing for some time now. The youth constitute a very high proportion of our population today and this proportion will remain high for the next two or three decades. Therefore, economic strategy and social programmes will have to cater to the needs of the youth. The young people are getting increasingly frustrated due to growing unemployment, irrelevant education, their disorientation from social roots, their unpreparedness to meet the onslaught of pop culture etc. They are increasingly being pushed to resort to violence to get their voice heard. BJP is committed to utilizing the immense potential of the youth in meeting the challenges of development, of the eradication of poverty and illiteracy, and of creating a domestic and equitable social order.

BJP will attempt to evolve an employment guarantee scheme for the youth in implementing its various programmes.

BJP has a large youth cadre and will attempt to harness their energies for national tasks by organising powerful youth organizations, particularly among workers, educated youths, rural youths and women.

XX. Foreign Policy

Never before has India faced such external threats as are now looming large on the horizon. A superpower has brutally taken over a small country without anybody else doing anything about it. The response of the other superpowers is to increase the level of their military presence in the areas around India. We are likely to face a situation in which all the three superpowers and their satellites would be encircling India with their mighty military force stationed within striking distance of our major cities. The ruling Congress Party has been found wanting in meeting this challenge. The correctives applied to foreign policy by the Janata Government are being discarded one by one. The attempts of the Janata Party to create confidence in countries of the subcontinent are being given up in favour of policies designed to placate the superpowers,

The BJP will adhere to the path of genuine non-alignment adopted during the Janata regime and shall pursue an independent foreign policy aimed at preserving world peace and promoting and safeguarding the enlightened self-interests of the nation.

The BJP considers improvement of relations with our immediate neighbours like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Srilanka and Bhutan as one of the major achievements of Janata's foreign policy. The BJP will continue to pay special attention to the development of these mutually beneficial ties with our neighbours. It will also encourage regional cooperation in South Asia in the common interests of all States in the region and extend its support to similar ventures in South East and West Asia. It will work for a zone of peace in Indian ocean, free from foreign military presence, and will extend total support to the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

The BJP will seek to build an international environment

conducive to the free flow of knowledge and information and to cultural exchanges among nations. The BJP opposes racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations and shall actively defend human rights wherever threatened.

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