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7. To make the entire population defence conscious, we shall introduce defence studies in all Universities and start rifle clubs all over the country.

Will to Win

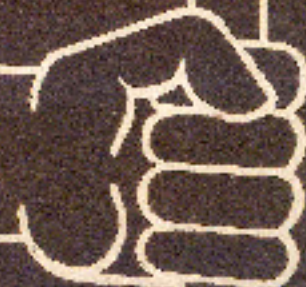
The Jana Sangh is pledged to banish poverty. It has a promise to keep—a solemn promise to our future generations that they will be born solvent as honourable citizens of a first-rate State. This cannot be achieved through empty slogans or ample gimmickry. In this fight to finish between our people and the demon of poverty, victory can be assured only through hard work with patience, perseverance, discipline, dedication and, above all, the will to win. As a party of patriots, the Jana Sangh will rouse our people's will to win this Holy War on poverty.

JANA SANGH DECLARES...

...WAR ON POVERTY



(90) A



ELECTION MANIFESTO, 1971

NO RAW...
YTRVOD



...the country of our vast manpower which
harnessed to the cause of national development
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INDIA stands today at the crossroads of history. The forth-coming mid-term elections for the Lok Sabha are going to be crucial for the country. Never before have the people faced a choice pregnant with such far-reaching consequences. Never before has a Prime Minister in a democracy entered into such open collusion with anti-national and anti-democratic forces. Never before has a clique in power treated the judiciary and the parliament with such contempt. Never before has a Government had such dismal record of unmitigated failure in the maintenance of law and order, as Mrs. Gandhi's Government has in Bengal. In other words, never before have the alternatives been so clear and the choice so obvious.

Nobody is likely to be taken in by the Prime Minister's claim that she advised dissolution of the Lok Sabha because 'vested interests' stood in the way of her 'progressive' policies. Fact is that the ruling group has shown neither the capacity nor the desire to tackle the basic problems threatening the country.

Mounting unemployment has created an explosive situation. Our Five-year Plans have failed to tackle it. Indeed, the Planning Commission has practically given up the fight, and taken shelter behind a facade of highly technical verbiage. The ruling party has no notion of when, if at all, and in what

way, if any, the energies of our vast manpower will be harnessed to the cause of national development.

The other blatant failure of Government is in respect of the ever-rising price spiral. That prices have been skyrocketing in spite of the fact that the country has had an unbroken chain of good crops for three years shows that there is something radically wrong with the Government's economic policies.

When taxes to the tune of Rs. 170 crores were levied in last year's budget, it was claimed that there would be only a fractional rise, if at all, in the cost of living. Later events have shown how wishful and deceptive this belief was. There has naturally been widespread unrest and irresistible demands for higher wages. The interim relief granted recently, though disappointingly insufficient, is a direct result of these policies. The Prime Minister's transferring the finance portfolio to some one else may be an attempt to save her personal popularity. But she is aware that the next budget will have an additional burden of at least several hundred crores in the form of new taxes because of higher prices and a higher wage burden. The Lok Sabha has been dissolved to escape the consequences such a budget would have had on the election prospects of the ruling group in 1972.

While the people are repeatedly asked to observe austerity the Government itself has been honouring these sermons in breach only. Squandering of public money and ostentatious display goes on unabated. Corruption in services is as rampant as ever. Bureaucratic red tape continues to stifle enterprise. Industrial plants still suffer the burden of heavy idle capacity. Conditions in the Public Sector have been rapidly deteriorating. Although all these failures on the economic front are sought to be clouded with the help of statistical jugglery, the man in the street cannot but be aware that the Ruling Party's socialism means only

increasing burdens, lessening opportunities, rising costs and growing misery.

Ever since the Congress split Smt. Gandhi has headed a minority Government. To make up for the failures on the economic front, and to maintain herself in power she has leaned more and more on communists and communalists. As a price for their support, she has turned a blind eye to the anarchic conditions created by the former and promoted the ominous revival of the Muslim League in the country's political life.

In the Kerala mid-term polls, the Ruling Congress entered into an open alliance with the Muslim League. In a bid to cloak this unabashed opportunism, the Prime Minister publicly certified the Kerala Muslim League as "not communal". More recently, in a statement at Jammu, Smt. Gandhi has sought to absolve the entire Muslim League of responsibility for the sin of India's partition.

The Muslim League's claim that it is the sole representative body of Indian Muslims, its demand for reservations in legislatures and services, its attacks on Parliament's right to amend the Muslim Personal Law and its propagation of imaginary stories about atrocities on Muslims—all this is building up the same vicious atmosphere which preceded the creation of Pakistan.

The Prime Minister has lent respectability to the anti-national activities of Naxalites by attributing them to "socio-economic" reasons. It must be well realised that those who are fomenting these Naxalite disturbances are nothing but agents of Red China exerting to bring India under Peking's sway.

It is now 10 months that West Bengal has been under President's Rule. But the law and order situation there has shown no improvement; indeed, it has been progressively

worsening. When you have innocent sons killed before the eyes of their mothers, teachers butchered in front of their pupils, stray youngmen stabbed in open daylight—these should be understood not as portents of any revolution, they are clear omens that the nation is being dragged to the brink of disaster. It is the primary duty of a Government to protect the life, property and honour of its citizens. The present government has completely failed in fulfilling this duty. It has, therefore, forfeited its right to remain in office.

In this election, the options before the voter are: democracy or totalitarianism; peaceful change or violent upheaval; orderly progress or anarchy; Rule of Law or the law of the jungle?

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh appeals to India's enlightened electorate that they reject this unholy triple alliance of the Ruling Congress, C. P. I. and the Muslim League, and instal in its place an alternative government unequivocally committed to nationalism, democracy and the building up of an egalitarian society.

Jana Sangh believes that the emergence of a brave new India would remain a dream so long as the basic postulates are not spelt out in clear terms. The mental cobwebs consciously woven to confuse the country need to be swept clean. It would be in place, therefore, to reiterate the party's fundamental tenets, which we regard as imperative for the building up of a virile Indian nation, capable of playing its due role in the world.

One Nation : One People

Jana Sangh regards India as one nation, and all Indians as one people. The diversity of castes, creeds, languages and provinces only lend beauty and splendour to this unity of our national life, which is so assimilative that even those who came as invaders were absorbed in it and became identified with it.

Those who preach a two-nation theory on the basis of religion, or a multi-nation theory on the basis of language, pose a sinister challenge to this concept of one-nationhood. If India is to be saved from the danger of further fragmentation, these disruptive ideologies have to be firmly rooted out.

Non-communal State

Jana Sangh fully subscribes to the ancient ideal of the non-communal State. In India no one is discriminated against on grounds of his religion. The State has always looked upon all faiths as entitled to equal freedom and protection. Jana Sangh is resolved to carry forward this secular tradition.

Jana Sangh, however, rejects the pseudo-secularism that combines irreligion with appeasement. We would like followers of all religions to accept the Indian ideal of *sanya-dharma-samx-bhava* and cherish a feeling of not merely tolerance, but equal respect, for other faiths.

Egalitarian Society

Jana Sangh is pledged to the creation of an egalitarian society in which there would be no discrimination against, or in favour of, any citizen on grounds of birth, heredity, caste or creed. In this society, there would be no place for economic exploitation or social disparity.

Jana Sangh will seek to conserve and promote all that is great, noble and sublime in Indian culture and wage a relentless battle against intolerance, superstition and obscurantism, so that our objective of building up a modern India on the basis of liberty, equality and fraternity can be achieved.

Subject to the party's general manifesto, as outlined in the document 'Principles and Policies', we place the following programme of Government for the next five years for the consideration of the people and approval of the electorate.

A National War on Poverty

The Jana Sangh declares a national war on poverty. It is committed to the objective of total victory in this war. We are out to break once and for all the vicious circle of low incomes, low demand, low savings, low investment, low employment and low production. We shall generate the healthy trend of more employment, higher incomes, greater demand, larger savings and greater investment, leading to higher production at lower costs.

The development of the Indian economy is a vast enterprise which only the reawakened mass of the Indian people can execute with success. It is a task beyond a handful of moneybags, or petty ministers doling out a licence here or a permit there. Indian economy is not a baby of big business, nor of bad government; it is the job of the Indian people. It can come into its own only with the tremendous release of national energies. Every citizen with an idea in his head and energy in his hands must feel free to put up an enterprise. That is the only way to banish poverty and attain full employment.

Full Employment

Jana Sangh will plan for full employment. The nuclear programme will absorb educated unemployed. Compulsory primary education and primary health centres in each group of villages will mop up rural unemployment. A massive programme of rural public works and housing will change the face of India. We will do all this by using our labour as our best capital, and making every project labour-intensive.

Agriculture : Our Biggest Industry

Our biggest industry is agriculture. Jana Sangh will attain food self-sufficiency in the next five years. In the same period it will distribute all surplus and cultivable waste

land to landless labourers and farmers with uneconomic holdings, particularly those belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Ex-servicemen. It will give interest-free loans to help turn uneconomic holdings into economic ones. We will complete the uncompleted irrigation projects like Rajasthan Canal and execute a network of minor irrigation works.

The Jana Sangh upholds the principle of 'Land to the tiller'—with exemption to minors, widows, disabled, and army and police personnel. It will guarantee security of tenure and fair share to 'bataidars'. It will reduce and rationalise land rents. It is opposed to any lowering of land ceilings.

Jana Sangh will encourage formation of service-co-operatives for marketing etc. and ensure cheaper supply of improved tools, bullocks, seeds, manures, fertilisers, pesticides, other inputs and credit facilities. It will lower irrigation and electricity charges, introduce crop and cattle insurance, and promote cattle breeding and animal husbandry. It will guarantee remunerative prices for food crops, and maintain a proper balance between the prices of agricultural produce and manufactured goods.

We will bring good drinking water to villages, develop agro-industries and evolve an indigenous technology to transform the countryside.

A House For Every Family

Next to agriculture, building activity is the second biggest industry of the country. It not only yields the much needed houses and factories, it creates vast employment opportunities for architects, engineers, construction workers and material suppliers. Jana Sangh will direct banking and insurance institutions to give adequate financial aid to all the various housing cooperative societies and establish

a central housing authority to give long-term low-interest loans for the purpose. It will abolish all slums and give every family its own house to live in.

The houses/flats thus constructed by various agencies will be allotted on hire-purchase basis, the cost being recovered in easy instalments.

Measures will be adopted to diffuse house ownership in urban areas.

Industrial Growth

Jana Sangh notes the recession that has overtaken industry. It will take all steps necessary to restore health and buoyancy to it.

We will take industrial licensing out of the hands of politicians and invest it in the expert hands of an autonomous authority directly responsible to Parliament. We will abolish licensing of small and medium industries not requiring any foreign exchange. We shall prefer the small and medium sector for expansion in the consumer goods industry. This will check the growth of monopolies and bring industry within the reach of the common man.

Jana Sangh will revive the Swadeshi spirit to strengthen the Indian economy. It will invite and encourage Indians abroad to invest in Indian industry.

Patterns of Industrial Ownership

The Jana Sangh stands for decentralisation of all authority, economic or political. It is opposed to the concentration of power in a few hands. Consequently, it rejects both types of capitalism, i.e. Private and Governmental, since both are incompatible with the tenets of economic democracy.

Jana Sangh will immediately set up a 'National Commission on the Patterns of Industrial Ownership' to determine—in the light of the structural peculiarities of different industries and the needs of economic growth—the scientific criteria for various forms of ownership.

Autonomous Monetary Authority

The Jana Sangh notes that credit has become more expensive since the banks have been nationalised. Small industry, and small farms, are charged a higher rate of interest than big industry, and big farms. All this has confirmed our fears that bank nationalisation was a political act and not an economic measure.

Jana Sangh will retrieve this situation. It will convert the nationalised banking industry into an Autonomous Monetary Authority in full charge of currency and credit, headed by the Reserve Bank of India, whose character and composition will have to be suitably altered. The Authority thus created will have the twin objectives of price-regulation through currency control—and full employment through credit policies.

The Autonomous Monetary Authority will be required to organise extensively its Financial Consultation Service to conduct micro-planning for raising the level of credit-worthiness of small peasants, village and urban artisans, educated unemployed, engineers, technicians, and the new and small entrepreneurs, and provide them appropriate credit facilities.

Replace Sales Tax by Excise

The Jana Sangh will simplify taxation laws to minimise tax evasion, and provide relief to hard pressed sections. It will divert, through suitable measures, the major portion of all unearned incomes into public utilities.

The device of taxation will be utilised to minimise the present disparities in expendable incomes and bring about a ratio of 1:20 between lowest and highest incomes. We will not impose any new tax which will raise the price of consumer goods for the common man.

We reject the proposal to impose Sales Tax on cloth, sugar and tobacco. Indeed, we will replace the vexatious Sales Tax, wherever possible, by the more convenient Excise Duty. Care will be taken to see that the States are not put to any loss in the process.

We will abolish all such taxes in which the cost of collection is almost as high as the revenue collected e. g. profession tax, income tax on low income brackets etc.

Stop Foreign Aid

By running up a foreign debt of over Rs. 7000 crores the Government has, in a sense, mortgaged the future generations of the country. The Jana Sangh will enquire into these iniquitous loan agreements, expose the burden of the so called 'aid', and have their terms revised.

Jana Sangh will work for a completely self-reliant economy and dispense with all foreign aid. Our import requirements will be financed by our export earnings and commercial credit from the world money market. All foreign technical know-how and equipment will be purchased through open global tenders.

Jana Sangh will scrutinise all foreign collaboration agreements, and seek deletion of objectionable clauses therein.

Nationalise Foreign Banks

The Jana Sangh will nationalise all foreign banks operating in India; and Indianise all foreign-owned consumer goods industries. Their share capital will be thrown open to

Indian citizens, particularly to their local employees and those in the low and medium income groups.

The Jana Sangh will nationalise import-export trade with communist countries and insurance of foreign trade.

It will constitute an autonomous board answerable to Parliament for issuing import licenses.

Making Public Sector Profitable

The tremendous losses on the enormous investments in public sector projects is a screaming scandal. Jana Sangh will free public undertakings from politicians and bureaucrats, and entrust them to professional public administrators with necessary training and experience of industrial management.

There will be a proper balance between the autonomy of the undertakings and their answerability to Parliament.

Instead of undertaking indiscriminate expansion of the public sector, Jana Sangh will concentrate on its consolidation. All losing concerns will be reorganised to make them profitable.

A New Deal to Wage Earners

The Jana Sangh will ensure for urban and industrial wage-earners security of service, fixation of a needs-based minimum wage, protection of real wage and recognition of unions by secret ballot.

The statutory range of bonus from 4% to 20% will be revised upwards in consultation with employers and employees.

Apart from the statutory minimum wages, co-sharing will be guaranteed to agricultural workers in their agricultural

produce and to Vanavasi workers in the product of forests and forest-based industries.

The Jana Sangh will launch integrated schemes of social security (including unemployment insurance, free medical care and retirement benefits) and labour welfare (including education of workers' children).

It will revise labour laws and the machinery thereunder, so as to ensure cheap and expeditious justice to workers and promote industrial peace.

It will encourage the process of labour participation in the management and ownership of industries, evaluating labour in terms of shares.

Women Workers

Jana Sangh stands for equal opportunities to women. It will encourage their employment to the types of jobs for which they have special aptitude, provide for their training, and arrange for more rational distribution of the female labour force so as to reduce competition between man and woman. It will strictly enforce the statutory provisions relating to women workers, and ensure equal pay for equal work.

Jana Sangh will require employers to recognise the fact that working house-wives constitute a special employment group and to make necessary adjustments regarding their working hours, work schedules, facilities for housing and transport, and children care services.

We shall put up hostels for working girls in the big cities.

No Retrenchment

The Jana Sangh is opposed to rationalisation leading to retrenchment without alternative employment. It will oppose

automation causing large scale unemployment in industries, except in the field of Defence and Space Science.

Fair Deal For Pensioners

The Jana Sangh will raise the quantum of pensions substantially in view of the increased cost of living. It will extend the Central Health Scheme to pensioners.

Price Stabilisation Board

With a view to regulating the price level, the Jana Sangh will curtail deficit financing, establish a Price Stabilisation Board to regulate the margin of profit, prescribe severe penalties for profiteering and hoarding, and provide a network of fair price shops.

A Swadeshi Plan

The Jana Sangh stands for micro-planning for the public sector and macro-planning for the whole economy. It believes in full employment, maximum production, equitable distribution and price stabilisation.

With these objectives in view the Jana Sangh will replace the Fourth Plan by a self-reliant Swadeshi Plan to achieve the growth rate of 10% per annum.

Right to Property

Jana Sangh is a people's party. It upholds the citizens' right to property. It looks forward to the day when every citizen will have some property to call his own. Jana Sangh is, therefore, determined to defeat the Congl-Communist attacks on the constitutional right to property, which can only end in extinguishing the citizen's right to his farm, factory and home.

Commission on Constitution

Jana Sangh does not regard the Constitution as a static document. The Constitution must remain an effective instrument for the fulfilment of the hopes and aspirations of the

people. It is, therefore, that our constitution-makers invested it with built-in flexibility in the form of Article 368. Care, however, was taken to ensure that the essential fabric of the Constitution—which the Jana Sangh thinks is basically sound—is not tampered with levity.

Of late, there has been a growing tendency in the ruling party to denigrate the Constitution whenever any provision of its runs counter to the demands of political expediency. The Jana Sangh regards this as extremely unfortunate. It feels, however, that the time has come when a 'Commission on the Constitution' should be created to review the working of the Constitution in the light of the experience of the past two decades and make recommendations in that regard.

National Integration Through Indianisation

Jana Sangh will work actively for national integration. To that end it will take the following positive steps :

1. We will implement the forgotten Directive Principles of the Constitution and give free education to all children upto the age of 14 (Article 45), protect the cow family (Article 48), progressively diminish the consumption of alcoholic drinks (Article 47), and give the country a uniform Civil Law (Article 44).
2. We will give a positive, patriotic and moral content to education to inculcate in our children deep love of our country, our people and our cultural heritage. To this end, we shall revise the text books.
3. We shall take steps to prevent all kinds of riots. In the event of a riot breaking out, we shall punish the guilty and compensate the sufferers.

Inter-State Council to be set up

4. We shall appoint an Inter-State Council under Art. 263 of the Constitution to advise Government in respect of all issues pertaining to Centre-State relations.

In respect of disputes between State and State which cannot be resolved by mutual negotiation Jana Sangh will set up a statutory commission to arbitrate in that regard.

All demands for statehood arising out of regional imbalances will also be referred to this Commission for suggesting appropriate economic, administrative and constitutional remedies.

The Jana Sangh considers the manner in which the present Government is deciding on the creation of ever new states for party reasons as thoroughly opportunistic. Thus, it is patently unfair to refuse statehood to Delhi, while granting it to certain other areas with smaller numbers and scarcer resources.

5. As per Article 371, we shall establish separate Development Boards for backward areas.
6. We shall impose restrictions on the activities of foreign missionaries. We shall require the distribution of foreign supplies through official channels alone.
7. We shall scrap the separate constitution of Jammu & Kashmir and bring that State fully on par with other State.

Crash Programme for Backward Classes

8. We shall formulate and implement a crash programme to afford equal opportunities to the backward classes of society and to bring them in line with the advanced sections within a period of ten years.
9. Untouchability is a crime against Man and God. We shall implement laws against untouchability

In letter and in spirit and, if necessary, make them stringent. We shall break the barriers that divide one Indian from another and accelerate the evolution of a homogeneous and egalitarian society.

10. The Jana Sangh will foster the feeling of Indian-ness in all sections of society particularly those which, for historical reasons, have remained aloof from the national mainstream.

Reorientation of the Educational System

Jana Sangh will reform the educational system so that it can serve simultaneously to strengthen national values and fulfil the needs of modern India.

Developing Indian Languages

Swarajya is incomplete without Swabhasha. Jana Sangh will expedite the replacement of English by Indian languages at the state level, and make the latter the media of instruction, administration and courts.

Jana Sangh will develop Hindi as the link language over the next five years. It will hold UPSC examinations in all the recognised Indian languages so that non-Hindi speakers are not handicapped in any way in the matter of recruitment to Central jobs.

In Punjab, Hindi has always been widely used. Jana Sangh will, therefore, give it its due place in education and administration.

Jana Sangh will pay attention to the promotion of the Urdu language, and ensure that facilities due to it under the law are accorded to it. It is, however, opposed to making Urdu the second official language of U.P., Bihar, M.P. etc.

Media of Mass Communication

Jana Sangh will convert A.I.R., including television, and the Films Division into autonomous corporations.

It will accelerate the expansion of the television set up.

Jana Sangh recognises the vital role which films play in providing entertainment and enlightenment to the people. It will take steps to promote this important industry by giving relief wherever possible. It will encourage the opening of a larger number of cinema houses.

Compensation For Refugees

More than two decades after partition, lakhs of refugees continue to pour in from East Pakistan year after year. They are living in shocking conditions. Jana Sangh will see to it that Hindus in Pakistan are treated well, so that they do not have to run for life and honour.

At the same time Jana Sangh will expedite the rehabilitation of refugees already here.

The Indo-Pak agreements on evacuee property do not cover East Pakistan. Jana Sangh will seek their extension to Eastern India, to compensate refugees for properties left behind by them.

Two Murder Inquiries

Jana Sangh takes note of the many doubts in the public mind about the mysterious deaths of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya. It will institute three-judge public inquiries, with investigative powers, to probe the two mysteries.

Independent Foreign Policy

Though the Government continues to pay lip-service to non-alignment, Jana Sangh is concerned at the way New Delhi is fast becoming a Russian satellite. We would like to reiterate that Jana Sangh wants nothing but friendly relations with U. S. S. R. But friendship can survive—and grow—only on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty.

and a scrupulous avoidance of any meddling in each other's internal affairs.

Arms Aid to Pakistan An Unfriendly Act

In this context we cannot appreciate Russian persistence in publishing maps showing Indian territory as Chinese. Its radio broadcasts attacking Indian parties and leaders are a gross attack on our free political institutions. Its interference in our elections—including presidential election—is an assault on our sovereignty. On top of it all, its arming of Pakistan amounts to a sabotage of our defences.

Jana Sangh takes serious note of American re-arming of Pakistan. It considers the same an unfriendly act. In arming Pakistan, the two super-powers seem to have the same goal viz. to harass India, strain our resources and delay our economic development.

The Government of India's decision to send a delegation to the Islamic Conference at Rabat, the red-carpet treatment given to Al Fatah terrorists, the unprecedented invitation extended to Madam Binh, the rebel leader of South Vietnam, and India's refusal to attend the Conference on Cambodia sponsored by Indonesia, are examples which show that our Foreign Policy is anything but independent.

Quit Commonwealth

Jana Sangh will lead India out of the British Commonwealth. It will work for a special relationship with South East Asia.

We shall protect and promote the interests of Indians abroad.

The Jana Sangh views with grave concern the scandalous manner in which foreign lobbies—Russian,

American, Chinese, Pakistani and Arabic—are operating in this country with impunity. It shall smash all these lobbies.

India As A Major World Power

In the international field, India has always stood for friendship with all and malice towards none. But the Jana Sangh realises that mere pursuit of friendship and peace is no guarantee either of friendship or of peace. And it is no substitute for a suitable strategy for Defence. The fact that we have been subjected to as many as four invasions during a brief 23 years of our independent existence, underlines the lesson that while working for peace we must be prepared for war.

The Jana Sangh is deeply conscious of the continuing Chinese and Pakistani aggressions on our territory. We are pledged to the vacation of this double aggression. We are, therefore, committed to an India strong enough to be a major world power in the next few years. To this end we shall take the following steps :

1. We shall strengthen our armed forces and equip them with latest arms.
2. We shall develop a nuclear armoury to deter any fresh invasion of the country.
3. We shall work for complete self-sufficiency in the production of all arms through defence research and defence industries.
4. To defend our vast coastline, and to protect our trade routes, we shall develop the Indian Navy to become the biggest in the Indian Ocean.
5. We shall adopt more effective measures to ensure border security and settle ex-servicemen in the border areas.

6. We shall stop all infiltration from Pakistan and pack off old infiltrators.

7. To make the entire population defence conscious, we shall introduce defence studies in all Universities and start rifle clubs all over the country.

Will to Win

The Jana Sangh is pledged to banish poverty. It has a promise to keep—a solemn promise to our future generations that they will be born solvent as honourable citizens of a first-rate State. This cannot be achieved through empty slogans or ample gimmickry. In this fight to finish between our people and the demon of poverty, victory can be assured only through hard work with patience, perseverance, discipline, dedication and, above all, the will to win. As a party of patriots, the Jana Sangh will rouse our people's will to win this Holy War on poverty.